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S. Hunt

METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1897.

ART. I.—SANDFORD HUNT, D.D.

"FAITHFUL to the end" was the motto on the coat of arms of an English emigrant to America about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Coming from the rugged hills of southern Devonshire, this sturdy pilgrim set up his home in the colony of New Jersey, at a place differently called Hopewell and Hopedale. He was by name John Hunt. His wife was an aunt of the first Bishop Moore; his employment was likely agriculture; his descendants are scattered, after two centuries, through many of the States of the republic. The legacy he left his children is unknown. Yet the motto his escutcheon bore has been a monitory influence in the lives of six generations of industrious citizens; is still a call to fidelity on the part of those who bear his ancient surname; and has had its latest illustration in the faithfulness of the departed workman who, after almost a half century of toil for Methodism, is now recalled in these brief biographic words.

It was to this Devonshire emigrant—who looked in desire across the wide Atlantic, thought lightly of the dangers of the untraveled deep, and coveted the larger liberty of the New World—that Sandford Hunt could trace his kinship. His stocky frame, brown eye, and ruddy cheek suggested an Anglo-Saxon origin; and to the fancy it would for a moment seem that some English yeoman, reincarnated and resourceful, were alive again in him. So surely does heredity work its imperious will in men and link them to the distant past.

I. The youth of Sandford Hunt was spent in modest circumstances. In later years a letter to a long-time friend contained this recollection: "I call to mind also that you and I were born in the same region, and with but little outside encouragement in early life to give hope for special success." His father, Noah Hunt, was born October 29, 1790, and wedded Sally Wilgus in 1812. About the beginning of the present century some of the family migrated to the "lake country," as the section about Seneca and Cayuga Lakes was then called; and in 1816, before steam had displaced the pillion, Jonathan Hunt, the grandfather, moved still further west to the vicinity of Buffalo. Hither also came Noah Hunt, with wife and three children, in March, 1819, making the toilsome two weeks' journey "partly with wagons and the balance of the way in sleighs." The town to which they came was Eden Valley—melodious and winsome name—less than a score of miles from Buffalo; and here, "in a frame house still standing," Sandford Hunt was born April 1, 1825.

He was, like many more, a farmer's boy. "Great towns," says another, "do not necessarily produce great men;" and, adds the same author, "nearly all the great men of England, as well as of London, have been country-born and country-bred." Nor did the subject of this sketch forget the wholesome discipline of his youth. In his twenty-fifth anniversary sermon he recalled that he was "born and reared on a farm, upon which, for two thirds of each year during boyhood, the time must needs be spent in manual labor." And so, until near manhood, the busy lad listened to the robin's call, smelled the sweet clover, drove the cattle from the pasture—and thus lived close to the great heart of nature, the mother of us all.

The atmosphere of this farmer's home was intellectual. It is possible to discern the more or less vigorous mentality which marked the family line. The maternal grandmother, for some years surviving her husband, had been a near neighbor to Jonathan Hunt in New Jersey, spoke of him as "Squire Hunt," and "always added to his name words of highest respect." She was herself of "natural abilities much above the average, well schooled for the times, a great reader of the Bible, of English literature, and of Methodist Church books and periodicals;" and with "skill and judgment she ofttimes expressed

her criticism of what she read." Sandford Hunt's father, "while yet a boy in his teens, was also a scholar in a noted academy," and in 1828 removed to a farm at Eden Center, that his children might enjoy the advantages of the village society and schools.

This farmer's house was also a religious fireside. In the home of the maternal grandmother, during her girlhood, Bishop Asbury had been heard "with gladness and profit." Jonathan Hunt, the grandfather, born in 1765, was afterward with his wife "among the first converts to Christ through the agency of Methodism, very soon after the organization of the Church in the United States;" and faithfully did they strive to "give a start" to their little society in New Jersey. The father, Noah Hunt, at first professed the Baptist faith, but afterward united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, enjoyed the high esteem of his community, and died with the Redeemer's name upon his lips. The mother, Sally Hunt, was for more than seventy years a faithful member of the Church, and at the ripe age of eighty-seven went to the presence of the King.

In this home childhood was a sacred trust. A surviving brother of Sandford Hunt—much loved by him, and under whose roof at Lookout Mountain he spent the last days of life—turns the book of memory and shows this bright-tinted picture of their boyhood circle:

> Both father and mother believed the influence of precept and example in a Christian home of more value than all other agencies combined. They devoted nearly all their care and income to the welfare of their children, regarded each as an individual in taste and abilities, and encouraged feelings of confidence and self-respect. Scripture lessons for the Sunday school were committed to memory, and books from the Sunday school and public libraries were read in preference to newspapers.

Under such home surroundings, where the thinking was at least high, the fancies of the growing boys easily turned toward a college course. Writes the brother again:

> By help of village schools and academy in the county each of us was supposed to be ready for college—that is, so supposed by everybody except father and mother. Through much trouble and sacrifice they procured the services of an excellent scholar, G. R. Huntington, member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who had been for three years professor of mathematics in the university at Burlington, Vt. He proved to be a first-class teacher in the Latin, Greek, and French languages. He was a

decidedly great scholar, and his three years' training at our father's house gave us three boys more insight into English and foreign languages and mathematics than all other schooling that fell to our lot.

With this training Sandford Hunt at twenty entered the junior class of Allegheny College. For the times the curriculum he studied was advanced. Among his classmates were Alexander Martin, S. H. Nesbit, and W. A. Davidson. Being thrown upon his own resources, he bravely met the burden of self-support, and graduated with the Latin salutatory in 1847. Of that victorious struggle we find him afterward saying:

I can hardly imagine what would have been my fate had friends with a mistaken pride placed in my hands an exhaustless purse. Necessity drove to the most economical use of time and money; and the application and discipline which that condition enforced have ever since been found among the most valuable resources of life. As it was, I was enabled to begin my lifework financially even with the world.

And so, in overflowing health and with the bow of promise arching his morning sky, Sandford Hunt at twenty-two passed from the university to the service of the Church.

II. His entrance upon the ministry marked a new era in his history. From the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the oxen he heard a call to other work. He possessed endowments that might have won him prominent success in mercantile life or at the bar. Yet he was not inclined to walk in these paths of service. Having begun the Christian life at fifteen, he knew the voice that called him to the cure of souls. For him the road led straight into the priesthood of the faith, and God's good angels guided his feet along the inviting path. Says his kinsman already quoted:

Brother Sandford chose the ministry without the help of his parents, and against the entreaties and advice of all the family. We urged the warning of poverty and lack of bread. Father had selected the law office in Buffalo for his training in that profession. But I do not think brother ever stated he had any wish to practice law. In a crisis so serious our loving parents would not venture so far as threats or commands, but would hold to the limits of quiet counsel. It was a case of severe trial, lasting many months.

However much of zeal and activity may have been used in the opposite direction, by ministers and presiding elders who frequented our homestead, I have no idea this influence would amount to as much as the thought that father and mother were both praying for him every day. Brother Sandford was an honest boy; he had firm confidence in his own

judgment; and I have no doubt he was convinced it was his duty to preach, and that he could do more good that way than any other.

At the Genesee Conference, held in Geneva, N. Y., August 25, 1847, this young man, who chose to disappoint his friends that he might satisfy his conscience and his God, was received on trial. Bishop Morris, the presiding officer, two years later ordained him to the diaconate; his elder's ordination was received from Bishop Janes in 1851. One of his Conference classmates was the late Augustus C. George. His first appointment was as junior preacher at Franklinville, on the Rushford District, with residence at Machias, a circuit returning at that Conference two hundred and eighty-six members.

Before joining Conference our young itinerant had found time to tell his love story to Miss Margaret May, a daughter of the Rev. Hiram May, of the Genesee Conference—an old-time itinerant whose melodious voice crowded his long ministry with revivals and sung multitudes into the kingdom of God's grace. Under the following romantic circumstances the wedding journey and the first year's itinerancy were passed:

> Our wedding trip did not take us across the ocean, or down the St. Lawrence among the beauties of the Thousand Islands, or into the heat of eastern and southern cities, but along the valleys and over the hills directly to the little village of Machias, in Cattaraugus County, which had been designated by the appointing power of our Church as our first field of labor. Ten dollars of borrowed money furnished ample means for the trip. . . . At this time the wild hills of Cattaraugus had never been startled by the thundering and screaming of the locomotive. The nearest market was this, our own city [Buffalo]. With a salary of $239, less than $25 of which was cash, all our wants were fully met, and a year of success enjoyed.

Church building fell to the preacher's lot in his second appointment, at Ellicottville. In his own words, long afterward uttered, we may read the story of his achievement:

> At the Conference of 1848, held in this city [Buffalo], I was sent to Ellicottville, then the county seat of Cattaraugus County. Our church held its services in an old court house, which was the common resort for all sorts of gatherings at every season of the year. Mud and filth sometimes covered the floor quite as completely as our modern carpets, though the covering was not quite as agreeable. Unsophisticated as I was, I could not see why two or three other denominations should enjoy comfortable churches and we be forced into such repulsive quarters, especially

as our congregation equaled theirs. At that time, as in many other places then, there were denominational jealousies which made it necessary for us to rely on our own resources entirely in such an undertaking. Those resources were extremely limited, forty dollars being the highest figure any member of the church could pay. Under the stimulus of various emotions, prominent among which, I fear, was a feeling of indignation at the attitude of others toward us, I said, "We will have a church." Having quietly secured a subscription of a few hundred dollars, the recording steward, who chanced to be a carpenter, commenced with me the task. Day after day we climbed the mountains and felled and squared the timber. A hardy constitution was now of practical use. When this work was completed I found a man, with some difficulty, who would risk his team for the perilous task to both driver and horses of drawing the timber down the mountain sides. I did not then realize, as I have since, how unclerical must have been my appearance, a few days afterwards, as I stood erect on the loads of timber, driving four horses that seemed to be proud to have a share in such work, and thus revealed to the villagers for the first time our earnest purpose to build a church. . . . I think I may claim, without immodesty, that a man who gains a reputation for church building in this way earns all it is worth.

The appearance and traits of Sandford Hunt at this time call for a place in this hurried story. Says one who was a resident on the Royalton Circuit in 1851, and who has since become a member of the Genesee Conference:

I remember him as he stood in the pulpit, on the first Sunday after Conference, as though it were yesterday. To my boyish eyes he was the ideal of perfect physical manhood. His rosy cheeks and auburn hair, his clear, speaking eyes and symmetrical form, impressed me. On his clean-shaven face there was no shadow of the cares and responsibilities that later years brought, and time had not begun to chisel its furrows upon a brow that was then as smooth as a mirror. As he rose to speak a smile spread over his features which suggested the play of the rising sun over a field of ripening grain. In the two years of his stay on the charge he manifested those traits of character that won for him in after years the confidence of the Church as expressed in its elevation of him to the high position which he so admirably filled. His business instinct, his conscientious devotion to his work, his integrity of character were conspicuous even then.

During his earlier ministry he steadily grew—and he took time to grow. With Maclaren of Manchester he could say, "I thank God that I was stuck down in a quiet, little, obscure place to begin my ministry." After ten years he found himself a city preacher and the pastor of Grace Church, Buffalo, then the leading appointment in the Conference. At that time the Nazarite movement was exciting the Church in western

New York, and was threatening her stability. It is hardly necessary to say that our young pastor was arrayed on the side of the established regulations of the Church. His first winter at Grace Church was the great revival winter of the century. Refreshing showers fell on his people. "Over one hundred," he afterward wrote, "professed conversion," and "ninety were taken into the church on probation. Many of these proved prominent and useful members in after years." At the close of the two years—the limit of the pastoral term—"one hundred and thirty-four additions had been made to the church membership." It was here also that the pastor formed a lifelong friendship with such conspicuous laymen as Francis H. Root, who preceded him by a little to the heavenly world, and Henry H. Otis, who survives to mourn his absence from the earth.

In 1864 he was appointed to the eldership of the Niagara District. It was at this period, when the Southland was misty with the smoke of cannon, that he found time to serve as the Secretary of the United States Christian Commission for western New York and to twice visit the army. He was ever after an enthusiastic patriot. The old soldier was his especial friend. One of his stirring lectures, both humorous and tearful, was on his Christian Commission work; and one of his annual pleasures was a visit with the U. S. Grant Post, of Brooklyn, to the grave of the great chieftain at Riverside Park. Of his Christian Commission service the Rev. Joseph H. Knowles, D.D., after thirty-two years speaks as follows:

It was my privilege to be associated with Dr. Hunt in the Christian Commission Service of the Army of the Potomac during the spring of 1864. For a number of weeks our labors were limited to the hospitals in, or near, Washington, D. C., where hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers were daily brought from the battles in Virginia. These were the terrible days when Fredericksburg, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and other places taxed to the utmost the generous help of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions. As he bent over sick and dying soldiers, to minister to them spiritual and bodily succor, no voice could have been more sympathetic, no hand more helpful, no prayer for God's blessing more fervent. Tender supplications were offered for the wounded and dying; and earnest exhortations from his lips to trust in Jesus always accompanied his kind efforts to bestow temporal relief.

Subsequently, when permission was given to go to "the front," to administer relief, no one could have performed patriotic and Christian service with greater efficiency. One Sunday evening in Fredericksburg, after

a day spent in the rudely constructed hospital, we reviewed together our sad and trying work. He said, "I have publicly addressed thirty different groups of sick and wounded soldiers to-day, besides giving bodily relief to a very large number." Dr. Hunt always performed these kind offices in a hopeful spirit. In dictating hasty messages to distant friends for sick and dying soldiers, or in presenting the cooling draught to parched lips, or in invoking spiritual grace from heaven, there was always a singular spirit of self-sacrifice manifest that won all hearts. His tireless zeal was a real object lesson for us all; and, from the beginning of that unhappy civil struggle to its very close, few men seemed to comprehend as fully the moral significance of the conflict.

To the far-seeing statesmanship of Bishop Simpson, who held the Genesee Conference in 1870, the "uptown" movement in Buffalo justified the establishment of a new charge. It received the name of "Central Church," and Sandford Hunt was intrusted with its undeveloped interests. It had, as yet, "no trustee, steward, class leader, or member." Its first prayer meeting was radiant with Pentecostal light. "Lips were unsealed that were unused to praying in public. The forty persons who were there accepted the revelation of God's presence on that memorable evening in proof of his seal of approbation on the new work as clearly as the prophet of Carmel, when, in answer to his prayer, fire came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifice." Like the children in the desert, God led them wondrously. The new movement was "fully justified by the dedication of the chapel in about one year, with a membership of one hundred and fifty, and the dedication of the body of the church in five years thereafter with a membership of three hundred." And so the Delaware Avenue Church became a torchbearer of the faith to light men's way to heaven.

Numerous activities were, during these years, occupying Dr. Hunt's attention. In the midst of his official employment he found time to compile his two well-known volumes on the laws of religious corporations. Once he visited Albany, for his Conference, to accomplish certain legislation. And conspicuously was he a member of the commission to locate educational institutions within his Conference boundaries. Numerous honors were also being conferred on him. From 1868 to 1874 he was Conference secretary. In 1871 he received the doctorate of divinity from his *alma mater*. Having been a reserve delegate to the Buffalo General Conference of 1860, in 1868 he was

rent to the General Conference at Chicago; in 1872 he was again a reserve delegate; in 1876 he was chosen at the head of his delegation, and was elected a member of the Book Committee. But best of all he was a contented and devoted pastor. Says his friend, Mr. Otis:

> All his sermons were full of Gospel truth, and he always impressed his hearers as one who believed what he preached. I am sure he never preached without saying something to feed the hungry soul of the Christian and awaken in the heart of the unsaved a desire to live a better life. As a pastor he stood in the front rank. . . . His presence in the home invariably brought joy and gladness. No sooner had he entered a house than it was like the opening of the shutters to let in the morning sun. . . . He had a great, sympathetic heart concealed in his robust form. . . . No one in distress ever went to him and was sent away without help. . . . His prayer meetings were always a means of grace, and it was his delight when they were full of spiritual life and power. . . . He believed in revival services, and held them with great success. . . . The Sabbath school was a place where he delighted to be. . . . In fact, he was an all-round pastor, faithful to all the interests of the Church.

But the last milestones in his Conference service were now near. In the presiding eldership he rounded out his active work among his brethren. From the autumn of 1872 until 1879 he served the Niagara, and then the Buffalo, District. He cared tenderly for his preachers; he cared safely for his churches. This included a particular supervision of their financial interests. At Buffalo it was thought possible to cancel the indebtedness on the churches; and in trusted association with Mr. Root, supplemented by the generosity of this princely layman, Dr. Hunt saw every Methodist property of the city relieved from its mortgage burden. And thus, in the quiet service of his Conference, he was near another destiny and knew it not.

III. An unexpected door now opened into the official service of the Church. On February 20, 1879, Dr. Reuben Nelson, senior Book Agent at New York, fell in the midst of his work, much beloved and sore lamented. The few days that intervened before the special meeting of the Book Committee were filled with inquiries as to the man best fitted for the vacancy. For three years Dr. Hunt, in his service on the Book Committee, had shown such a mastery of its intricate business as to invite attention toward himself; and on March 3, 1879, he was

elected as the associate of John M. Phillips, and became the junior agent. Thus did the grandson of the old saint who had been a "great reader" of "Methodist Church books and periodicals" enter upon the publication of literature for a later Methodism. The horoscope playfully cast for him long before, in a friendly circle, that he was destined for the agency at New York, now had its fulfillment. The man was ready for the hour. Quietly he made his readjustments at Buffalo, and slipped away to his new work, with the prayers and good wishes of the Conference that had so lately given Thomas Carlton for twenty years to the same responsible service. The debt upon the Book Concern of a half million dollars at once engaged his attention. His dislike of indebtedness was so exceeding great that it was his lifelong custom to have no outstanding obligations. Even the articles of food consumed in his home were as a rule paid for when bought at the retailer's. This abhorrence of debt he now carried into his official life. The liquidation of the Book Concern obligations had the equally earnest cooperation of the senior agent. On June 1, 1879, but three months after Dr. Hunt's election, notice was served by the agents upon their bondholders of a proposed reduction in the rate of interest. During the year, as reported to the General Conference of 1880, bonds to the amount of ninety-five thousand dollars were canceled. And so the process was continued until the last dollar of indebtedness was met.

Too recent has been the erection of the new building at 150 Fifth Avenue to necessitate a lengthy statement of Dr. Hunt's relation to that result. One statement is that the first public proposal for the consolidation of the New York printing interests under one roof came from him. As a member of the building committee he was deeply engrossed in the project from its inception. A site having been bought in October, 1887, and the corner stone being laid by Bishop Bowman during the General Conference of 1888, the completion of the building found in Dr. Hunt an ardent participator. All honor is due the eminent company associated on the building committee. But it does not detract from their well-earned praise to say that, among them all, Dr. Hunt was a leading spirit. In his family circle it is remembered that his breakfast hour was changed to seven o'clock, and that it was his daily custom, before going to the

Concern at 805 Broadway, to visit the new building and note its progress. He literally watched its growth from foundation to capstone, and by his knowledge of affairs led one of the contractors later to say that another employer with equal grasp of building details he had never met. In the midst of distracting cares he found time to publish in the *Methodist Review* for October, 1889, a paper on the "Centennial of the Book Concern," setting forth the successive steps leading to the consummation so near at hand—a paper which was later issued in pamphlet form for general distribution at the centennial celebration of December 8, 1889. The dedication of the new building, contemporaneous with the formal centennial of the Book Concern, in February, 1890, was a glad day to him. Among the speakers at the crowded Metropolitan Opera House Dr. Hunt was included, delivering an address on "The Book Concern." Anticipating the second centennial of the Concern, his faith took wing, and he concluded with the prophetic words: "The records, instead of coming from New York and Cincinnati alone, will come from China, Japan, India, Europe, and Africa, in each of which will have arisen establishments far surpassing our own, which shall send forth their streams of light and knowledge for the elevation and salvation of our race."

In February, 1889, Dr. Hunt's associate in the book agency fell at his side. The death of Mr. Phillips, while a great blow to the Church at large, was felt by few outside his saddened family as by Dr. Hunt. Besides the inheritance of new responsibilities, the loss of this comrade smote his deepest heart. For nearly ten years they had resided in the same section of Brooklyn, had almost daily made the journey together over the East River, and, while dissimilar in their tastes, were linked in unusual intimacy. Over his fallen companion the comprehensive eulogy of Dr. Hunt, at the General Conference of 1892, was but a scant expression of the regard he had felt for his colleague. Even to the last he recalled their associations, and at Charleston, but a few days before his death, spoke of the "uniform Christian fellowship and kindness which ever existed between them."

To Dr. Homer Eaton, the new agent, elected in 1889, Dr. Hunt gave a generous welcome. The late dividends of many hundred thousand dollars to the Conferences, to which the

Eastern house has contributed, are a sufficient testimony to the steady advance of the publishing interests during this last copartnership. In his memoir of Dr. Hunt, read at the last General Conference, Dr. Eaton was led to speak of him as "a wise counselor and a true friend." Thus in concord with all his business associates, and with love to all men, Dr. Hunt drew near the goal and saw the city in view.

With the death of Mr. Phillips, in 1889, had come the senior agency and uncoveted burdens as treasurer of the Missionary Society. To this position Dr. Hunt brought the same conservative and conscientious management that had distinguished him in other work. During seven years eight and one half million dollars passed through his hands. His familiarity with all legal forms, his acquaintance with the statutes of many States, and his memory of the details of individual legacies made him an invaluable officer. In 1891 he made the trip to Mexico, in the interests of the society. At the annual meeting of 1894, in Brooklyn, and of 1895, in Denver, he stood like adamant contending for decreased appropriations that the indebtedness might be met. It was of his speech before the latter committee that Bishop Newman afterward said:

> I have heard many remarkable financial speeches, both in the Church and in the United States Senate, but for clearness of statement, arrangement of facts, compactness of argument, familiarity with the banking business of the world, intelligent knowledge of the personal views of American bankers, and an accurate information as to the financial condition of the Church and the needs of our mission stations at home and abroad, I have never heard that speech excelled. It lives in my memory today as something never to be forgotten.

His sense of responsibility for the missionary treasury he had before expressed, in a personal letter, as follows: "I feel an intense interest in the reputation of the treasury of the Missionary Society, and I understand it to be my special duty to guard unlawful drafts upon it. I certainly do not desire to act under the impulse of a misguided zeal, but I was born with an inveterate hatred of debts, and my experience in public affairs has not diminished that enmity." This anxiety for the overburdened treasury led him to spend the closing days of January, 1896, before he went away to die, in sending out appeals for contributions, in furtherance of a special plan he had formed

for lessening the debt. The project was also on his tongue during his last visit to the Southern Conferences, and on that last day's ride from Chattanooga to Cincinnati, in company with Bishop Joyce and Drs. Hammond and Matthew. So did he seem to mind the maxim on his ancestral coat of arms and continue "faithful to the end."

IV. The mention of some traits of character conspicuous in Dr. Hunt will add completeness to this barren outline of his official work. He was endowed with many of the qualities we are accustomed to note in great men. His modesty was sincere and constant. Says his elder brother, already quoted: "If he ever had any ambition for office he must have acquired it in his after life. It is no family ailment." On a few occasions, when the General Conferences were near, the present writer in confidential moments spoke of his probable reelection, receiving in reply the answer that he was but the servant of the Church and was ready to stop when the Church bade him step aside. At the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Delaware Avenue Church, the autumn before his death, he thus spoke of himself as the first pastor, "Improvement was inevitable, as you had the poorest first;" and when urged by the proof reader of his discourse, before its delivery, to soften this expression, he still held to his original phrase. Yet he confidently leaned upon himself, and was fertile in expedients.

He was most industrious. Perhaps from the early farm discipline he was, all his official life, an early riser. While crossing the Atlantic, in 1890, he writes of an anticipated burial on the morrow, "Perhaps they will get the start of me." But the following morning he records in his personal memorandum, "At four I turned out to make sure of being in time for the burial at sea." This habit of early rising brought him even ahead of time to his engagements. It also gave him opportunity, out of office hours, to prepare sermons and lectures, to edit his volume of two hundred and fifty-six pages on Methodism in Buffalo—a volume largely owing its origin to the request of Mr. Root—and to do an amount of other work which was surprising.

He was a friend of education, giving the cause both time and money. As a trustee of Genesee Wesleyan Seminary for years, and once its treasurer, his presence at the meetings of the board was seldom hindered by other duties. In 1879 he

delivered an address before the "Council," held in Syracuse, on the "Relation of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Syracuse University," ending with the promise for the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary: "We will meet you on common ground and carry this institution upon our shoulders, if need be, across this Jordan into its Canaan of safety. Two hundred thousand singing, praying men and women, and a host of patrons in the Empire State, will respond to the demand for aid."

He was truly brave. His brethren in the Genesee Conference will not soon forget how he consented, in 1895, to be counted with a handful of eighteen, in a vote on a great constitutional question, with the election of General Conference delegates impending on the morrow—displaying, says the bishop who presided, "the most splendid courage in speech and vote." But his bravery was only another name for his conscientiousness. He hated shams. Says Bishop Newman again of him: "Hunt had no double. He was never a masquerader. He was never more than himself, nor less than himself, nor other than himself, but was always Sandford Hunt."

This, with all else, made him an increasing force in the General and Annual Conferences. Through all its changes of boundary, and once a change of name, he had remained in the Genesee Conference and particularly loved the brotherhood of that body. From his entrance upon the agency, in 1879, his brethren continuously elected him a delegate to the upper body, and twice at the head of his delegation. Despite his seeming hazard of his interests in the constitutional vote of 1895, he was chosen by just a three quarters' vote, and first in the delegation, to represent his Conference at Cleveland. That gathering he was not destined to attend, yet he went to his grave prizing this new wreath of laurel his brethren had placed upon his brow. His influence in the General Conference needs no review. Four successive times did the body reelect him to his work in New York. His unusual judicial qualities made him a leading figure in its discussions. He grasped the kernel of a debate; he spoke tersely and luminously; he carried an authority that was not easily questioned—and thus he sat a wise man among the sages of the Church.

He grew until his death. His mind was alert to the last, and his spirit young. Chosen a director in a prominent New York

bank, and the associate of men of large monetary interests, he was a growing master in finance. His addresses at the Annual Conferences, as the end drew near, broadened like some river that widens to the sea. During the last year these addresses were particularly masterful and persuasive. Of this says Bishop Newman: "To my mind Durbin was a model in this regard. If he related an anecdote, it was to illustrate his point. If he quoted history, it was to confirm his position. Next to Durbin I place Hunt. He seemed to know just what an Annual Conference demanded of the Book Agent, how to present the facts in the most satisfactory manner, and what book of recent publication was of highest interest to the preacher."

He was helpful to others. Service was his rule of life. His quiet charities were many. His aid to ministerial brethren kept him all too busily employed on the Sabbath, after the week's hard work; and in many churches about New York his vigorous, persuasive sermons are vividly recalled, as he preached the great doctrines of the faith. His succor to those in trouble ended only with his life. He was a friend to the black man, and one of the most sympathetic letters that has reached his saddened family, since his death, has been from a prominent member of that race. Of his inferiors in office he was kindly thoughtful, so that one who had come close to his tender heart in Book Concern work says: "A truer man, a kinder employer, and a firmer friend it has never been my pleasure to meet. It is not common for men to say that they love each other, but I can honestly say that I loved Dr. Hunt, and that I have lost one of the dearest friends on earth." And thus many more have spoken. His circle of personal friends was wide; his benefactions he gave them to the end.

He loved Methodism, past and present, and without reservation preached the faith of Wesley's people. Desire for the approval of Methodism led him of late to say, in speaking of his great responsibilities: "I propose to do this work to the best of my ability, so that I may die after a while in the full approval and benedictions of the Church with which I have been identified." And his trust took hold mightily on the invisible. None who heard will soon forget how this voiced itself in his love-feast testimony at Charleston, a week before his death. In his business cares he stayed his heart on revealed truth. "I am glad,"

he wrote at his desk, not very long before his departure, "that our old Bible contains the following passage: 'For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" And in this faith he was caught away.

V. The memory of his last days to his home circle is like the recollection of a mellow sunset, when the drear night has fallen. Aside from advancing age, he was in an altogether normal state of health until the summer of 1894. In that heated term the emergencies of the missionary treasury particularly kept him from a needed vacation. During the extreme heat he stood almost a lone sentinel at his post, negotiating loans at the New York banks and otherwise keeping his untiring vigil. The few days of respite he was permitted to spend at Martha's Vineyard, when he found it possible to go away, were not days of full rest, since there we find him preaching for the auxiliary of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. His family then saw the first serious indications of overwork. Watching rigorously over his health, through the ensuing winter, it was not till the spring of 1895 that he found himself in the grasp of his final disease. On his return from some of the spring Conferences he complained of pain about the heart, and at length learned that his overtaxed system had been assailed by angina pectoris. From his physician he heard, by his own request, the description of the progress of that dread disease, and went out with a martyr's serenity on his face to meet his fate. Through the succeeding months his demeanor, to those of his inner circle who knew his ailment, was so remarkable as to cause frequent comment. Quietly he moved in and out, neglecting nothing, patient to an unusual degree, given sometimes, as was his wont in health, to gentle mirth, and evidently getting ready for his migration. Yet he had little to say of himself, even to his family, and there is nothing to indicate that he expected to go away so soon. His southern trip, in January, 1896, he had at first abandoned, by his wife's request. But the prospect of the company of Bishop Foster and others led him to change his plans. One never-to-be-forgotten Thursday he stepped over his threshold for the last time, and, with a lover's kiss thrown back to the wife of nearly fifty years, passed from her earthly sight forever. His visit to the South Carolina and Georgia Conferences, his thrilling ap-

peal in the great Charleston revival meeting, his large freedom from pain through those last two weeks, his continued activity in the work of the Church, and his death, on February, 10, 1896, upon the eve of the annual Book Committee meeting at Cincinnati are now parts of an oft-told story.

On Sunday, February 2, he preached in the Old Bethel Church, at Charleston. His text was, "Looking unto Jesus;" and thus his last pulpit utterance was a lifting up of that Master who had called him as a country lad of fifteen into the royal service. "The sermon," writes the pastor, "was full of spiritual power, greatly enjoyed, and made a decided impression." Of a blind boy in his first pastorate he spoke in pathetic words, quoting his testimony in an experience meeting: "I am almost persuaded to say that I am glad I was born blind; for now I know that when my eyes are opened the first sight I shall behold will be my Jesus, and, O, what a glorious sight that will be!"

Another incident in Charleston was Dr. Hunt's visit to its cemetery. Of this Mr. George B. Johnson, his companion, says: "While walking over the ground the doctor's conversation was chiefly concerning the resurrection. He spoke of some recent views that he had read; and then referring to some friend whose name I have forgotten, with whom he had recent conversations regarding the doctrine of the resurrection, after a slight pause said in an impressive manner that the dear brother —calling his name—had passed over the river and knew perfectly the things in which he had been so greatly interested, saying there could be no doubt of the identification of our friends, whatever else there might be." So was he preparing, though he knew it not, for the homeward flight.

The next stage of Dr. Hunt's journey ended at his brother's home on Lookout Mountain. From Thursday till the succeeding Monday morning he tarried about that inviting hearth. Here he found time to write letters to his home, which reached their destination after his death, and came like a message from the spirit world. One was to an invalid daughter. Its sacredness we may invade only to quote his words of final tenderness: "I cannot expect an answer to this, but I hope to find you doing splendidly on Saturday night or Sunday morning, when I hope to reach home." It was on Thursday—two days

sooner than he thought—that he came to the home roof again. But he came quietly, and with no greeting on his mute lips for those whose lives he had made so rich and bright. Before he knew it he had heard "the bells in the city" ring with welcome. Henceforth the Church will remember him with its other sons who have gone in a moment from their work—Monroe and Liebhart by railroad accident, and Kingsley by heart seizure in far Beyroot.

In Dr. Hunt's last letter was an appreciative description of the majestic scenery from his brother's home. On one of the famous mountains of the earth he stood, where once the blare of trumpets and the shriek of battle had been heard, and it was but a step from thence to the unruffled calm of the upper life. Though he knew it not, he stood on the foothills of the celestial world. Narrow was the intervening valley. One tender parting with his brother; a few hours of fellowship with his traveling companions on the cars; one agonizing thrust of pain about the heart, at the door of the Cincinnati hotel—and the lowlands had been passed, and he had stepped from Lookout Mountain to stand in immortal vigor upon the heights of the blessed country.

After pathetic services held by the Book Committee in Cincinnati, and formal obsequies in Brooklyn, Dr. Hunt went back to tarry for a short hour in the Delaware Avenue Church, where his words as pastor linger yet in the memories of men, and then he laid himself down in the city of his early labors to rest until "the great rising day." His monument in Forest Lawn, that beautiful city of the dead, is a simple shaft—standing foursquare, as he stood to all the winds of life; unadorned by any graven ornament, like the unostentatious personality it commemorates; and of enduring granite, as is the lasting name he leaves to men.

A. P. Sanford.

Art. II.—WHAT WE OWE THE NON-CHRISTIAN FAITHS.

That a great change is coming over the attitude of popular Christianity—by which is meant the Christian religion as held by the bulk of its professors—toward the non-Christian religions is very obvious to the most superficial reader of the signs of our times. A few decades ago and nearly all allusions to the other religions were disrespectful, if not positively harsh. The various phases and forms of the polytheistic faiths were popularly branded as "vile superstitions" and "degraded heathenism," while the leader of the latest born of the world's great religions was rarely alluded to except as "the arch impostor," "the false prophet," or "the dark and bloody-minded Arab." All systems outside of Christianity were looked upon with suspicion, or, indeed, positive aversion, and the idea that they were worthy our study and had in them any grains of truth for our enrichment was scouted as little short of impious. It is true this does not characterize the attitude of a few oriental students and that larger body of catholic-spirited scholars who, by training and temperament, were unwilling to deny the presence of large possible good in territories they had not personally explored. But this was the prevailing tone in the pulpits and magazine literature of orthodox Christendom.

Yet it had not always been so. In the earliest centuries, when Christianity, emerging from the provincialism of Syria, stood face to face with the Græco-Roman philosophy, her earliest apologists were eager to first ascertain and lay down how far the deep questionings of the Greek mind had already reached many of the sublime truths that are contained in the Christian religion. Jesus as presented by these, the fathers, in conflict with the schools of their day was not so much the antagonist and opposer of heathen teachings as the one in whom was the fulfillment, the complement, of their highest and noblest thinking. These apologists, themselves from the schools, and thoroughly read many of them in the Greek poets and philosophers, could not but perceive that the pagan world had reached ideas of the being and character of God that were not unworthy the Christian Bible; and,

so far from refusing to see these facts, the early defenders urged that Christianity was worthy the widest acceptance because "whatsoever [true] things were said among all men are the property of us Christians," and contended that the mistruths of philosophy were its defects, its shortcomings from that whole and perfect truth which is in Christ Jesus, in whom the *pleroma*, the fullness, the "complement of all unfilled truth," dwells. Indeed, so freely do these early Christians concede the excellences they found in the thought of their day, and so freely did they clothe the teachings of Christianity in the garb of the Greek philosophy, that they are accused by Dr. Hatch in that very remarkable book, the *Hibbert Lectures* for 1888, of having helped to largely paganize Christianity, not only giving it a permanent vocabulary, but putting into that vocabulary a content to which the simple Syrian founders of Christianity and their immediate followers were strangers. Whether this be the case or not is not now the question. What is sought to be established, though briefly and perhaps inadequately, is that the early Christian writers were more than ready to discover whatever truth the non-Christian systems around them held, and from the ground that was common to all to offer the riches that were with the Christians so as to develop the sterile and deficient wastes of paganism.

Gradually, however, as paganism died out Christianity became the only religion of Europe. Paramount in this territory, she did not within her borders longer come immediately in contact with any other system of religious thinking than her own. Within herself arose conflicts and heresies and logomachies, but these were concerning varying aspects of her own peculiar doctrines. Meanwhile, the cultivated paganisms held their own in distant Asia. Intercourse between the lands was infrequent; such as was had was carried on by sailors and caravan drivers, men ordinarily of neither philosophic equipment nor religious zeal. It may be objected that such was not the case with Mohammedanism. The Moslem at least was very much in evidence, a thriving Moslem court being intrenched in Europe and the whole south and southeast of the continent being invested by Moslem arms. This is true. But the Moslem in Europe practically maintained an armed camp—a camp brilliant with letters and tuneful with song, but after all a camp the keenness of whose

sword was more deeply felt than the incisiveness of its theology or the weight of its philosophy. The court of Cordova affected the Christian thought around it about as much as the court of Constantinople affects the Christians of the Turkish empire, and in turn was about as pervious to Christianity as the Turk is to-day. The reason was much the same. The antagonisms of race and war forbade that interplay of religious thought, that temper which seeks to know what the other side stands for, without which mere physical contiguity counts for nothing.

During these centuries, it is true, the Christian Church never wholly lost its desire to communicate the teachings of Jesus to the extra-European world. There has never been so dark a night in the Church—darkness begotten by theological strife, ecclesiastical out-reaching, and spiritual sloth, begotten of worldly luxury and thirst for worldly honors—but that it has been lightened by a few flaming souls who could not be holden and who, intensely, eagerly, irrepressibly longing to extend the Master's kingdom, carried the light into the deeper darkness of the pagan lands. But these were few and, in the main, were swallowed up in the darkness into which, with heroic soul, they plunged. Whatever was accomplished in the way of mutual interaction between paganism and Christianity these men accomplished, and perhaps in their loneliness and their solitude they received more impression than they made. It is possible that the Romanism of to-day received much of its elaborate ritual and scant-meaning ceremony from Buddhism, through the contact between the eager missionaries of both these faiths who met in the wild wastes of Central Asia, where their mutual zeal had brought them. The Church at large in Europe knew nothing of the systems of Asia. Nor did it care to know. It was engaged with other and less worthy projects than the conquest of alien religions. Asia sat dreamily oblivious of Europe. Engrossed with her own dreamy abstractions, that there might be other peoples and other religious systems was to her no matter for faintest concern. From time to time unbelievers sought to belittle Christian teachings by affecting to find parallel revelations and even purer truths among the sayings of Buddha and the older records of the Brahmans and Persians. But these were, as often as not, fabrications or guesses. Infidelity, when it is born

of malice, has never hesitated to use any weapon without too close scrutiny of its legitimacy. Witness the eagerness with which Voltaire used the *Ezour Vedam* to triumphantly demonstrate that Hinduism contained the choicest teaching of Christianity. He did not care to know, nor was there anybody in Europe just then eager to tell him, that the unscrupulous Jesuit, Robert de Nobilibus, practicing the morals of his order that "the end justifies the means," had endeavored to impose upon the Brahmans of India by forging a deed containing the pedigree of the Jesuit missionaries as Brahmans from Rome, and had followed that successful imposture by concocting the *Ezour Vedam*, in which are set forth many of the Christian doctrines. That the Brahmans should have been misled by these fabrications on the one hand, and that a century afterward Voltaire should have smitten a trembling Christian Church with a supposed find of Christian doctrinal truth in a Hindu matrix, only shows how ignorant Europe and Asia were each ofthe other.

The conditions to-day are entirely altered. Our vast conquests in the realm of the material forces have practically banished distance and made isolation impossible. Remotest peoples are now our neighbors, and farthest islands and continents are never out of our sight. We go to the ends of the earth with ease and safety; and if we prefer to remain at home the ends of the earth come to us, and we cannot look out of our windows but strange faces and stranger costumes and customs are thrust upon our attention. In the realm of thought and letters we are even more closely brought together; and more unavoidably are we international, cosmopolitan. The whole air around us is but a speaking tube. The heavens are a whispering gallery. No voice is raised anywhere but the whole world of thought bends to hear. Philosophical Chauvinism, religious isolation, whether born of conceit or sloth, are absolutely impossible. "*Humani nihil alienum*," each of us says, not because of any marked afflatus of philanthropic humaneness or philosophic hospitality, but because otherwise we would ourselves be dropped out of the "human" category. The very circumstances of our day force us to know what our brother men have been thinking, and are thinking, of the great problems that give life its deep solemnity and its high dignity. The

scholars of Christendom command the languages of the civilized world. The buried treasures of Asia and Egypt—buried many of them even from their own degenerate custodians—have been exhumed. With unwearying industry, with splendid ability, the intricacies of weird writings and the difficulties of all languages have been overcome. The literatures of the world, in all its periods and in all their diversities, are open before us, secured at greatest cost. Philologists, savants, and missionaries have given to them years of severest study and self-denial—like Duperron, who spent seven years in poverty and banishment, returning to Paris hungry and penniless, but with his invaluable oriental manuscripts and a knowledge of the Zend, by which he was able to open to us the teachings of Zoroaster; like Robert Morrison, who, burrowing in the lower rooms of a Chinese shop, came forth broken with fever, but holding in his hand a clew to the almost diabolical language which shuts one third of the human race out from contact with the rest of us; like scores of others who spared neither means nor health nor time to make ours the thoughts of other lands, as well as take to them our richer treasures. And so to-day in the English tongue one may read the sacred books of the East. The devout litanies of Egypt; the spiritual Gathas of Persia; the impassioned hymns of Vedic India; the uneven, but often wildly poetical, bursts of the Arab enthusiast; the cold, orderly morality of Confucius; the metaphysical mists of Lao-tsze, are all before us; and note and gloss and comment abound, so that any plain, wayfaring man not quite a fool may become fairly conversant with the religious ideals and hopes and fears of the race. Nor is it being left optional with us whether we shall familiarize ourselves with the chief points in these religions. Their representatives are among us. On our lecture platforms, and even in our pulpits, are heard Mozoomdar and Vivekananda, and Gandhi and Dharmapala—though these names should not be coupled in anything except in this general list of recent speakers, for the first and last are of a vastly different type from the others. Scarcely a reputable magazine but holds important contributions from non-Christian pens. It has become necessary, and more and more imperative will the necessity grow upon us, for every intelligent Christian to know the salient points of the faiths whose defense is thrust upon him.

The plain duty of the Christian preacher, at least, is surely very evident. No longer can all extra-Christian faiths be dismissed with a wave of the hand as "born of the devil," nor be characterized as "debased superstitions," or the "base brood of barbarism." This, wherever it obtains, only exposes the pulpit, and justly, to the contempt, or equally deadly compassion, of even the half-read. The situation calls urgently for different treatment. The necessity is upon us for close, sympathetic, but clear-eyed study of the religions of the world:

1. Because there is no system of religious belief that has obtained wide credence among men that does not have in it a deposit of truth. This it is that, in spite of enfolding and enervating error, has kept the system alive. It is a deliberate slander against the human mind to suppose that the masses of men hold beliefs tenaciously because seduced by the error that is in them. Error and mistruth are plentifully mixed with the religions of men; but it is the Godlike in these religions, it is the echo of the divine voice still heard in them, which gives them empire over millions of men, and causes that empire to be prolonged through the centuries. No devout student who believes that God is the source of all spiritual illumination can afford to ignore whatever of light and leading the Holy Spirit may have imparted to these far-off children of the all-Father. It is not that the Christianity of any age is, so to speak, localized, circumscribed by the limitations of the day. The whole body of truth may be there, but it does not all appear. The accents are not all in just proportion, and the tendency of underaccented truths is to disappear from notice. Many times these are the very features of truth which some deficient extra-Christian faith makes central and most insistent; and the Christian may find profit in noticing how valuable the fruitage in other lands of truths contained indeed in Christianity but underestimated, if not completely slurred over, by the *zeitgeist* of Christendom.

To briefly illustrate, who can doubt the value of studying in the light of Mohammedanism the value of the "sovereignty of God." How invigorating it is to the plain, simple Christian to turn from the labored and fatuous efforts of our day to "justify the ways of God to men"—efforts which seem to put man on the bench and God at the bar—and hear the

Moslem say with passionate energy and insistent devotion, "Allah-il-Allah," "God is God," without any shadow of question that he owes implicit obedience to him whom he thus acknowledges and curtly proclaims! Is not the sovereignty of God in human affairs clearly taught by Christianity? But does our day not tend to slur over the teaching, and, in our exaggerated emphasis put upon human freedom or the law of causation, according to the school of thought we may follow, do we not tend to dethrone the King? Similarly, it might be shown what Hinduism has to teach of an immanent God breaking in upon us through every avenue of life, in whom "we live, and move, and have our being." And China would teach us the value of manners in making morals, or at least in strengthening them by working in from a correct exterior.

That was a noble saying of a distinguished professor when, in answer to an invitation to the World's Parliament of Religions, he replied: "Is it probable that men who can devote studious years to the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle will care nothing about the doctrines of Buddha and the maxims of Confucius? I am a Christian; therefore there is nothing human or divine in any literature of the world that I can afford to ignore." What will give the professor's words still more point is to remember that all that Plato and Aristotle can give us we have already largely assimilated. New illuminations of neglected truth—not new truth, for Christianity holds all truth—are ours now to receive from the new literatures being opened to us. Apart altogether from any literary beauties, any æsthetic contributions they can afford, there is in each of them some ethical and spiritual content for our enrichment.

2. And not only for enrichment, but for defense, is this study necessary. If the Christian world has underestimated the religious value of the non-Christian faiths, there has always been in Christendom a party, consisting partly of hostiles and partly of overtender sentimentalists, who have ascribed undue values to the extent and depths of truth to be found outside the Bible. Before the scriptures of the other faiths were within our reach, they uttered dark parables and freely made imaginary discoveries of profound spiritual truths and perplexing parallels. Now that any man may turn to the English translations, they still avail themselves of the fact that amid the mass

of non-Christian literature are to be found a great many pearls of wisdom and beauty. Nothing is said of the mountains of chaff, and often of filth, in which the treasures are imbedded. But, exhumed and polished, and their contents often put into words which with their writers meant widely other things, we are constantly invited to throw aside the Christian system for some eclectic patchwork in which the teachings of Zoroaster and Buddha and Jesus shall all have place. Recognition is indeed given to Jesus. He is one of the teachers. But by no means is he the only or even the greatest one.

But, besides the covert attack upon Christianity made by the liberalists of Christendom from behind the sacred books of the East, we are on the eve of assault from another direction, and that is from the defenders of the non-Christian faiths themselves. For fifty years and more these faiths have been hotly invested in their own lands. Their leaders long supposed that Christendom was a unit in the assault. They spent their whole strength in devising means to parry the attacks of Christianity and at least to persuade the rank and file of their fellow-religionists that there were grounds for defense. They have been driven to bring forward the purest teachings of their several scriptures, and to apologize and attempt to explain away the grosser and more revolting features of their national religions. But, recently, they have found a considerable public in England and America eager to believe that vast treasures of truth are in the Orient. A few of these leaders have already appeared among us. They have been applauded to the echo by the secular press and by coteries of dilettant religionists and fashionable ladies athirst for new sensations. Their lecture tours have been pecuniarily profitable to an extent almost dazzling to men from the poor East. And, above all, they have returned with all the eclat of having, supposedly, attacked Christianity in her own home. To tens of millions of their fellow-religionists the word has gone out that from henceforth it is not to be a matter of defense against the attacks of Christianity, but that the attempt will be to divert attention from the weakness of the old beleaguered walls by sorties into the enemy's country. That these sorties will result in a return with considerable private pelf—the reward of gratifying American curiosity by flowing oriental robes and an equally flowing

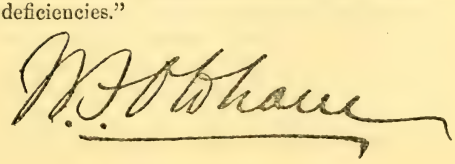
readiness of oriental speech conveyed in faultless English—will not detract from the eagerness of the coming campaigners.

How is all this to be met? That any enduring harm will be done Christianity, or that even any formidable barrier will be opposed to the Christian propaganda by these "delightfully romantic" young orators, is not to be feared; but, for the present, the effect of this double movement upon the Church at large will be to abate missionary enthusiasm, and to that degree cool the ardor for Jesus and the passion for the extension of his kingdom which is the very mainspring of a virile, aggressive Church. The most effective cure will be for the Christian leaders at least to familiarize themselves with the actual teachings of Buddha and the others. When from the lips of these teachers themselves it is learned how immeasurably they fall below Jesus, even in the points where they are at their best, it will be an easy thing, when their words are understood in the sense in which alone they used them, to show the Church at large that there are abysmal differences between the partial truths and vast errors of any non-Christian faith and the gracious words of Him who spake as man never spake. Something of poetry may be lost in the process, and much of glamour will be; but if, on the one hand, many lose the enrichment that comes from the Orient, others who have been misled into believing that the mines of Golconda still produce kohinoors will be awakened from their illusions. It is true we will scarcely feel the strange thrill of delight that many experienced when it was reported that, at the Parliament of Religions, the varied religionists united in saying, "Our Father which art in heaven;" for we will know that the words were without meaning to a Buddhist to whom a father God is unknown; that they were almost ludicrous on the lips of a Hindu; and that even a Mohammedan can with great difficulty conceive of God as anything other than a stern and majestic governor. But, on the other hand, we will not be cheated out of the intense desire that all the children should be weaned from their voluntary orphanhood and be brought into conscious sonship with the great loving father God.

If, then, a study of the non-Christian faiths be thrust upon the Christian leaders of America, what shall be said of the absolute folly of sending out missionaries to the homes of these

faiths in utter ignorance of what they go to supplant? Here at least no words need be multiplied. And yet this is what, in the main, the Church has done. Of the entire missionary force in the foreign fields scarce a third has received any training in the systems they are in daily conflict with. How many years of painful experience they spend before they are able to say, "So fight I, not as one that beateth the air," they will themselves bear witness. Read the complaints of their non-Christian opposers, and amid much which is merely captious will be found an underswell of pathetic complaint that the missionary is not sympathetic because he is unknowing. This is vastly truer of the young missionary than the old. A careful sympathetic study of the religious systems that are made by, and in turn make, the mental and religious soil where the Christian grain is to be sown would greatly help the husbandmen to secure adequate fruitage. Christianity has succeeded, does gloriously succeed; but her native power, the might of her effects in spite of the limitations of her agents, is not to be supposed to be anything like what it would be if to the native power of the truth were added wisdom and skill in those whose hands carry the truth.

Every view of the question forces the conclusion that the missionary outfit should certainly include a knowledge of, at least, the particular religion of the land to which he goes and the trend of mind where such a religion could be produced and continue to exist. On this point let the brilliant Buddhist, Dharmapala, be heard: "I warn you that if you want to establish Christianity in the East it can only be done on the principles of Christ's love and meekness. Let the missionary study all the religions; let them be a type of meekness and lowliness and they will find a welcome in all lands." And, again, listen to the gentle Mozoomdar: "Perhaps one day, after this Parliament has achieved its success, the Western and the Eastern man will combine to support each other's strength and each other's deficiencies."



Art. III.—THE APPRENTICESHIP OF PREACHING.*

I am afraid you will think my address a very dull one, not in the least entertaining; but these moments are precious, and I am anxious to make the best of them. I wish you to remember throughout this address that my aim is intensely practical, and that the views expressed are the results of personal experience. I put before you conclusions reached through much painfulness. You will not be offended if I consider you as apprentices in the divine art and address you as such.

Students in your position are sometimes conscious of a considerable restlessness. They rebel against the close application, the attention to detail, the drill and the drudgery, which characterizes this stage of your life. In college "grinding" is considered pretty nearly your whole business. You are "grinding" classics, philosophy, theology, ecclesiastical history, and not rarely grinding your teeth. You are tempted to resent the long course of monotonous work, and are found much oftener than you ought to be found reading a book that is not a text-book, a book the reading of which will not be followed by an examination. Some students never heartily do their proper work, and they are unfeignedly glad when the servitude is over. Speculation, poetry, fiction, eloquence, general literature, are far more to their taste than the slow and painful acquisition of the first principles of things. In this address I wish to say to you, and to say as emphatically as it is possible for me to speak, that this impatience with elementary work is a great mistake, every bit of it a mistake. I earnestly recommend you to avoid every distracting study, to enter with all your heart into the course of technicalities, and resolutely to apply your mind to the grammar of the various sections of knowledge with which the preacher is concerned. Whatever time and force are taken from "grinding" entails an ultimate loss; nothing in life will pay you better than the drudgery of to-day, if it only be thoroughly carried through.

1. It is only by economizing these student days that you acquire the large foundation knowledge which is essential to

* The substance of this paper was given as an address to theological students, and, contrary to the custom of this *Review*, the direct address form is here retained.—Editor.

the preacher. Preaching is, to a large extent, a matter of knowledge. We often speak of the difficulty of preaching; but a full mind and a full heart make everything easy, preaching included. A local brother in one of our circuits sometimes brought his sermon to a very early and unexpected end by remarking, "Dear brethren, there are many deep, rich, delightful, and sublime things to be said on this text—only they don't occur to me." That brother got to the bottom of the thing as well as to the end of it. The defect of our sermons is that the appropriate thoughts, the affecting sentiments, the realizing illustrations do not occur to us. This is all. If they only would, what sermons we should preach! what different sermons we should preach! The text we select is right enough. We have a sense of its splendid significance, and we are conscious that if some preachers had it they would bring noble thoughts out of it, illustrate it with apposite allusions, and enforce it with convincing arguments; but, unhappily, these thoughts do not occur to us, and so we stand fumbling about vacantly, while the congregation, finding there is nothing for their soul, with a swift instinct of economy take a little repose for their body. Now, you ought to take all possible pains that these appropriate, beautiful, and profound things shall occur to you. In the clearness, variety, and amplitude of your knowledge you will find a treasury upon which you can happily draw, and you will be able to set forth the truths of revelation with unfailing freshness and power. Strive to make that treasury as large as possible, and your ministry cannot lack interest and efficacy. Without this knowledge you will often find yourselves in a sorry plight. A Yorkshireman, preaching on the subject of Nicodemus coming to our Lord by night, and making very little out of his subject, abruptly and pathetically finished with the remark, "Nicodemus, thou camest in the dark, and in the dark thou must go." With an ill-instructed scribe many subjects come and go as Nicodemus did.

Not only does a large knowledge supply material for sermons, but, what is almost equally important, we know better what to leave out. "The artist," says Schiller, "may be known rather by what he omits." "In literature, too," says Pater, "the true artist may be best recognized by his tact of omission." And we are sure that the pulpit artist is skilled in the science

of omission. He who has looked the most widely over the field of knowledge best knows the due proportion of things, and can regulate his teaching accordingly. And what a preacher leaves out is not lost; it gives perfectness and authority to what he advances. Hearers have a mysterious discernment for reserve knowledge and power; they listen so deferentially to what is said because of what is not said. In these college days you ought to acquire a sense of what is best left out of popular teaching, and that gift your hearers are sure to appreciate.

Fullness of knowledge saves a minister from the temptation of resorting to bizarre methods to attract a congregation. No matter how clever a man may be, he cannot long hide from himself or from others the fact of his intellectual superficiality and limitation; and I believe that many a preacher who resorts to eccentric and sensational stratagems does so from the consciousness of the meagerness and frailty of his theological and philosophical resources. No truly great actor becomes a Blondin walking a tight rope to draw a crowd; no really great singer blacks his face and joins the minstrels to secure popularity; no great artist renounces academical law to astonish the world by daubing nightmares. Men of a much inferior order condescend to theatricals; gifted men have no need. And it is the same with respect to the Christian pulpit. Henry Ward Beecher did not resort to flags and dulcimers; Bishop Simpson succeeded without dressing himself in oriental costume; Joseph Parker gets on without a magic lantern; R. W. Dale used no stage property, posture, or passion; and Maclaren discovers no anxiety to straddle the latest sensation. But the preacher who is conscious of deficiency in the deeper qualifications of his vocation seeks to awaken and maintain public interest by eccentricities and extravagancies in the subjects he chooses or in the manner in which he treats them. Our congregations desire above all things clear, deep, scriptural truth, and any ministry of real teaching power is sure of perennial popularity. The interest of the multitude in Christian doctrine is not speculative and arbitrary; it is personal, practical, passionate. The people recognize in our doctrine the things by which they live, and he who can state evangelical truth with lucidity and feeling will find his ministry influential when the mere rhetorician and sensationalist have passed away.

In this college, in these privileged days, your tutors show you over the vast field of theological and related knowledge. You are made acquainted with the contents of the Old and New Testament; you become familiar with that Christian theology which is systematized and reasoned revelation; you trace the development of Christian doctrine; you survey the devious windings of ecclesiastical history; you estimate the merits and sanctions of differing ecclesiastical polities; you master the principles of moral science; you are initiated into the mysteries, the yearnings, the sorrows, the needs, the glories, and the hopes of human nature; you learn something of the relation of evangelical truth to science and philosophy; you discover the attitude that the Church of Christ should maintain to current literature, to social problems, and to the questions of the hour. In one sense the theologian is a specialist; yet his science has manifold and wide relations. Now, it will not always be easy for you to perceive the bearing of some of your studies upon that splendid oratory which you feel to be the need of the age, and which you hope shortly to illustrate. But remember that the men who train you lived before you and see reasons for dry studies which it is impossible for you to see; and be confident that in due season you will find out the utility and preciousness of the things they take so much trouble to teach. The time you spend here is not adequate for full instruction on all the topics attempted in the curriculum; but, after all, the grand thing taught in these colleges is how to pigeonhole universal knowledge, and in days to come, if you do not know exactly the thing wanted, you will know where to go to find it.

2. You can never reach the perfection of your powers as preachers, you can never do your best and most effective work as preachers, except through the drill and drudgery of to-day. To show exactly what I mean by this statement let me give you a quotation from the biography of Doré, the French artist. Doré, as you know, was a splendid genius, draughtsman, sculptor, painter; but the fatal error of his life was that he determined to become an artist without submitting to the ordinary discipline of learning, the result being that, despite a few sensational works, he is accounted by all competent critics a failure. They acknowledge his merit as a draughtsman, but they deny him the character of painter or sculptor. His sym-

poetic biographer says of him on this special matter: "Doré did not believe in the apprenticeship of art; he pooh-poohed the idea of models. And because he did not believe in the apprenticeship of art he failed, despite his extraordinary artistic aptitudes." His biographer then adds these judicious reflections, to which I beg your most earnest attention: "Paris said that Doré showed in those first works the want that no amount of manual practice can give, namely, the lack of technique." This word, which applies itself to all arts, to all professions, I had almost said to all careers, typifies wherein all painters must learn the alphabet of their future greatness. An artist without technique is a house without foundation, a name written in sand. M. Lacroix was not so very old a man when he begged Doré to study from models, in short, to learn his art as others had learned theirs; but, even then, Lacroix fully appreciated that no profession can be a legitimate success which has not been learned through legitimate means. If the contrary is to be the case, farewell forever to apprenticeship of every kind, and to those long, exhausting hours of preparatory toil which harass youth. If all the world may paint without ever having studied painting as an art, then not only were Raphael and Da Vinci fools, but so is everyone else who believes as they did, and puts that belief to such severe and endless tests. It is true that this is an age of progress; but no one has ever known or heard of a human being claiming to be a great artist who has not toiled step by step up every one of those rugged steeps which lead to the final goal of art. No natural talent will carry forward a man of genius by leaps and bounds over the gulf that gapes between the first step of to will to the last of to be able. On looking at Doré's paintings connoisseurs said at once, "He has it all in him, but he lacks school." Now, gentlemen, all this is as true for us preachers as it is for artists. No amount of dexterity will atone for our 'lack of technique;' that is, for our lack of accurate thought and knowledge. As famous artists learned in painfulness "the alphabet of their future greatness," so we, in severe industry, must learn the alphabet of our future efficiency. If our profession "is to be a legitimate success it must be learned through legitimate means." If we are ever to be esteemed as worthy preachers "we must toil step by step up every one of those

rugged steeps which lead to the final goal" of preaching. Not by leaps and bounds shall we attain it. All truly great preachers attained knowledge and expression through infinite drudgery, as Raphael and Da Vinci did, and if we are to prove masters in our vocation we must submit to the tediousness of apprenticeship as did the mighty before us. You, as theological students, must make the best of the dry grammatical teaching of to-day, of these "long, exhausting hours of preparatory toil which harass youth," or some day discerning listeners, marking your hesitating logic, your inexact knowledge, your defective expression, your crude eloquence, will say of you what the connoisseurs said of Doré, "It is all in him, but he lacks school." Before men can use color to advantage they must learn to draw carefully; and if you are to become effective expositors and reasoners you must have the necessary humility and patience to master the alphabet of your calling in these college years.

Much nonsense is talked about "self-made men." A self-made man may in many respects be an admirable man, but everybody knows that he is a badly made man. It is, and must be, of incalculable value to be trained by those who know. William Hunt, in his *Talks about Art*, says truly: "Getting along without instruction! Nobody ever did well without learning from those who had had opportunity to know what was good and great. Michael Angelo, Titian, Raphael, were they self-taught?" The student who elects to direct his own studies, generally reminds one of the enthusiastic party who "rose every morning at four o'clock to misinform himself." The energy, the aspiration, the sacrifices of the self-taught are often painfully misdirected and abortive.

Gentlemen, some of you to-day look with envy and desire upon the popular preacher, and you are right in so doing. The preacher whose popularity is legitimate is a power for good; but more and more must men study deeply, widely, patiently, if they are to become in any worthy sense distinguished preachers. Angelo studied anatomy long and minutely before he felt himself equal to great cartoons; it is easy to see that John Ruskin mastered most carefully the elements and technicalities of architecture and painting before he wrote his masterpieces; and Victor Hugo took infinite pains

to understand localities, dialects, details, before he proceeded to the composition of his gorgeous romances. Great masters invariably acquaint themselves with the facts and laws, the truths and principles, which underlie their vocation, before they shine in color, or charm in music, or persuade in eloquence. The Hon. John Collier, recently lecturing at the Royal Institution, said, touching art, that it might be laid down as a general rule in painting, and one which he could recommend to impressionists, that the only way to arrive at excellence in painting was to do a great deal of preliminary work in a very precise and careful style. That is an advice I may commend to you as preachers. The only way to arrive at excellence in preaching is to do a great deal of preliminary work in a very precise and careful style. It is wonderful to listen to a superb oration, like one by Wendell Phillips, dashed off at an hour's notice; wonderful to read of Turner simply mixing his colors in broken teacups, and then painting his marvelous pictures, while other exhibitors in the Academy were varnishing theirs; wonderful to listen to a great preacher like Spurgeon holding an audience of five thousand people spellbound, for an hour, by a discourse that had been entirely prepared on the same afternoon. But these extraordinary men would be the first to acknowledge that a world of patient toil preceded these oratorical and artistic triumphs. The magnificent speech, poem, or picture was the sum total of endless readings, experiments, musings, failures, and fatigues. In one of our circuits a wealthy but uneducated gentleman was prevailed upon to take the chair at a missionary meeting. He began his speech, but it soon became sadly confused, and the speaker abruptly resumed his seat. At the conclusion of the meeting, however, the baffled orator remarked, "Dear friends, you would observe that my opening speech was not as full and clear as was desirable; but during the course of the meeting I have written down my speech, and I will now read it to you impromptu." Gentlemen, most grand impromptu work is first written down; only you must write it down before the meeting. Prepare now for your discourses; write them down in patient study, and when, in future years, you face exacting congregations you can triumphantly read those discourses impromptu. The twentieth century preacher will

require something more than fluency and smartness; he will need every possible resource of knowledge and culture.

In urging upon you patient and exact work during these student days let me remind you of two things:

1. The age in which we live calls with increasing emphasis for trained power in its teachers. And in affirming this we do not forget the real and immense value of untrained workers in the cause of humanity and civilization. Ruskin says:

"It is impossible to calculate the enormous loss of power in modern days, owing to the imperative requirement that art shall be methodical and learned; for, as long as the constitution of this world remains unaltered, there will be more intellect in it than there can be education; there will be many men capable of just sensation and vivid invention who never will have time to cultivate or polish their natural powers. And all unpolished power is, in the present state of society, lost.

Ruskin is no doubt right in contending that we lose much because we refuse to look at anything that is not expressed in a legal and scientific way; we should certainly be all the richer, artistically, if we granted the village mason and the peasant a larger liberty to express the rough power that is in them. We need also in a special sense to give due space and encouragement to the rough workers in the Church. Men with little culture are capable of great things for God and the race, and the Church must be prepared to give such workers the largest opportunity and sympathy. Methodism is peculiarly bound to remember this. History shows our immense debt to rough power, and we would commit a fatal mistake to-day if, in any spirit of pedantry or fastidiousness, we were to eliminate from our ministry all undisciplined native power.

Still, I am sure of this, that the Church will increasingly be compelled to insist upon a disciplined minister. We have everything to gain by realizing to the utmost the intellectual force that is in us. This is true in England, and it is true in America. In an article written by an American, in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1894, entitled "Intellectual Progress in the United States," this paragraph occurs:

In theology, the absence of an established Church, the resulting freedom, and the rivalry between all sects have made it necessary to give special attention to the training of the clergy. Larger average demands are no doubt made in the matter of preaching than in any existing society. The traditions of the earlier Puritan divines, when the minister

as the practical dictator of the community, and the absence of liturgy and form in the service, have given even an unnatural prominence to the sermon. In spite of the complaint heard continually, with us as everywhere else, of indifference to religious teaching, I do not believe that there has ever been a time when a more universal or intelligent interest was manifested in the deepest questions relating to man's destiny.

Some specialists predict that, owing to the operation of various causes, precious stones are destined to suffer great depreciation, but I feel sure that one famous gem will suffer immense depreciation—the diamond in the rough. The spread of education in all directions renders this inevitable. There was always something unsatisfactory about the diamond in the rough, the roughness being positive enough while the size and water of the gem were generally left largely to the public imagination. This type of teacher is destined to a narrower, ever-narrower, popularity. Not that real power will be less appreciated. No; polish may sometimes be mistaken for power, pedantry for learning, yet the world has an instinct for genuine power, and the man of deep nature, of insight, of reasoning faculty, of imagination, of spiritual sensibility, of large utterance, will be recognized in the future more swiftly than he has been in the past, although he may emerge in obscurest circumstances. But the world will insist that the diamond shall be cut and polished, so that it may sparkle for all that it is worth. I say to my young brother, do not rest on the fact, although I am assured it is a fact, that you are a genius. Genius must know the friction of the wheel, if in this generation it is to fetch its full value. You are here grinding, drearily grinding, and you are tempted to shirk the process. But what are you grinding? Theology, philosophy, languages? You, yourselves, are being ground. You are losing the incrustations of ignorance, vanity, prejudice, and uncouthness which neutralize your intrinsic power and efficacy; and so you are being qualified for the highest, fullest service to which you are constitutionally equal. No grinding will convert a pebble into a jewel; but every turn of the wheel delivers from some grievous limitation of indiscipline, and enables you more fully to exert and enjoy your essential strength. A spurious, manufactured diamond crumbles on the wheel; it looks plausible enough, but it cannot bear grinding; and there is something seriously amiss with the genius that will not endure discipline.

2. The last thing I have to say is this: If you do not now acquire this elementary knowledge and discipline it will be very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to attain later. The life of a Methodist preacher is a busy one, and it is not likely you will find opportunity in the future to do anything that you now leave undone. Lacordaire, the famous preacher of Notre Dame, in his letters to young students, is never weary of enlarging upon the value of sustained theological study in the earlier years of life. Writing to one of these, he says:

> Do all you can to lay in a store for the rest of your life. I have always, in my own case, regretted that I had not had at least ten years of strong theological reading before my entrance into the active world. The overwhelming life we now lead gives us no time to repair any original weakness in the foundation of our mental building, it so enchains us by its pressing daily exigencies and claims that it is much if we can find time to keep up with the newspaper or to read some more than usually interesting book. Take advantage, then, of the happy interval which is just at this time placed between you and the world of active life. Drink, drink deeply at the well of spiritual science. Its waters may now seem cold and bitter to you, but a day will come when you will find in them all that is sweetest and most salutary.

This, gentlemen, was the advice of an old orator; and you may be sure that if, in the comparatively leisure days in which he lived, the value of early studies was so keenly felt, this value has been immensely enhanced by the crowded life of public men in the ending of the nineteenth century.

In conclusion, let me say: Do not be fretful about any of the subjects enjoined you; do not fritter away your time in making sermons. The one grand thing you learn here is, how to learn. The virtue of your training is qualitative, not quantitative. Preaching is a matter of knowledge, large knowledge, exact knowledge, and here you learn what knowledge is necessary to the preacher, where to acquire it, how to acquire it. Sermons are made fast enough when you want them, and they will be all the better for every bit of honest work put into these college days.

W. L. Watkinson

Art. IV.—JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN: POET AND REFORMER.

The career of John Henry Newman contained in an unusual degree the unexpected and surprising. The political and theological notions of his early life were a source of pain, keen and unanticipated by his mother. His collegiate course was one the authorities of the university never expected. His leadership of the Tractarian movement surprised his contemporaries. To those who knew him intimately he was repeatedly appearing in new and unexpected positions. An explanation of these unexpected developments lies in the fact that nature placed alongside of many of his characteristics a companion which was an inveterate enemy; so that, if Mr. Newman possessed a masterful will, he was also accompanied by a hesitating distrust of his own willfulness; if in his introspective moments—and he had many such—he could regard himself with an awe approaching terror, he was none the less possessed of a strong egotism; if he was attracted and won by beauty in any of its myriad manifestations, there was a consciousness that it was only a snare and a delusion; if he was led, as he frequently was, to ignore the force and value of fact and reason, he was accompanied by a sense of their great usefulness in determining vital questions and the absolute necessity of being controlled by them; if he worked only at the highest and worthiest tasks, it was with a feeling deep and profound that nothing human can be anything but low and vile. Given then such a man, with the task of leading a great religious movement resting upon him, and is it so surprising that his life should be a source of wonderment and that many of his positions appear enigmatical?

Perhaps, of all the phases of his multiform career less is known of his poetry than of the others. We think of Newman the preacher, standing in St. Mary's, uttering sentences not alone beautiful for their pure polished form and faultless grace, but heavy with thought; we knew him as a reformer, groping his way at first, balancing and weighing alternatives, circling round like a carrier bird until sure of his direction and then going undeviatingly toward what for him was home and peace; but of Newman the poet little is known.

The muses, however, were not sleeping when he was born, and at an early age he took up the lyre they left and struck some chords worthy of a poet's name. Naturally of a pensive disposition, he lived in early youth in London in a world of his own, and this was a "world of shadows." "I thought," he says, "life might be a dream or I an angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels, by a playful device, concealing themselves from me and deceiving me with a semblance of a material world." The lakes of Westmoreland, with their mountains and forests, educated a child of similar tendencies and gave the world a Wordsworth; but in palace, park, or pavement of the metropolis there was nothing which could do the work of the "lake region." So while the introspective poetry of Wordsworth lives in the beautiful foliage of nature, our poet, equally introspective and a lover of nature, is forced to seek his figures in the objects of the town and say:

> I cannot walk the city's crowded streets,
> But the wide porch invites to still retreats,
> Where passion's thirst is calmed and care's unthankful gloom.

Professor Shairp says that Cardinal Newman was a prose poet, and compares him with Carlyle. It is a comparison of dissimilars, for two men could scarcely be more unlike. In the one the diamonds are all uncut, while the other presents no face to the world which does not reflect the refinement and polish of mental and social culture. One is a wild ancestral Teuton, the other the product of a world culture. Carlyle's style is a mountain torrent rushing with impetuous strength and loaded with débris, Newman's a limpid spring of pure language. Of his prose poetry his *Parochial Sermons* contain the best examples, filled as they are with "all the fervor of a prophet and the severe beauty of a poet." The statement, so often made, that there is a grace and a power in the forming of sentences which the ancients possessed and which we have not, to be refuted needs only to be measured by many sentences from these sermons; for while Newman's armory was not forged in the same fire as that of the "invincible knights of old," the deepest impulses of his heart were poured forth in language that for "mellow cadence and perfect rhythm" is not surpassed in the compass of English literature.

With scarcely an exception Mr. Newman's biographers have made but little use of his poetry in tracing the progress of his thought from Protestantism to Romanism, but it is there as clearly as in his other writings. It is as an illustration of this, as well as for its own saddened beauty, that a peculiar interest attaches to the poem best known by its opening lines, "Lead, kindly light," but which appeared under the title, "The Pillar of the Cloud." One must not forget that the author while writing this poem must have been painfully reminded of the earlier lights—his own evangelical feelings, the teachings of Whately, and the influence of the Oriel school—which had led him on only, as he thought, to delude him. All of them were the deceivers which private judgment had raised along his way to trouble him. But, from henceforth, wheresoever the Lord might lead him he would follow. It might be "o'er moor and fen," but nothing should obstruct his progress. Although the idyllic peace of childhood had departed from him, and the "angel faces" that had once been an inspiration had forsaken him, still, if led, he would follow.

Mr. Newman remained throughout life essentially the same deep yet delicate interpreter of the passion that burned in his breast. The old religious fires might be quenched and new ones ignited, lifelong friends might become estranged from him and a new environment bring new friends; but, through the fiercest of mental and spiritual conflicts the arrows never touched his bird of song, and Newman the cardinal was as much a poet as Newman the fellow of Oriel.

To understand Newman as a reformer, we must see a man who possessed a chaste and cultured taste imbedded in a nature essentially celibate; a poetic temper covering a wonderfully strong imagination, which frequently does duty for reason; a mind that is often satisfied with a self-created unity; a ready facility in bestowing upon any who oppose him his hatred; an instinctive desire to do right and a consequent abhorrence of sin, with a querulousness as to what really is sin. And now we must see such a man placed in a State Church and ministering to a people who are not congenial to him. As he feels his parishioners drifting away from him and his personal power diminishing, for support he throws himself back on the system behind him and in accordance with which he works.

Thus led he turns to the records of the early Church, to find, if possible, the ground of the system. Enraptured by the picture which he sees of the early faith, he lives almost constantly in that holy atmosphere and becomes estranged from present conditions until, having evolved as his *dictum* that "faith and reason are incompatible in matters of religion," he finds refuge in records and authorities. Reading clearly in his own heart the uprightness of his own endeavor, most naturally he blames the system in which he has worked and attempts to better it, until at last, stung by the failure of his plan of reform, he throws aside private judgment with a feeling that it must, like a serpent, be shunned, and moves steadily and unwaveringly onward to the ultimate struggle which will procure him peace by the enslavement of reason.

While as a poet he is quiet, reserved, contemplative, as a reformer he is active, quick to grasp the most efficient weapon to use in carrying on his reform, and persistent in following up his own chosen mode of attack. A man who inspired men to follow him, his great fault—and it is a fatal one—was that he marched too far in advance of his forces—so far in advance that retreat to them became impossible to him, and he was forced to bury himself among those he had long regarded as his bitterest foes. Unto such a man we may most gladly give reverence and respect for his struggles and sacrifices, but we can never accord to him the position of guide for ourselves toward the highest truth.

H. B. Munson

Art. V.—SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND.

Every genuine Christian recognizes the fact that the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is the complement and interpreter of the other law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart." Notwithstanding this, so many professed Christians are striving to observe the second law, while ignoring the first, that the newer efforts to give recognition to the human side of this dual law are characterized as social Christianity.* These laws are eternal, but the methods of carrying them out must change as social conditions change.

The greatest industrial change in the Christian era has taken place almost in our own time. The discovery of America, the colonization of the world, the creation of a world market led to the industrial revolution, the substitution of steam and machinery for the old hand labor, the concentration of wealth into great productive establishments and of men, women, and children into gigantic cities. The development of this century, since that great revolution, is so well known that many of its consequences are as yet hardly realized. We are so blinded by our material progress that we fail to see our newer social, ethical, and religious problems.

The first accompaniment of these industrial changes was the desire for commercial and political liberty. Industrially this desire was embodied in the *laissez faire* policy. Economic laws were to be allowed to take their course. The inevitable results must be the greatest benefits to society and the greatest development of individuality. This philosophy was partly a product of the freer commercial relations in the world market and partly a reaction from the antiquated and inoperative mediæval restrictions which existed in the English statutes down to this century. It was the expression of a great truth, but it was grossly exaggerated. Commercial liberty was gained by a few, but the many lost both economic and social independence. The early abuses of the English factory system are coming to be

* Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D., is reported to have said recently in criticising London labor demonstrations, "When man loved God he would soon learn to love his brethren," a doctrine which perhaps everyone has heard preached at one time or another. It is one of those pious expressions which are used to conceal one's own ignorance or negligence of social duties. There is no uncertainty about its direct contradiction of the biblical teaching, "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

quite well known in our own country, partly by the abundance of the literature on the subject,* and partly by the similarity of our contemporary industrial development.

In the face of these industrial abuses the clergy remained placidly indifferent. The natural and partially justifiable conservatism of the Church had to be shaken, as in the case of slavery and other abuses, by the utterances of lay prophets. The methods of the Churches in all times have been modified by economic and social changes. In England the movements of social Christianity have been in direct response to the external economic and social development. The origin and progress of these movements can best be understood by contrasting the methods of the Churches before and after the great attack on individualism, which led to most of the humanitarian movements of the last half century. This attack on individualism in turn can be best appreciated in the personality of its chief representative, Thomas Carlyle.†

The industrial and social forces toward the middle of this century, in England, were unquestionably converging toward a reaction against the philosophy and practice of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. Carlyle was only one mouthpiece of an inevitable popular agitation, but he was the chief, the most unique, and the most influential. John Stuart Mill said, "In Carlyle was found the strife between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." He sympathized with the individualism which produced powerful leaders. He revolted against, and attacked, the system which gave to these leaders unlimited power over their fellows. He attacked *laissez faire;* he defended the organization of labor in the broadest sense. He pleaded for the restriction of the liberty of the few to become rich; he demanded for the many liberty to live and love. From his study of German philosophy he learned something of the laws of development. He had at least a rudimentary conception of the growth of society and of its interdependent units, the individual and the family. Crudely conceiving that society is an organism, he proclaimed the

* See Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution;* Adams, *An Interpretation of the Social Movements of our Time;* and especially for the entire subject, Schulze-Gaevernitz, *Zum socialem Frieden*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1890.

† Schulze-Gaevernitz, *Zum socialem Frieden*, vol. 1; Clarke, "Carlyle and Ruskin, and their Influence on English Thought," *New England Magazine*, December, 1893.

necessity of living for it rather than for privileged individuals. He foresaw the disintegrating influence of unemployment, and pleaded for the consideration of the laborer and the dignity of labor. This is one of his characterizations of *laissez faire:*

The master of horses, when the summer labor is done, has to feed his horses through the winter. If he said to his horses: "Quadrupeds, I have no longer work for you, but work exists abundantly over the world. Are you ignorant, or must I read you political economy lectures, that the steam engine always in the long run creates additional work? Railways are forming in one quarter of this earth, canals in another. Much cartage is wanted; somewhere in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, doubt it not, ye will find cartage; go and seek cartage, and good go with you." They, with protrusive upper lip, snort dubious, signifying that Europe, Asia, Africa, and America lie somewhat out of their beat; that what cartage may be wanted there is not too well known to them. They can find no cartage. They gallop distractedly along the highways, all fenced in to the right and to the left; finally, under pains of hunger, they take to leaping fences, eating foreign property, and—we know the rest. Ah! it is not a joyful mirth, it is sadder than tears, the laugh humanity is forced to at *laissez faire* applied to poor peasants in a world like our Europe of the year 1839.

One more quotation from Carlyle will suffice to illustrate his vigorous teachings and suggest what must have been their influence on the slowly awakening British conscience:

I admire a nation which fancies it will die if we do not undersell all other nations to the end of the world. Brothers, we will cease to undersell them; we will be content to equal-sell them; to be happy selling equally with them. I do not see the use of underselling them. Cotton cloth is already twopence a yard or lower, and yet bared backs were never more numerous among us. Let inventive men cease to spend their existence incessantly contriving how cotton can be made cheaper, and try to invent a little how cotton at its present cheapness could be somewhat justlier divided among us. Let inventive men consider whether the secret of this universe, and of man's life here, does, after all, as we rashly fancy it, consist in making money. There is one God, just, supreme, almighty; but is Mammon the name of him? With a hell which means "failing to make money" I do not think there is any heaven possible that would suit one well; nor so much as an earth that can be habitable long. In brief, all this Mammon gospel of supply and demand, competition, *laissez faire*, and devil take the hindmost, begins to be one of the shabbiest gospels ever preached, or altogether the shabbiest. But it is my very firm conviction that the hell of England will cease to be that of "not making money;" that we shall get a nobler hell and a nobler heaven. I anticipate light in the human chaos. Our deity no longer being Mammon, each man will then say to himself, "Why such

deadly haste to make money? I shall not go to hell even if I do not make money. There is another hell, I am told!" Competition at railway speed, in all branches of commerce and work, will then abate. Bubble periods, with their panics and commercial crises, will again become infrequent. Steady, modest industry will take the place of gambling speculation. By degrees we shall have a society with something of heroism in it, something of Heaven's blessing on it. We shall again have, instead of Mammon, feudalism with unsold cotton shirts, noble, just industrialism, and government by the wisest.

Remembering that Carlyle personifies the social consciousness of the British nation revolting against an exaggerated individualism, let us contrast the religious movements which preceded and followed this transition. The two chief latter-day religious forces using the old methods were the Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth century and the Oxford movement of this century. The Methodist movement, like its successor at Oxford, was a purely religious one. The little society of students, organized at the university, met together every week for spiritual communion, to read and discuss the Bible. They fasted regularly on Wednesdays and Fridays, abstained from most amusements and luxuries, visited the sick and prisoners. As in the Oxford movement, the leaders were men of religious natures who added to a natural fervency by the later and more critical experiences of their lives. It is quite superfluous here to describe in detail the birth of Methodism. It will be remembered that the desire for a freer and deeper religious life, especially to emphasize the importance of justification by faith, led Wesley to such heterodoxies as the organization of a body of lay preachers and finally to field preaching. Although Wesley remained a Churchman and theologically was largely in harmony with the Established Church, he was ecclesiastically a very poor Churchman. In his methods he was as radical for his day as the Salvation Army is for ours. But the work of the Wesleys and their associates and followers is by no means confined to the establishment of Methodism. They rejuvenated the English Church, they revived the other denominations. So conservative a scholar as Professor Lecky has said they saved England from a French Revolution.* It is hard to overestimate the spiritual consequences of this movement, yet, in

* An impartial account of the Wesleyan revival is to be found in Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii, small edition.

contrast with the late religious developments, it must be characterized as individualistic. They were concerned only with the salvation of individual souls. They gave no thought to the problem of changing the institutions and forces which were daily damning souls. They preached "brotherly love" with all sincerity, but without attempting to discover what that meant when applied to the factory system, to the philosophy of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, to the unconscious destruction of family life by the employment of women and children, which was taking place under the shadows of their chapels. They would probably have agreed with Kaiser Wilhelm, that "social" Christianity was nonsense, that a pastor should not meddle in social politics. They were zealous, faithful pioneers in a great revival of religious earnestness, but they left for the succeeding generations problems which neither zeal nor love could solve, for which consecrated thought and investigation are necessary.

The Oxford movement was primarily a revolt against English "Protestantism," secondarily a revolt against German "rationalism." It can only be understood in the light of three movements of thought which were making themselves felt in the English religious world in the third and fourth decades of this century—the utilitarian and democratic movement of Bentham and the two Mills; the Broad Church movement of Arnold and Whately; the High Church movement of Newman and Pusey. One of the historians of the Oxford movement, Ward, has happily characterized these three schools of thought:

> The indignant revolt of the French Revolution against the claims of custom was developed by the utilitarians into a political and philosophical system. By reaction against the tyranny of injustice which the old order had sanctioned, they endeavored to sweep away bodily the inherent sacredness of constituted authority. In politics they advocated the most entirely representative government, with the ultimate goal of manhood suffrage and absolute liberty of discussion. In philosophy the principle of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" was their watchword, while they waged unrelenting warfare against the authority of instinct, sentiment, and intuition.
>
> Arnold proposed the sinking of dogmatic differences and the inclusion of the Dissenters within the pale of the Church. In short, he looked to a closer and more acknowledged union between religion and the State as a remedy for existing evils. The ideal aim was absolute identity between Church and State. To approach nearer to this ideal he proposed extend-

ing State control to all the most earnest Christianity in the land, which would in return react upon and purify the State. Arnold's influence in breathing life into the decaying establishment was undoubtedly considerable. The party of the Oxford movement, on the other hand, from the first declared war against this State idea. To them the essence of the English Church was that side of her, not which was dependent on, but which was independent of, State control. That acts of Parliament should suppress or establish bishopries, or that parliamentary committees should reform the Prayer Book, was an intolerable invasion of her rights. In short, while Arnold viewed the Church as essentially a Protestant establishment, the Oxford movement viewed her as essentially still a part of the Church catholic; and complete dependence on the State, which was to the one party her ideal perfection, was, in the eyes of the other, as abolishing the inherent sacredness and authority of apostolic institutions, her absolute destruction.

As for the Tractarian movement, it was not wholly theological. The ethical tendency was shown in increased care for the gospels. The evangelicals, it was thought, had dwelt on the saving work of Christ to the neglect of his inspiring personality and life. A second ethical manifestation of significance was the self-discipline and self-sacrifice taught and practiced by the leaders. Those who with Newman left the Church of England for the Roman Catholic Church gave up their livings and old associations for conscience' sake. Those who remained behind were taunted with insincerity. Both sections of the movement testified to their earnestness by their sacrifice. So much devotion could not be without beneficial result on the Church, and to-day the followers of Newman and Pusey are a splendid power in their respective Churches. They still have a memory of the religious inspiration of the Tractarians, but their methods have changed. They have ceased to be individualists.

Social Christianity is a product of the opposition to individualism. The chief religious activities, since the advent of these socializing doctrines in England, have been in strong contrast with those which preceded them. This is seen first in the fact that the existing movements have been modified. The original spirit of Wesleyanism is to-day embodied in the "forward movement" of Hugh Price Hughes and the social work of the Salvation Army. It is, or ought to be, safe to suppose that these need not be described for Methodist readers. It may perhaps be said that the work of General Booth is connected with the name Wesleyan because of his early religious connec-

tion, the pioneer character of the work of the Salvation Army, and the similarity in spirit and freedom of method. The Salvation Army stands to-day where the Wesleyans did a century or more ago, and is doing the work which the latter would be doing had they been true to their traditions. The advance in method beyond the work of the Wesleys lies in the well-known "social scheme" of General Booth. The city colony has already been a social as well as religious haven for thousands of souls. The farm colony has been commended by those who were at first its severest critics, and Mr. Stead, who was only one among many to see its great social value, has claimed that it is so successful as to warrant the State adopting that method for the entire multitude of the unemployed. The significance of such social activities when successfully carried on by comparatively uneducated people, even taking into consideration the immense aid furnished by their religious devotion, cannot be overlooked by sincere sociological students. One is compelled to minimize the errors and failures of the Salvation Army, in the face of some of their magnificent accomplishments and the unquestionably moderate, valuable, and almost indefinitely applicable ideal furnished by General Booth in his *In Darkest England.* Writes the founder of the Salvation Army:

> What is the standard toward which we may venture to aim with some prospect of realization in our time? It is a very humble one, but if realized it would solve the worst problems of modern society. It is the standard of the London cab horse. When, in the streets of London, a cab horse, weary or careless or stupid, trips and falls and lies stretched out in the midst of the traffic, there is no question of debating how he came to stumble before we try to get him on his legs again. The cab horse is a very real illustration of poor broken-down humanity. He usually falls down because of overwork or underfeeding. If you put him on his feet again without altering his conditions it would only be to give him another dose of agony; but, first of all, you will have to pick him up again. It may have been through overwork or underfeeding, or it may have been all his own fault, that he has broken his knees or smashed the shafts; but that does not matter; if not for his own sake, then merely in order to prevent an obstruction of the traffic, all attention is concentrated upon the question of how we are to get him on his legs again. The load is taken off, the harness is unbuckled, or, if need be, cut, and everything is done to help him up. Then he is put in the shafts again and once more restored to his regular round of work. That is the first point. The second is that every cab horse in London has three things—a shelter for the night, food for its stomach, and work allotted to it by which it can earn its corn. These

are the two points of the cab horse's charter. When he is down he is helped up, and while he lives he has food, shelter, and work. That, although a humble standard, is at present absolutely unattainable by millions—literally by millions—of our fellow-men and women in this country. Can the cab horse charter be gained for human beings? I answer, yes. The cab horse standard can be gained on the cab horse terms.

The High Church party and the Roman Catholics have also, in turn, been socialized. The latter assumed a new rôle in the attitude of Cardinal Manning toward labor. From the standpoint of spirituality Cardinal Manning might have suffered in comparison with Cardinal Newman, but Cardinal Manning was not content with resting in eternal truths. He endeavored to apply them to the needs of our complex social life. There was the spirit, not only of the law, but of the prophets and the Gospel, in the Roman Catholic ecclesiastic who could arbitrate the dockers' strike of 1889, who could so win the hearts of workingmen that in the Labor Day demonstration of 1890 a banner bearing his picture could be found beside those of Marx and other materialistic leaders. Among the many utterances and writings of Cardinal Manning the following words will serve to illustrate his attitude toward social problems :

> We have been afflicted by an exaggeration of individualism, and the next century will show that human society is greater and nobler than that which is merely individual. This doctrine, which has its foundation in the laws of nature and of Christianity, is accused of socialism by the frivolous and impetuous as well as by the capitalists and the rich. But the future will call forth into the light of reason the social state of the world of labor. We shall then see on what laws the Christian society of humanity rests.

Stress has been laid upon the work of Cardinal Manning because he was the most prominent successor to the leaders of the Oxford movement; but the High Church party in the Church of England has been on the whole much more active than the Roman Catholics in social endeavor. From the days of Pusey to the present the social effort and influence of the High Churchmen have constantly grown. They are to-day not only the most active ecclesiastics in social work, but a group of young High Churchmen form the left wing of Christian socialism, and some of the most prominent Church of England clergy—among whom may be mentioned the Bishop of Durham, Canon Gore, and Canon Scott-Holland—lead a moderate

High Church socialistic movement. As an instance of practical social work may be mentioned the organization of the Church Army, to accomplish for the Church what the Salvation Army is doing for unattached Christianity. From the days of Wesley, when field preaching was a heresy, to the day of the Church Army is a great and instructive advance. To-day the social activities of the successors of the Oxford movement are as numerous as their methods are radical, when viewed in the light of individualistic Christianity.

In contrast with these older religious organizations, which were socialized by the anti-individualistic philosophy, we find the newer religious movements adopting from their inception social methods. Historically, as well as in importance, the first of these was the Christian socialism of Maurice and Kingsley. Theologically, this movement is related to that of Arnold and Whately; but it is of so much greater relative importance, when compared with the other parties of the English Church, and its energizing force was so unique that it is more exact to conceive it as originating with Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley. These were two of the most sympathetic, devout, and inconsistent men of the century. Some of their sayings, as well as most of their doings, are worth heralding throughout Christendom. Their socialism was without doubt very unscientific, and would be sneered at to-day alike by orthodox economist and socialist, but it was an expression of the heart quite as valuable as any utterances of Ricardo or Marx. Maurice says in a letter to Kingsley:

> Competition is put forth as the law of the universe. That is a lie! The time is come for us to declare that it is a lie by word and deed. I see no way but associating for work instead of for strikes. I do not say or think we feel that the relation of employer and employed is not a true relation. I do not determine that wages may not be a righteous mode of expressing that relation. But at present it is clear that this relation is destroyed, that the payment of wages is nothing but a deception. We may restore the whole state of things; we may bring in a new one. God will decide that. His voice has gone forth clearly bidding us to come forward to fight against the present state of things.

Kingsley says, in *Cheap Clothes and Nasty:*

> Sweet Competition! heavenly maid! Nowadays hymned alike by penny-a-liners and philosophers as the ground of all society, the only real preserver of the earth! Why not of heaven, too? Perhaps there is com-

petition among the angels, and Gabriel and Raphael have won their rank by doing the maximum of worship on the minimum of grace! We shall know some day. In the meanwhile, "These are thy works, thou parent of all good!" Man eating man, eaten by man in every variety of degree and method! Why does not some enthusiastic political economist write an epic on "The Consecration of Cannibalism?"

Those who understood these men had no occasion to be frightened by such utterances. They were merely calling men to repentance. The paternalism which marked their philosophy is as apparent as the radicalism. Maurice says to a friend:

I have often explained to you that monarchy with me is the starting point, and that I look upon socialism as historically developed out of it, not absorbing it into itself. A king given and an aristocracy given, I can see my way clearly to call upon them to do the work which God has laid upon them; to repent of their sins; to labor that the whole manhood of the country may have a voice, that every member of Christ's body may be indeed a free man.

Kingsley, writing to Mr. Hughes, says: "A true democracy, such as you and I should wish to see, is impossible without a Church and a queen, and, as I believe, without a gentry."

Their positive efforts were seen in the aids given to association. When the Christian socialists took hold of the cooperative movement it was entirely antichristian. Inspired by aristocratic but noble and Christian ideas, they tried to help the workingmen, and in their effort brought down opprobrium and misunderstanding on their heads. The relation of these men to the cause of the People's Charter is fairly well known, or may be read in *Alton Locke* and Kingsley's letters, indispensable handbooks to every student of social Christianity. The unsuccessful agitation of the Chartists, the great needs of the people, which their campaign of a decade had brought to light, won the sympathy and hearty cooperation of the men who thereby were led to call themselves Christian socialists. It was not then necessary, as it is to-day, to distinguish between Christian socialism and social Christianity. As can be seen from the quotations of Maurice and Kingsley, their socialism was a passionate but vague humanitarianism.

Their movement has to-day two distinct and active successors which admirably illustrate the difference between these two terms. On the one hand, all the Christian socialists to-day in England have their historical connection with these early leaders,

although the contemporary Christian socialists accept the full program of collectivism, of which Maurice and Kingsley had not even heard. They demand the nationalization of the land and the collective ownership and control of capital. On the other hand, the social Christian aspect of the movement is typified by such a parish as that of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, presided over by Canon Barnett, who is at the same time warden of Toynbee Hall. Canon Barnett's social philosophy is tersely expressed in his own words, "Vain will be the higher education, music, art, or even the Gospel, unless they come clothed in the life of brother men." The work of such a church as St. Jude's has been admirably described in the book of Canon and Mrs. Barnett, *Practicable Socialism*. It is, however, not invidious to say that the work of Barnett as a Broad Churchman is overshadowed by his importance as the founder of university settlements.

In the absence of a better term we may call the next phase of social Christianity the Social Settlement Movement. This new force had its inspiration mainly in the teaching and lives of three men, John Ruskin,* Thomas Hill Green, and Arnold Toynbee. Carlyle has been called the Isaiah of the nineteenth century. It would have been more appropriate to call Carlyle the Jeremiah, and Ruskin the Isaiah, of the nineteenth century. Their mission seems to have been chiefly to awaken sluggish minds to divine truth. Hear Ruskin's testimony to Carlyle:

> Read your Carlyle with all your heart, and with the best brain you can give, and you will learn from him, first, the eternity of good law and the need of obedience to it; then, concerning your own immediate business, you will learn further this, that the beginning of all good law and nearly the end of it is in these two ordinances, that every man shall do good work for his bread; then, secondly, that every man shall have good bread for his work.

Ruskin finds, as Carlyle did, the bane of the laborer's life in the cash relation between employer and employee. He says:

> It is verily this degradation of the operative into a machine which, more than any other evil of the times, is leading the mass of the nations everywhere into vain, incoherent, destructive struggling for a freedom of which they cannot explain the nature, even to themselves. It is not that men are ill-fed, but that they have no pleasure in the work by which they make their bread, and therefore look to wealth as the only means of pleas-

* Clarke, "Carlyle and Ruskin, and their Influence on English Thought," *New England Magazine*, December, 1893; Collingwood, *Life of Ruskin*, vol. II; Ruskin, *Unto This Last*; *The Crown of Wild Olive*; *Munera Pulveris*.

ure. It is not that men are pained by the scorn of the upper classes, but they cannot endure their own; for they feel that the kind of labor to which they are condemned is verily a degrading one, and makes them less than men. Never had the upper classes so much sympathy for the lower, or charity for them, as they have at this day; yet never were they so hated by them. To feel their souls withering within them, unthanked; to find their whole being sunk into an unrecognized abyss; to be counted off into a heap of mechanism, numbered with its wheels and weighed with its hammer strokes—this Nature bade not, this God blesses not, this humanity for no long time is able to endure.

Ruskin's chief social teaching is that political economy is wrong in laying the greatest stress on the production and distribution of goods. The greatest problem of political economy is the consumption of goods. The greatest question for a people is not how much labor can be employed, but how much life is made possible. It is uneconomic to produce anything which does not lead to life. As he says:

> There is no wealth but life—life, including all its powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; and that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personally and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

The man who shares with Ruskin the honor of having profoundly influenced the social and political philosophy of most of the progressive young Englishmen is Thomas Hill Green. These two men have won over most of the young university men from the individualistic school of Herbert Spencer—a phenomenon which promises to be repeated in America. Many Americans will at least recognize Green in the person of the professor in *Robert Elsmere*. Important as is the philosophy of Green, of chief interest to us here is his personality.* Rarely have two men such an influence over students as Ruskin and Green exercised at Oxford. Each has his following now among the younger leaders of English thought. Among those who came under the influence of both these inspiring spirits was Arnold Toynbee. † He was a young man of great ability and profound sympathies, whose thirty-one brief years were filled

* See the *Works* of T. H. Green, vol. iii, for an excellent biography.

† Montague, *Arnold Toynbee* (Johns Hopkins Studies); Mrs. Ward's *Marcella* (in which "Edward Hallan" represents Toynbee). Some of Toynbee's views may be found in his addresses, bound with *The Industrial Revolution* (Humboldt Library).

with usefulness. He put into practice teachings such as those of Ruskin and Green, and his influence was of that happy kind which tended to create a bond between social classes. He was not the first to take up residence in East London, which he did during several vacations, but his earnestness and success with workingmen have been the chief inspiration for others.

His untimely death led his friend, Samuel A. Barnett, to address Oxford students with a view to organizing a settlement of university men in the east end of London. The example of Toynbee and the words of Mr. Barnett proved powerful enough to induce a group of young men to take up their residence in Whitechapel. In this way Toynbee Hall, the first university settlement, was organized. The growth of the movement has been one of the most encouraging social developments of our time, not only in England, but to an even greater extent in the United States. It is not hoped for the settlements that they shall be able to regenerate a city or a community. Their supporters do not wish to supplant any existing socializing factors, least of all the Church. The residents at a university or social settlement go into a neighborhood, first to live as neighbors, where there probably is lack of intellectual, social, ethical stimulus; secondly, they wish to supplement every useful form of social endeavor. The settlement is a type of the humanitarian, but scientific reform, spirit which has as its basis the two principles on which the settlement rests—a knowledge of, and a sympathy with, humanity. The knowledge comes from direct personal contact, not from books; the sympathy is therefore intelligent, not sentimental.

The significance of the settlement movement is not, however, summed up in its scientific or sociological importance.* It is serving to give expression to the social activities of several religious bodies. Not only have the Methodists, the Roman Catholics, the High and Broad Churchmen adopted the settlement method as one means of socializing their Christianity, but the followers of rationalists like Matthew Arnold and Thomas Hill Green have made use of the same expedient. University Hall, London, established by Mrs. Humphry Ward to teach the doctrines of the higher criticism, is at present primarily

* *Hull House Maps and Papers*, by residents of Hull House; Woods, *English Social Movements*.

engaged in settlement work. Non-Christians, such as Dr. Stanton Coit, and other ethical workers, have indorsed the settlement idea by the establishment of settlements and neighborhood guilds.* The significance of this for our purpose is chiefly in the convergence of these different forces toward this common institution. The advocates of ethical culture support a movement which embodied the genuine Christian spirit. The representatives of organized Christianity, from extreme orthodoxy to rationalism, find in the same institution the best adaptation of Christian ethics to the condition of our times.

The chief characteristic of social Christianity is its appreciation of the truth, "None of us liveth to himself." This Christian principle, which has the indorsement of science, is not necessarily socialistic, but is certainly anti-individualistic. As, in the physical world, the intimacy of our relations with our fellows is illustrated in the course of a cholera epidemic from Asia, through Russia, to America; as, in the commercial world, a failure in Australia affects English banks and then American finances; as, in the industrial world, the greed of shopkeepers and shoppers expressed in low wages breeds prostitution, so in the social and moral world the relations and responsibilities are ever becoming more intimate over a larger area. Under the factory system organization and association are inevitable in the moral as well as industrial world.

Many phases of social Christianity must of necessity be omitted in this article, the purpose merely being to show how certain great religious movements have adapted themselves to the needs of the present social system, and how in this adaptation they have been led to adopt similar or the same methods, all embodying the principle of association. In one of its phases, that of Christian socialism, it has not feared to face the problem of a complete reorganization of society. The least that an earnest Christian in these days can do is to familiarize himself with the organizations and ideals of social Christianity.

* Coit, *Neighborhood Guilds.*

Charles Zueblin

Art. VI.—THE MIRACLES OF THE BIBLE.

In entering upon any discussion of the subject of the miracles of the Bible it is necessary to state clearly two important facts. First, we must admit, with the fullest candor, that the miraculous element is prominent in both Testaments, and that it is inseparable from them; that it is not in them as something which is ornamental and detachable, but as an integral and vital part of the record; so that if it were eliminated the unique spiritual value of the Bible as a revelation of God would be largely destroyed, and of many an event which is now charged with the deepest and highest significance we should have to say, as it has been shown, "At that time it happened—that nothing happened!" *

Secondly, we must observe that although we cannot touch the miracles of the Bible without affecting, and seriously, its whole character, yet, viewed in their relation to the history which the Bible sets forth, miracles are by no means a common feature of it. There are long centuries covered by the Bible narrative during which there is no hint of a miracle having been done. Take the Book of Genesis, for example.† It embraces a period of certainly not less than two thousand years, and yet there is no allusion to such a thing as a miracle wrought through human agency; and the occasion when God is spoken of as acting out of the ordinary course came but seldom. Speaking broadly, it may be said that miracles are almost entirely limited to certain great epochs. After the time of the patriarchs we find them specially connected with the deliverance of Israel from their long and hard bondage in Egypt; with the prophetic mission of Elijah and his successor, Elisha, which took place at the period of the most marked apostasy of the chosen people; with the birth and ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ; and finally, with the work of the apostles in spreading abroad the knowledge of the Gospel. Looked at in the perspective of the long ages which the several books of the Bible cover, miracles were comparatively few and comparatively rare. They were extraordinary phenomena, brought about by special divine agency for certain great moral ends.‡ Let us keep these two

* Eberard. † Dr. Munro Gibson, in *Ages Before Moses.*
‡ Warrington, *Can We Believe in Miracles?*

facts in mind, that miracles are an essential part of the Bible, and that we find them—almost exclusively, indeed—grouped around momentous periods in that history.

Coming to the miracles of the Bible themselves, it is possible to consider them in various lights. If we treat of them here as a believer in their reality and truth it is not because we have not acquainted ourselves with the arguments urged against them. And further, if we speak as an expositor rather than as an apologist it is because it is impossible to think of the Bible as "a culprit, to be cleared from the charge of imposture and mendicancy," * and not because of any want of sympathy with men who may, unhappily, have suffered an eclipse or loss of faith. I propose, then, to ask you to glance with me at miracles:

1. From the standpoint of Christian theism. It has been well said that "unless there be belief in a God able and willing to make and attest a revelation" † it is useless to argue about miracles; the argument is "below the horizon." John Stuart Mill was undoubtedly right, as he was certainly frank, when he acknowledged that miracles belong to the supposition of theism, that belief in them is perfectly rational on the part of a believer in God, and that the whole question is one of evidence and not of *a priori* theory. Approach miracles through belief in God, his power, his wisdom, and, above all, his righteousness and goodness, and not only are they not incredible, but in some circumstances they are most fitting and appropriate. Now, it is remarkable, to say the least of it, that in no place in the Bible are miracles brought forward or said to have been performed to prove the existence of God. They were means to attest a divine messenger, to authenticate or emphasize a divine message, but never, so far as we can remember, to argue or evidence that God is. And the reason is plain. They are inadequate to this end. If men fail to see God in the ordinary manifestations of his power and greatness, how can they see him in events which, however marvelous, are local and passing? As the credentials of a prophet sent from God, as a divine seal to a message put forth in the name of God, miracles often have been of immense service; but as indications of God's being and working they fall far below the unspeakably great and grand system of things amidst which we are placed and to which we belong.

* Birks, *The Bible and Modern Thought.* † Cairns, *Christianity and Miracles.*

But it is strenuously urged that "the progress of intelligence, and especially of science, makes belief in miracles increasingly difficult." Well, suppose we grant that just for a moment. Is it not true that the growth of intelligence, and especially of historical knowledge, makes it increasingly difficult to account for some of the plainest and most unquestionable facts of history apart from the acceptance of the truth and reality of the Bible miracles? To refer, for illustration, to the greatest of all miracles, the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. If it is rejected as a legend or a myth, or regarded as other than a fact, how can the great moral and religious revolution, which certainly took place in the first ages of our era, and which was brought about by humble, and for the most part unlearned, witnesses to his resurrection, be explained? How can the Christian Church and the Christian consciousness be explained? But it is needless to press the question. We will go back to the supposed difficulty. Why is it said that the growth of scientific knowledge renders belief in miracles increasingly difficult? The answer is that science demonstrates the continuous and unbroken order of nature, the universal reign of law. And what is meant by the phrase, "the continuous and unbroken order of nature, the universal reign of law?" Nothing more can be intended than this: that, given certain properties of matter and certain forces acting in a particular way, and certain phenomena will result, and that as often as the factors and conditions are the same; or, to state it differently, "that the way in which phenomena are brought about is uniform; that every phenomenon is the direct and necessary result of the properties of matter and the laws of forces concerned in its production."* It would be difficult, we think, to disprove the possibility of miracles on this ground. Beyond all dispute, there may be properties in matter, and conditions under which natural laws operate, which are quite unknown at present, and which would be sufficient to account for many apparent miracles. But, what is more important here, we know quite well that in a great variety of ways mind can and does modify phenomena. "Looking at the world generally, and especially at those parts of it we call civilized, is it too much to say that a large proportion of the phenomena which we see are the products in part of mind? that is, are such

* Warrington, *Can We Believe in Miracles?*

as, but for mind, nature alone would not have brought about? . . . But if so, then all that is required to make miracles—in this respect—credible is the assumption that they too are phenomena in which divine wisdom and power have been concerned with a similar directive modifying influence." * This is, in brief, the account which the Bible gives of miracles; they are the works of God's finger, performed for great moral ends and lying apart from his ordinary operations in nature.

There is an element of mystery in miracles which we cannot fathom. How they were wrought it is impossible for us to conjecture. But we must not forget that there are mysteries quite as great and deep inherent in the facts which science observes—facts which cannot be explained on atheistic grounds. Such a fact is the existence of life; such a fact is motion in the material universe, and especially the magnificent and orderly and continuous motion of the countless worlds; and such a fact, we venture also to say, is man.

2. Miracles, then, are not incredible if we admit the existence of God. With the story of man in the past, and with the facts of the life of to-day before us, I think we shall agree that "man is not only an animal with a physical organism, not only a mind with laws of mental development and activity, but a religious being with tendencies toward the spiritual, the eternal, the infinite, the divine." Almost everywhere throughout the world are temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, and fetichisms; and these in their several ways, as truly as the Christian Church itself, bear witness that man feels himself to belong to the spiritual as well as to the material world. The universal prevalence of the religious instinct was one of the facts which helped to bring the author of *Thoughts on Religion*, that brilliant scholar and profound thinker, Professor Romanes, back from drear and chill agnosticism, into which he had lapsed, to faith and hope toward God. He noted that no instinct in any living thing is without its meaning and use, and found it impossible to believe that the highest and noblest of all instincts is the one exception. It is to man, in whose nature there are points of possible contact with the spiritual world, and with God himself, that miracles make their appeal. They were necessitated by blindness and insensibility to the moral government of God—a

* Warrington, *Can We Believe in Miracles?*

blindness and insensibility caused by human sin. They are impressed with a purpose which "commends itself to reason as worthy of supreme wisdom and goodness." They are not only marvels, not only mighty works, they are *signs*. They are signal reminders of God's presence in his world and of God's moral government over his creatures, while sometimes they declare and attest the divine redeeming and saving activity. As it has been finely said, "Each miracle is the visible type, the pledge, of a spiritual miracle greater and more salutary than material blessing." By healing physical disease Christ made known his power to heal the hurt of the soul. By feeding the hungry multitude with bread miraculously multiplied he proclaimed himself the Bread of Life, whereof if a man eat he shall live forever. By his resurrection from the dead and his glorious ascension he brought life and immortality to light and begat in them that believe a new and living hope.

But, admitting that miracles appeal to what is called the religious or spiritual instinct in man, may it not be that they are rather the inventions or dreams of man, the impress which his imagination has put upon natural events, rather than actual occurrences which must be attributed to God's working? No doubt man has often read the marvelous and the supernatural into events which were certainly not miraculous. We have no doubt that some of the narratives in the Bible itself, which have been thought to describe miracle, are rather to be understood as poetical or allegorical descriptions of incidents which do not require the assumption of miracle to explain them. But, granting this, it must yet be affirmed that the miracles of the Bible are not such as man could invent. We have legendary miracles in great number, and they are stamped with a totally different character from those of the Bible. We have only to put them side by side to see the wide distinction between them, and also how inconceivable it is that they can be other than legendary, and the Bible miracles other than what they claim to be. Take the miracles of the apocryphal gospels, which date from the second century of our era. Intelligible as inventions of superstition, we have only to read them together with the miracles of the gospels to be convinced they are apocryphal. How insipid, not to say absurd, they are! They speak of the boy Jesus changing his playmates into kids, of his animating

clay figures of beasts and birds, and of other such trivialities. Renan, whose attitude toward the miracles of the Bible is certainly not the kindliest, has said—and his testimony here is valuable: "The marvelous narratives of the gospels are the plainest common sense when compared with those of the Jewish Apocrypha and of the apocryphal gospels, or with those of the Hindu-European mythologies." We accept that testimony, and add to it our own conviction that when the miracles of the Bible are considered as wrought by God in the physical world for high moral ends they authenticate themselves.

3. It but remains to glance at miracles from the standpoint of the testimony given to them. We have already quoted words which show that even rejecters of the miraculous admit that the reality of the Bible miracles turns upon testimony. And we have seen, too, that many of the plainest historical facts are inexplicable apart from the acceptance of miracle. This part of the statement might be greatly extended by reference to the history, both ancient and modern, of the Jews, to the unique character of Jesus Christ, and to the story of the apostles. But we pass over this to correct an impression which widely prevails that modern scientific men as a body, or at any rate all the leaders among them, discredit the Bible miracles. It is not so. Dr. Gladstone, himself a scientist of no mean repute, has given a long list of names to show that the great number of authorities on the subject of physical and biological science are also believers in the truth of Christianity.

But the testimony to the truth of Christ's resurrection—the greatest of miracles—and of his continued life and working, is not historical only; it is partly and most powerfully the witness of living Christians who know Christ, who love and serve him, who have been transformed, recreated by his power. Our hope and prayer is that this statement may lead all who read it not only to examine the miracles of the Bibles and to give heed to the things they signify, but to rest their faith and confidence in the living God and in his Son Jesus Christ, whom he has sent forth to be the Saviour of the world.

Jno. Reveus.

Art. VII.—LATIN PAGAN SIDE-LIGHTS ON JUDAISM.

Herr Ahlwardt is simply the last of a long line of Jew-baiters. Anti-Semitism is as old as Christianity. In view of this fact, what light do pagan Latin remains, literary, legal, and archæological, throw upon Judaism?* The literary allusions are found in over fifty Latin writers from Cicero to Placidus, from the middle of the first century B. C. to the middle of the fifth century A. D. Every department of literature that flourished after the middle of the first century B. C. is represented here: Cicero, the orator, the poets of satire, epos, elegy, and epigram, historians from Livy to Rutilius Namatianus, romancers like Petronius and Apuleius, Seneca, the philosopher, Quintilian and Macrobius among scholars. Considering that Jews are not found in Rome in large numbers until after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius in B. C. 63, it need hardly excite surprise that there are but two references to Jews in the voluminous works of Cicero. Vergil's allusions are wholly indirect. The satirists do not refer to the Jews so frequently as we should expect. But for the *periochae* to Livy's lost books we should not know that he had ever heard of Judæa, and with a single marked exception the historians make no serious attempt to write Jewish history. Too frequently, if Judaism is mentioned at all, it is to glorify some villain of high degree, to add interest to a court scandal, to record the idiosyncrasy of a *princeps*, or to misrepresent people destined to outlive their conquerors. It was to be expected that the elder Pliny, as the polyhistor of the early empire, would, at least in the *Naturalis Historia*, have considerable to say about the origin and history of the Jews. But aside from geographical allusions,† mention of

* Some years ago the writer began to note the references in *pagan* Latin sources to the Jews and Christians, with a view to subsequent collation and study. This paper has to do with the first part of the subject—Judaism. It is, perhaps, proper to add that, until his own collation had been completed, he had not heard of, much less seen, Giles's *Heathen Records of the Jewish Scripture History*, Lond., 1856, or Meier's *Judaica*, Jena, 1832. The work of neither Giles nor Meier is complete, and writers other than pagan have been admitted. T. Reinach's *Textes relatifs au Judaïsme*, Paris, 1895, he has not been able to consult.

† See *N. H.* 12 § 64; 19 § 101; 5 § 66 *sqq.* (Judæa, Galilæa, Samaria). Q. Curtius Rufus (4. 8. 9-10) speaks of Alexander's vengeance on the Samaritans. The *cod. Theodos.* (16. 8. 15) of the fifth century mentions Jews and Samaritans together, and the late allusions to them in the legal codes show their importance; for example, *Nov.* 129 praef. (541 A. D.); *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 18; *ib.* 16. 8. 16 and 28. Judæa is mentioned in a number of inscriptions, for example, Orelli-H. 3451 = Wilm. 1170; Wilm. 1183 = *C. I. L.* 3. 2890; Wilm. 1622 *a* = *C. I. L.* 3. 5776; *C. I. L.*

natural and manufactured products,* there is but little to gratify our expectation. He barely mentions Cæsarea (comp. Tac., *H.* 2. 78), but tells us (5 § 69) that Iope (Joppa) was older than the deluge, and that there were still traces of the chains which had bound Andromeda to the rock running out into the sea at that place. (Comp. 9 § 11.) Jerusalem (5 § 70) he styles *longe clarissima urbium orientis non Iudaeae modo*—language apparently warranted, if the adjective refers to the architectural splendor and military strength of the city.† In succeeding paragraphs P. describes the Jordan and Lake Gennesaret "surrounded by beautiful cities." ‡ With Pliny's curious description of the Dead Sea (5 § 72; 2 § 226; 7 § 65) should be compared Tac., *H.* 5. 6–7 and Justin. 36. 3. 6, 7. The peculiarities of the Essenes attracted the attention not only of Pliny, but of other Latin writers. Pliny (5 § 73) styles them "a lonely people, remarkable above others in the whole world, with no woman among them, purposely abstaining from love, without [the use of] money, living among the palms" (*gens socia palmarum*). He adds that their numbers are replenished by the unfortunates who, weary of life and the ups and downs of fortune, seek a home among them, and that in this way a people is perpetuated among whom no child is born.

We do not have to learn from Pliny (5 § 70, and 13 § 44) that the palm groves of Jericho were famous, for Horace uses them as typical of a large income, speaking of one of two brothers who prefers a life of luxury and ease to the rich palm groves of Herod, § and Vergil, in *Georg.* 3. 12, exclaims:

3, p. 857, dipl. XIV. The hint of Placidus, *Glossae* 53. 24 (ed. Deverling) is still in place: *Iudaea: cum a scribendum.*

* See Pliny, *N. H.* 14 § 122; 12 § 111 (comp. Justinus 36. 3); 31 § 95; 13 § 26, 44, 49. Although Pliny mentions Scythopolis (Bethshan), he says nothing about its famous linen industry, which was famous as late as Diocletian (*Edictum de pret. rerum, C. I. L.* 3, p. 801 *sqq.*). Comp. Claudius Claudianus, *in Eutrop.* 1. 356–357.

† Tacitus (*H.* 5. 2) speaks of J. as a *famosa urbs*, and in 5. 8 *sqq.* he describes the temple stronghold and fortifications. However, considering that the temple in size and splendor probably surpassed any structure of the kind in Rome, both Pliny and Tacitus are contemptuously silent or strangely ignorant.

‡ It would seem that Pliny for a part of his account drew on Pomponius Mela, one of the earliest writers (first cent. B. C.) who attempted a description of the ancient world. It is amazing that P. has added so little to what Mela says. There was less excuse for Martianus Capella, an encyclopedic sort of writer, who, writing in the fifth century, had earlier writers to draw upon. See 6 §§ 673, 679. Ammianus Marcellinus at end third cent. A. D. mentions Palestine as fertile and having famous cities, reminds us that Cæsarea was built by Herod, and restricts his references to Eleutheropolis, Scythopolis, Neapolis, Ascalon, and Gaza (14. 8. 11; 19. 12. 8).

§ *Epp.* 2. 2. 183–184. This grove was presented to Cleopatra by M. Antonius, but ultimately became the property of Herod. See description in Justin. 36. 3.

*Primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas.** Nor was the fame of these palms short-lived, for these groves are mentioned in a *descriptio orbis* of the fourth century A. D. But while we miss in Pliny what we should expect to find, and although Jewish allusions are in given authors few and far between, in the aggregate they are numerous and most suggestive. In them we see revealed the Roman's opinion of Judaism, while we catch glimpses of the influence of Judaism on Rome.

What light is thrown upon Jewish settlement and history by the Latin pagan remains? We know that the Jew became much of a cosmopolitan, and that wherever men came together, especially for trade purposes, he was soon found.† There, without really becoming one of them, he mingled in a small way commercially with the men of the community, setting up his synagogue and emphasizing his social and religious exclusiveness. The testimony to the wide dispersion and number of the Jews is varied in character. Greek pagan writers, inscriptions, coins, archæology, Bible history (for example, Acts ii, 5–11), and much indirect, but very conclusive, testimony all reveal to us Jews settled in every part of the habitable world. Some of these settlements are very old and some are very large. For example, Dio Cassius is authority for the statement that in the Jewish revolts of 116 A. D. in Egypt, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and Cyrene 460,000 Jews perished. Before the middle of the first century A. D., according to Philo the Jew, the Egyptian Jews numbered a million souls. Later on we find the chosen people everywhere: in the islands of the sea, as far west as Spain, and as far north as Cologne. The Hebrew holds his own alike in Babylon, the Mighty, and in Palmyra, the Queen of the Desert. In the south he makes for himself a home in Mediterranean Africa, and insists on the right to live and gain in the towns of Italy, in the city of the Golden Horn, and in the western Mistress of the World. Small wonder that Philo expected to hope that Judaism would soon become the religion of mankind. Latin literature and inscriptions corroborate this story of wide dispersion. As early as B. C. 59 Cicero (*pro Flacco* 28. 67) tells us that *aurum Iudaeorum nomine quotan-*

* Cp. Lucan, *Phar.* 3. 216; Statius, *Silv.* 5. 2. 138, 139; Servius to Verg., *Geor.* 3. 12; Valerius Probus ad h. l.

† Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (5th ed.) 3: 571.

*nis ex Italia et ex omnibus provinciis Hierosolyma exportari soleret.** In that same speech (28. 68) C. implies that the Jews and their adherents were very numerous throughout the East. He expressly mentions Adramytium, Laodicea, and Pergamum in the province of Asia, and Apamea in Phrygia, as Jewish centers. The later Jewish dispersion is attested by the epitaph on the tomb of the emperor Gordianus III: *Gordiano sepulcrum milites apud Circesium castrum fecerunt in finibus Persidis, titulum huius modi addentes et Graecis et Latinis et Persicis et Iudaicis et Aegyptiacis litteris.* (Jul. Capitol. 20. 34. 2.) At a much later time Ammianus Marcellinus (24. 4. 1) speaks of a community of Jews located near Babylon, whose town was burned by Julian's soldiers. In 321 Constantine (*cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 3) notifies the *decuriones* of Cologne that the Jews cannot claim exemption from municipal service. The *edictum* of Arcadius of 397 A. D., and a little later (412) that of Theodosius to the governors of Illyricum (incl. Macedonia and Dacia), presuppose Jews in considerable numbers in those countries. (*Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 12 and 21.) In the far West we find Jews at Abdera, in southern Spain (epitaph of a Jewish child, *C. I. L.* 2. 1982), at Dertosa, on the northeast coast (epitaph of a Jewess in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew), in the south at Sitifi, in Mauritania (Orell.-H. 6145=*C. I. L.* 8. 8499), where a certain M. Avilius Januarius is styled *pater sinagogae*, a term of honor like our "father" or "mother in Israel,"† both of which occur in a considerable number of inscriptions; at Cirta (*C. I. L.* 8. 7155); also in Lower Pannonia (*C. I. L.* 3. 1. 3688; comp. also *Eph. Epigr.* 2. 593). The number of Jews in the provinces seems to have increased steadily. In 398 the emperors Honorius and Arcadius issued an edict (*cod. Theodos.* 12. 1. 157) because of the peculiar condition of affairs in southern Italy, where incumbents for the public offices could not be found, inasmuch as the Jews refused to serve the state in this capacity. Naturally we find traces of Jews in the provincial towns of Italy.‡ Likewise is the Roman

* Flaccus is lauded as a patriot for his *edictum*. The sum realized at two *drachmæ* a head would have been insignificant except upon the theory that the number of contributors was very great.

† Orell.-Henz. 2522, gives an epitaph to a *mater synagogarum Campi et Bolumni*, by name Sara, a *proselita an* XVI.

‡ See Orell.-Henz. 5302=*C. I. L.* 10. 1971, from Naples: *Claudia Aster Hierosolymitana captiva*; *C. I. L.* 10. 1893, from Murano near Naples, in which case the *ἀρχων* was elected

Hebrew much in evidence. While Jews had come to Rome on special occasions at a much earlier period, and must have drifted thither along with other streams of foreigners, the first Jewish colony that we can trace historically sprang from the prisoners whom Pompeius brought from Jerusalem, after its capture in B. C. 63, to grace the *triumphus* that was voted him by the senate. This nucleus apparently grew rapidly.* While the Latin pagan testimony to the number and influence of the Jews in Rome is to a great extent indirect, it is none the less conclusive. The inscriptions which reveal this fact are mostly Greek rather than Latin, probably because Greek was the vernacular of these Roman Jews. But our knowledge of Jewish proselytism, the hints in Latin poets, and the testimony of the *columbaria* speak as decisively as could more direct statement. The spread of Judaism was due in no small measure to successful propagandism. This was felt at Rome apparently as early as B. C. 139, the year of the Maccabean embassy of Simon. Valerius Maximus, according to the epitome of Julius Paris (1. 3. 3), remarks: *Idem* [the prætor, Cn. Cornelius Hispalus] *Iudaeos, qui Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coëgit.*† Strange Jews these, to be attempting to corrupt (*inficere*) Roman religion with the cult of Juppiter Sabazius, a Phrygian deity! The Roman confused the Jewish Zebaoth or Sabaoth (Jehovah of Hosts) with Sabazius.‡ Read rightly, Valerius Maximus says that the Jews, who came in the embassy, attempted a propaganda against the state religion and that the *prætor peregrinus*, in order to break it up, sent them home.§

for life, hence the *διὰ βίου*; Orell.-Henz. 6141=*C. I. L.* 10. 3905, from Capua. The *archon archisynagogus* proves the existence of a Jewish community. For other rulers of the synagogue (*ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*) see *C. I. L.* 9. 6201, 6205, 6232, and comp. *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 4; also (*γερουσιάρχης*) *C. I. L.* 9. 6213, 6208, 6221; *ib.* 10. 1893. The *princeps libertinorum* of a Pompeian inscription (*C. I. L.* 4. 117) is believed by Marini and de Rossi to refer to the Jewish community there. Comp. Acts vi, 9. Jews of northern Italy are represented by a *archisynagogus* (Brescia) epitaph (*C. I. L.* 5. 1. 441): *Coelia Paterna mater synagoges Brixianorum*; and from Pola, across the Adriatic, we have an inscription to one of that class known as *archisynagogi* (Orelli-Henz. 2523): *matri pientiss | religioni Iud | ateae metuenti.*

* See Acts xxviii, 17–31.

† The epitome of Nepotianus has: *Iudaeos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit aramque privatas e publicis locis abiecit.* The mention by Valerius of the consuls of the year (139) fixes the date.

‡ Friedländer (*Sittengeschichte Roms* 3: 617, 6th edit., Leip., 1890) explains the confusion of names on the assumption that the Greek Jews pronounced the word Zabaoth like Sabaoth.

§ The later legislation against Judaism was in many cases aimed at proselyting zeal. Septimius Severus sought to prohibit conversions to Judaism (Spartianus, *Sept. Sev.* 17. 1). The *cod. Theodos.* (16. 8. 1) in 315 A. D. threatened with death Jews who assailed apostates.

Cicero's language, referring to the Jews in his speech *pro Flacco*, while having regard primarily to those of the province of Asia, is such as to make it certain that he is speaking also of the Hebrews of the city. He says: "You know, Lælius, what a crowd of them there is, how they stick together as one man, what influence they have in the public assemblies." And in the same connection he speaks of a *multitudinem Iudaeorum, flagrantem nonnumquam in contionibus.* Horace (*Sat.* 1. 4. 142–143), writing about B. C. 35, playfully threatens one who does not agree with him that he with a company of fellow-poets will come *ac veluti te | Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.* Among proselytes are to be reckoned not only those who submitted to circumcision, but the "proselytes of the gate," the God-fearing Gentiles* who kept the Sabbath, burned lights before daybreak of the Sabbath, so that the law forbidding the kindling of fire on the Sabbath need not be violated, and who abstained from swine's flesh.† Many of the references, even of a contemptuous character, to the Sabbath observance and to other Jewish usages prove conclusively the vast number of Jewish adherents. Horace in a well-known passage (*Sat.* 1. 9. 68–72) represents a Roman as breaking away from a friend, who wished on the street to speak of a private matter, with the excuse: "At a more suitable time; to-day is the thirtieth Sabbath. Would you give offense to the circumcised Jews?" "I have no scruple, I reply." "But I have. I am a trifle weak—one of the many. Pardon, but some other time." Here it seems clear that the contempt in the mention of the Jews does not apply to the *unus multorum.* In other words, the person who here would observe the Sabbath is one of a multitude of non-Jewish Sabbath-fearing persons.‡ Ovid in a tone perfectly serious, when urging the lover to miss no opportunity which promised an amour, mentions particularly the Jewish Sabbath as a favorable time, doubtless because of the number of people who made a holiday of it.§ In the *Remed. amor.* he implies the same thing, when in a given case he urges

*Among these were the *φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν* and the *σεβόμενοι*, who, while not practicing the ceremonial law, attended the synagogue and rejected polytheistic worship. Comp. Orell.-Henz. 2523=*C. I. L.* 5. 1. 88, and Acts of the Apost. x, 2; xiii, 16, 26, 43.

† See Exod. xxxv, 3.

‡ Comp. Persius 5. 179–184.

§ *Ars amat.* 1. 75–76: *nec te praetereat Veneri ploratus Adonis, | cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro.*

the necessity of travel despite the fact that it is the Sabbath.* Tibullus (1. 3. 18) speaks of the Sabbath as a good excuse along with *aves* and *omina dira* for not starting on a journey. Such passages tend to show how strongly Judaism had intrenched itself in the city of its conquerors. Before the end of the first century the Roman Jews have so multiplied that they are no longer found exclusively in the Trastevere (*regio trans Tiberim*) and the Ghetto. Juvenal (3. 11 *sqq.*) makes the neighborhood of the Porta Capena a habitat of the Jews. The Jewish burial places found in the Subura and Campus Martius prove the dispersion throughout the city.

Several causes contributed to successful propagandism, especially the decay of the old faith and the felt need of something to take its place. The mystery which enveloped Jewish worship appealed to the same curiosity which made the other foreign "mysteries" popular, and which was but one manifestation of a general trend toward orientalism. The "new cults," for example, those of Mithras and Isis, had, as Schuerer† has pointed out, two common attractions, namely, the substitution of some form of monotheism for the bewildering mazes of polytheism and a professed atonement for sin. This tended to satisfy a real religious demand, and Judaism could in this direction outbid any rival cult. But how far beyond mere numerical conquest did Judaism impress itself upon the life of the Roman world? At least, how far is this influence reflected in Latin pagan literature or art? At a time comparatively early—not over five or six years after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius—we have seen Cicero resenting the influence of the Jews in the public assemblies, apparently at Rome. That they early obtained recognition is clear enough. Josephus (*Antiqq.* 14. 10. 1–2) with evident appreciation gives us the decrees of the first Cæsar in behalf of the Jews. He had further commended himself to them in that he had overthrown their old enemy, Pompeius—the man who had outraged their religious sentiments by forcibly entering the Holy of Holies of the temple, where no alien had ever before stood.‡ No won-

* 219-220: *nec te peregrina morentur | Sabbata.*

† *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, 2d Div., 2: 302–303. N. Y., 1891.

‡ Pompeius, however, spared the temple and laid no hand upon the immense money treasure therein stored. His restraint was more likely due to "policy" than to *pudor*, as Cicero would have us believe (*pro Flacco* 28. 67). Comp. Livy, epit. CII. and Tac., *H.* 5. 9.

der that Suetonius (*Julius* 84), in writing of the grief manifested in Rome at Cæsar's death, makes especial mention of the Jews, who during whole nights hung in crowds about the place where his body had been burned. The early emperors and many of their successors thought it expedient to favor them so far as to allow them jurisdiction over their own communities: they administered their own funds; their worship was protected by the law; they were exempt from public office and army service.* In a word, Judaism became at a period comparatively early a fashionable fad along with the cults of Cybele, Isis, and Mithras. The Jewish princes, who from time to time were educated at Rome or lived there as hostages, and who were frequently intimate with the court circle, must have contributed to a better understanding of the "mysteries" of Judaism. For example, the sons of Herod the Great, because of the intimacy of their father with Marcus Agrippa, were educated at Rome.† Herod's grandson, Herodes Agrippa I. was educated there with Drusus, the son of Tiberius and Claudius, whom an odd freak of fortune was destined to make Emperor of Rome, while H. Agrippa's mother, Berenice, during a long residence at Rome, was an intimate friend of Antonia, sister-in-law of the emperor Tiberius. Augustus allowed the Jews to have their way about sending the two-drachmæ tax to Jerusalem,‡ whereas Cicero had praised Flaccus for confiscating in his province of Asia large sums got together for this purpose. Claudius, in an edict given in Josephus (*Antiqq.* 19. 5. 3), grants the Jews complete toleration. The *columbaria* at Rome containing the ashes of the freedmen and slaves of the imperial houses, especially of Claudius, contain names that are evidently Jewish. Likewise was Nero's court in close touch with Jewish influences. If Poppæa, the wife of Nero, was not actually a Jewish proselyte, § she affected to favor what was apparently a fashionable interest in Jewish ceremonial and practices. Josephus in styling this infamous empress a "God-fearing" or "devout" woman (*Antiqq.* 20. 8. 11)

* Until Hadrian's reign, with the exception of Tiberius's outburst, the Jews appear to have enjoyed immunity from legal persecution.

† Josephus, *Antiqq.* 15. 10. 1.

‡ Josephus, *Antiqq.* 16. 6. 2.

§ Tac. (*Ann.* 16. 6) says that the body of Poppæa was not *burned* according to Roman custom, but after the usage of foreign kings was *embalmed*. She also veiled her face (*ib.* 13. 45).

must have referred to her recognition of Judaism and her partiality to his countrymen.* Jewish beauty invaded even the imperial dwelling on the Palatine. Berenice, the eldest daughter of Herodes Agrippa I and sister of Herodes Agrippa II, the "King Agrippa" of the Acts of the Apostles, was one of the most handsome women of her time and race. Her beauty and riches had been her ruin, but were yet destined to enable her to play for high stakes with the ruler of the world. Her career had been a checkered one before St. Paul made his wonderful appeal in her presence (Acts xxv, 13, 22 *sqq.*). She had been the legal wife of two husbands and, as rumor had it, the paramour of her own brother, with whom she lived. That this had been the gossip of Rome is evident from Juvenal (6. 156–158), where the poet represents an extravagant Roman dame, when shopping, as handling among other very costly articles "a diamond ring famous and more expensive as having adorned the finger of Berenice—a ring which in other days a foreign king presented to his incestuous sweetheart—which Agrippa gave to his sister." Six or seven years later, when, after vainly striving to dissuade their countrymen from war with Rome, policy or necessity made brother and sister the allies of their country's enemies,† Berenice captured the heart of Titus, son of Vespasian, and conqueror of Judæa.‡ The intimacy thus begun was long continued. Some time after the destruction of Jerusalem Berenice went to Rome (in 75 A. D.) and lived on the Palatine as the wife of Titus. Suetonius (*Tit.* 7) says that this *amour* was notorious, that T. had promised to marry her, and he adds, later on: *Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit, invitus invitam.*§ In this Vespasian may have had a hand, for after his death in 79 she returned to Rome. But Titus had recovered his head and refused to recognize the former object of his passion. With her return to Palestine she disappears from history.

* Comp. Josephus, *Life* § 3.

† Tac. (*H.* 2. 81), narrating the movements by which Vespasian became emperor, says: *nec minore animo regina Berenice partes iuvabat, florens aetate formaque.*

‡ Tac. (*H.* 2. 2), referring to Titus's sudden return to his father from Corinth (he was *en route* to Rome from Judæa), says: *fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae eaetisse eer crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice iuvenilis animus.*

§ This agrees exactly with what Aurelius Victor (*Epitom.* 10. 7) says. The same author gives an illustration of Titus's great jealousy of her (*ibid.* 10. 4). Quintilian's mention of her refers probably to that period in her life when she lived with Titus. Q. tells us (*Inst. orat.* 4. 1. 19) that he argued a case for Queen Berenice in which she herself was *iudex.*

Seneca, not later than 65 A. D., acknowledged that the conquered Jews gave laws to the conquerors*—a sentiment re-echoed by a hostile writer centuries later.†

Antoninus Pius permitted circumcision in the case of native Jews.‡ From Ulpian (*Dig.* 50. 2. 3. 3) we learn that a "constitution" of Septimius Severus and Caracalla opened to the Jews the highest honors under conditions which recognized their scruples. Elagabalus thought that the Jewish worship should have a place in his Pantheon.§ Alexander Severus *Iudaeis privilegia reservavit.*‖¶ These repeated favors are but a reflection of the influence that Judaism must have been able to exert.

How far did the representatives of literature and of the educated classes appreciate the virtues of Judaism? What was their treatment of it, when they began to realize its power? Their answer was a string of charges, based on ignorant prejudice and a hatred which manifested its venom in studied contempt and willful misrepresentation. The Romans could not, or would not, understand the significance of Jewish institutions and usages. Abstinence from swine flesh, the Sabbath observance, with its respite from toil, imageless worship, circumcision, fasting, and contempt for art excited mingled disgust, credulity, and hatred. We have seen that those who more or less strictly kept the Sabbath constituted a great multitude, but the gap between the crowd and the literary class was a wide one, and upon the latter must we depend for our information. Juvenal (14. 97 *sqq.*) speaks of proselytes who, abstaining from the pork from which their fathers abstained, put the same estimate on the flesh of pigs and men, and in another place** he jests about the country where a long-continued mercy (abstinence) has made it possible for pigs to attain advanced age. Macrobius (*Saturn.* 2. 4. 11), writing of the jokes of old-time and famous

* St. Augustine (*de civ. dei* 6. 11): *De illis sane Iudaeis cum loqueretur, ait* [sc. Seneca] "*cum interim usque eo scelcratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit: victi victoribus leges dederunt.*"

† See Claudius Rutilius Namatianus: *de reditu suo*, ed. L. Mueller (1. 398): *Victoresque suos natio victa premit.*

‡ *Digesta* 48. 8. 11.

§ Aelius Lampridius, *Heliogab.* 3. 5.

‖ Ael. Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.* 22. 4.

¶ The treatment of Judaism by the Christian emperors as revealed in the legal codes is beyond the scope of this paper.

** 6. 160 *et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.*

men, says that when Augustus was told of Herod's cruelty in ordering the "slaughter of the innocents" under two years, and that among them was a child of Herod himself, the emperor remarked, "It is better to be Herod's hog than his son." The Roman liked pork and esteemed the boar as the *pièce de résistance* of a dinner.* He interpreted the Jew's refusal to eat swine as an insult and a reflection upon his taste in matters of the table. Tacitus explained their abstinence from pork on the assumption that the pig is subject to leprosy (*scabies*),† from which the Jews had suffered.‡ Seneca (*Epp.* 108. 22) seems to have in mind Jewish abstinence from certain meats and to the "talk" (*calumnia*) engendered thereby.

The references to the Sabbath found in the Latin writers may have been based more on misunderstanding than on malice. When Tacitus, in *Hist.* 5. 3, hints at the origin of the rest-day as due to the leprosy and the consequent exile, he is probably using a source that was common to Justinus. To prove the Jews to be leprous Egyptians would be to make them out the very offscouring of earth.§

The Sabbath *rest* the pagans never understood, or, if they did, they purposely misrepresented it as *laziness*. Juvenal‖ reproaches the proselyte with being made a Jew by a father who spent the seventh day in doing nothing and held aloof from the things that men consider necessary. Seneca (cited by St. Augustine, *de civ. dei* 6. 11) made the same objection to the Sabbath, that it was wrong to waste one seventh of our time and thus neglect matters that urgently need attention. The same moralist, in *Epp.* 95. 47, says: "Away with the lighting of lamps on the Sabbath. Surely the gods do not need a light, and even men do not enjoy soot." Three hundred years later, when Rutilius Claudius Namatianus wrote, the Jewish race is characterized as the source of pure folly, in love with their *frigida sabbata*.¶ As early as Tibullus (1. 3. 18) the seventh

* Juvenal 1. 141 of the boar: *animal propter convivia natum.*

† Justinus (36. 2. 12) calls the leprosy *scabiem et vitiligínem.* ‡ Tac., *H.* 5. 4.

§ The source of these slanders was doubtless Alexandria. See Jos., *contra Apion.* 2. 2, where the origin of the word Sabbath is an Egyptian word=ulcer. Comp. Just. 36. 2, with the very different account of Tacitus (*H.* 5. 4).

‖ 14. 105. *Sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux | ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.*

¶ The *Scholia Bernensia* to Vergil (ed. H. Hagen, Lips., 1867), *Georg.* 1. 336, have three notes to the word *frigida*, of which the second reads: *satis cognitum est, Saturni stellam frigidam esse et ideo apud Iudaeos Saturni die frigidos cibos esse.*

day is referred to as *dies Saturni*.* The Romans seem to have fallen into the mistake of supposing that the Sabbath was a necessary fast day with the Jews.† Martial (4. 4. 7) compares "the fasting breath of Sabbath-fearing women" of Domitian's time to sundry vile and malodorous things. Suetonius (*Aug.* 76) represents Augustus as remarking that no Jew kept his Sabbath fast so scrupulously as he had fasted on a given day. That the Jews fasted much is clear enough (Luke xviii, 12). Tacitus remarks (*H.* 5. 4) that they still commemorate the long-continued famine of older times by frequent fastings, and that their use of unleavened bread is a proof of the corn that they seized (to satisfy hunger).

Another object of particular ridicule was the Jewish "worship without images." This seemed to the Roman a contradiction of terms and, as we shall see, soon resolved itself into a charge of atheism. Nothing connected with Judaism was so hard for Roman comprehension as this Hebrew God—spiritual, invisible, and still the basis of an elaborate ceremonial worship. In one breath the Jew is styled an atheist, in another he becomes a worshiper of the sky or of a pig. Now his god is Sabazius, or Bacchus, now the golden ass which, it was believed, had been set up in the Holy of Holies. The position of the Jew was to the Roman untenable. The latter had a place in his Pantheon for representatives of all cults; the Jew recognized no Pantheon. The man who could not, at least silently, tolerate the gods of his adopted country, but pronounced them spurious, put himself outside the pale of civilization and proclaimed himself an Ishmaelite. He was an "atheist."‡ Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) represents the proselyte as carefully taught to despise the gods of his fathers. . . . "The Egyptians venerate several animals and the representations of them that they make. The Jews know but one God and know him only spiritually (*mente sola*), considering as impious those who fashion images of the gods in human likeness, and believing that Deity is supreme, eternal, inimitable, imperishable. Accordingly they allow no images

* Petronius (*fragm.* 37) probably refers to this: *ni tamen et ferro succiderit inguinis oram | et nisi nodatum solverit arte caput, | exemptus populo Graia migrabit ab urbe | et non ieiuna sabbata lege premet.* Also Fronto: *Epistl. ad M. Caes.* 2. 7 (ed. Naber, 1867, p. 32): *Nec aliter Kal. Sept. expecto, quam superstitiosi stellam qua visa ieiunium polluant.*

† Comp. Censorinus 11. 6; Ovid, *A. A.* 1. 415–417.

‡ Pliny (*N. H.* 13 § 46) says that the Jews were a *gens contumelia numinum insignis.*

simulacra) in their cities, much less in their temples." The historian adds (*ib.* 5. 4) that whatever Romans regard as sacred the Jew considers as profane; the Jew believes it right to do what the Romans consider *incesta*; . . . he offers up a ram as if to insult Juppiter Hammon; the ox which the Egyptians revere as Apis the Jew sacrifices. Juvenal (14. 96 *sqq.*) says that certain persons [Jews], descendants of a father who keeps the Sabbath, worship nothing except the clouds and the divinity of the sky (*numen caeli*)—that is, they have no God! Petronius (*frag.* 37) goes a step farther and ridicules the Jew as a hog worshiper as well as a sky worshiper.* This is worse than Lucan, who says (*Phar.* 2. 592) that the Jews are given up to the worship of an unknown god: *dedita sacris | incerti Iudaea dei.* This language is eminently respectful compared with the insulting charge of Tacitus (*H.* 5. 4), namely, that the Jews consecrated and set up the image of an ass in the Holy of Holies,† because a herd of wild asses led Moses to a rock out of whose veins he got an abundant supply of water when they were about to perish on the march. Hence the nickname *asinarii*, which, applied to the Jews, is to be traced to Alexandria, for it is one of the slanders of Apion which Josephus styles "a palpable lie" (*contra Ap.* 2. 7). Tacitus (H. 5. 5) further informs his countrymen that the impression that Bacchus was an object of Jewish worship—a belief due to the sacred music of pipes and timbrels, and to the famous golden vine of the temple ‡—was erroneous, inasmuch as there is nothing common between the festive Bacchanalia and the absurd and mean practice of the Jews.§

As might be expected, hardly anything receives more contemptuous mention than circumcision, though other peculiarities, such as fasting, burning of lights, use of unleavened bread, abstinence from meat, come in for their share. Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) explains circumcision as due to a desire to be recognized as different from other people (*ut diversitate noscantur*). The ancient horror of human mutilation operated to intensify the

* *Iudaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret | et caeli summas advocet auriculas.*

† But he says (*H.* 5. 9) that Pompeius entered the Holy Place and found it empty, and, further, (*ib.* 5. 5) that the Jews allowed no representation of Deity.

‡ Josephus, *Antiqq.* 15. 11. 3.

§ And nothing seemed too absurd! Ael. Lampridius, *Heliogabalus* 23. 4: *struthocamelos comedit* [*Heliogabalus*] *in cenis aliquotiens, dicens praeceptum Iudaeis, ut ederent.*

abhorrence and contempt for those who practiced circumcision, which must have seemed to the Romans but a form of mutilation.* Claudius Namatianus (*de reditu suo* 1. 387, 388), about 415 A. D., only voices an abhorrence common to many preceding generations in his *reddimus obscaenae convicia debita genti, | quae genitale caput propudiosa metit.* Imperial legislation against it recognizes this as fully as the necessity of checking proselytism. Hence laws against circumcision were not made applicable to Jews alone: the prohibition was general. (See Jul. Paullus, *Sent.* 5. 22. 3–4 in Jurisprudentiæ Ante-Justin., ed. Huschke, 5th edit.) According to the *Digesta* 48. 8. 4. 2 (comp. Paulus, *Sent.* 5. 22. 3, 4), castration is treated as homicide, and circumcision and castration were not regarded as worthy of different treatment.†

It is generally assumed that Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision was the cause of the great Jewish uprising led by Simeon bar Koziba.‡ It is more likely that the attempt of the emperor to rebuild the place of the Holy City with the pagan Aelia Capitolina, having a temple to the heathen Juppiter on the site of the temple of Jehovah, drove the Jews to desperation. The bitterness of the subsequent struggle makes for this view. Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, restricted the prohibition of circumcision to Gentiles.§

Further, the Jew was charged with practicing sorcery, with avarice, with social exclusiveness and hatred of mankind, with immorality, with contempt for art, and with disloyalty to Rome. What have Roman writers to say about these charges?

Moses's wonder-working before Pharaoh gave him a wide reputation as magician, which long outlasted his time—a reputation in which Abraham somewhat shared! Abraham's origin as a Chaldean may have had something to do with this.‖

* Juvenal in 14. 99 *sqq.* seems to hint at Jewish circumvention of a law against circumcision: *mox et praeputia ponunt; | Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges—Iudaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius, | tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moyses.* Petronius (*fragm.* 37. 1–4) contemptuously mentions the hog worshiper as the circumcised. In *Satir.* § 102 he refers to circumcision as distinctly Jewish. Martialis (7. 30) compares the circumcised Jew with the scum of the earth. Comp. Id. 7. 35. 3–4.

† The act of 415 A. D. against circumcision is plainly directed against Jewish proselyting. Comp. *Dig.* 48. 8. 11.

‡ See Spartianus, *Hadrianus* 1. 14. 2: *moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia.*

§ See *Dig.* 48. 8. 11.

‖ As late as the fourth century Firmicus Maternus regards Abraham as a master in astrology.

Pliny (*N. H.* 30 § 11), in a chapter on the origin of magic, makes Jannes, Lotapes or Jotapes (? Jambres), and Moses representatives of a class of magicians (*alia magices factio*). Justinus makes Moses the inheritor of his father, Joseph's (!), magical powers, whose story he gives.* In Apuleius (*de Magia* 90) Moses is mentioned along with Jannes and other great magicians.† Comp. 2 Tim. iii, 8. Certain is it that the Jews are represented as making a business of fortune-telling and exorcism, and had a reputation for dealing in the black art.‡ The old Jewess was the gypsy hag of antiquity.§ Juvenal (6. 542 *sqq.*) classes the Jewish fortune-teller with other immoral and lying cheats; for example, with the Isis priests and the Chaldean soothsayers. No sooner has the priest of Isis taken his departure from the house of the typical woman of the period, when the Jewish hag enters: *Cum dedit ille locum, cophino faenoque relicto | arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem, | interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos | arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli. | Implet et illa manum, sed parcius; aere minuto | qualiacumque voles, Iudaei somnia vendunt.*

The *charge of avarice* probably grew out of jealousy, commercial or otherwise. Jewish settlements were trade settlements. Especially at Alexandria did the Jew come into rivalry with the Greek, and to this same Alexandrian Greek are to be traced many of the anti-Semitic slanders of the time. The large amount of gold exported as temple tax from Italy

* 36. 2. *Post Damascenum Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahames et Israhel reges* [of Damascus] *fuere. Sed Israhelem felix decem filiorum proventus maioribus suis clariorem fecit. Itaque populum in decem regna divisum filiis tradidit, omnesque ex nomine Iudar, qui post divisionem decesserat, Iudaeos appellavit, colique memoriam eius ab omnibus iussit, cuius portio omnibus accesserat. Minimus aetate inter fratres Ioseph fuit, cuius excellens ingenium fratres veriti clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus vendiderunt. A quibus deportatus in Aegyptum, cum magicas ibi artes sollerti ingenio percepisset, brevi ipsi regi percarus fuit. Nam et prodigiorum sagacissimus erat et somniorum primus intelligentiam condidit, nihilque divini iuris humanique ei incognitum habebatur: adeo ut etiam sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos providerit; perissetque omnis Aegyptus fame, nisi monitu eius rex edicto servari per multos annos fruges iussisset; tantaque experimenta eius fuerunt, ut non ab homine, sed a deo responsa viderentur. Filius eius Moses fuit, quem praeter paternae scientiae hereditatem etiam formae pulchritudo commendabat.*

† See Trebellius Pollio, *Claudius* 2. 4.

‡ Flavius Vopiscus (*Saturn.* 8. 3) makes Hadrian say: *Nemo illic* [that is, in Egypt] *archisynagogus Iudaeorum, nemo Samarites . . . non mathematicus, non haruspex.*

§ The Syrian woman mentioned by Valerius Maximus (*Epit.* Jan. Nepotianus) 1. 3. 4 (*Syram mulierem Marius in castris habebat sacricolam, ex cuius se auctoritate asserebat omnia agere*) was likely a Jewess.

and the provinces to Jerusalem seems to have excited the cupidity of the Romans. *Unde auctae Iudaeorum res* are the words of Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) in referring to this. Nearly 300 A. D. Flavius Vopiscus (*Saturnin.* 8. 7) asserts that the Jews have but one god, and that his name is Lucre.

The *charge of social and religious exclusiveness* admitted of easier proof. This clannishness was not inconsistent with the fact that "Judaism was an effective leaven of cosmopolitanism and of national decomposition." The high-sounding claim of the Jew, that he represented a chosen people and that others were his inferiors, seemed to the Roman a ridiculous claim, when set up by an insignificant people inhabiting a small province. Rome tried to break down the old national barriers: it was exasperating that the Jew sought to thwart the attempt. According to Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) the Jews will neither eat nor sleep with aliens, and, while as a race they are most libidinous, they refuse to intermarry with other nations. Even their obligation to each other appears to be "obstinacy," and, while they are mutually sympathetic, they show *adversus omnes alios hostile odium.* Justinus (36. 2. 15) explains this clannishness on the ground that the prudential non-intercourse with foreigners, growing out of the old Egyptian lie about the leprosy contagion, became a religious obligation. Juvenal * and Tacitus unite in representing this clannishness as carried so far that the circumcised would not, except to fellow-Jews, point out a highway or direct to a spring of water.†

The Jew was not only a man-hater, *he was vicious and immoral.* Seneca, who as a moralist might be expected to have some appreciation of the morality underlying Jewish practices, can see in them nothing better than a *sceleratissima gens.*‡ Tacitus, who assumes the virtue of impartiality, outdoes their enemies in calling them *proiectissima ad libidinem gens* and in sexual matters *inter se nil inlicitum* (*H.* 5. 5). There is not much doubt that the immoral tendencies of Egyptian worship were laid equally at the door of Judaism. The Roman knew the Egyptian origin of the Jews, § and likely assumed that, before

* 14. 103-104: (sc. *solent*) *non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti, | quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.*

† The enthusiasm of Claudius Namatianus for paganism leads him to go out of his way to assail both Christianity and Judaism: *Radix stultitiae: cui frigida sabbata cordi, | sed cor frigidius religione sua* (1. 389-390).

‡ *Fragm.* 42 (ed. Haase, Leip., 1878).

§ See Tacitus, *H.* 5. 3.

the Jews left Egypt, their religion was Egyptian. That the Jewish worship was confounded with that of Isis is clear, and the Isis priest, whose linen robes and fillets reminded the undiscriminating crowd of the priests of Jehovah,* was recognized as a corrupter of women. In the reign of Tiberius the Jews and Egyptians were *together* expelled from Rome.†

The Hebrew's *opposition to art* was a religious one, or, at least in part, a result of his law, which forbade the making of human figures.‡ Because he carried it so far as to refuse to erect statues in honor of the Cæsars, his enemies converted the refusal into a *charge of disloyalty* to Rome. How groundless was the charge is shown by the well-known custom of offering temple sacrifice for the emperor and the Roman people twice each day. Still Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) will have it that the proselytes are taught to despise the gods of the state and to ignore the claims of country. In sharp contrast to other provincials was the Jew's refusal to undertake magistracies, as we have seen (*cod. Theod.* 12. 1. 158), and to fight in the armies of the empire. This fairly earned reputation as seditious and discontented subjects of Rome the Hebrews maintained long after every hope of national rehabilitation had vanished. When the emperor Marcus Aurelius was in Judæa *en route* to Egypt, disgusted with the filthy and seditious Jews, he is said to have exclaimed: "*O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni!*" §

The ignorance and prejudice of the Romans as to matters Jewish is especially patent when we take into account the treatment of Judaism by the historians, and this, too, when Rome was full of Jews, when appeal might have been made to their sacred books, and when Judaism had been ably defended by its own representatives. This prejudice degenerates too frequently into studied contempt or hardly disguised hatred. Of the Romans who wrote in Latin of Jewish affairs the most voluminous is Tacitus. In view of his professions of fairness we have a right to expect that he will seriously look into the history of the people of whose origin he writes. Instead of so

* C. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, Lond., 1872, vi, 432, n. 1.

† Suetonius, *Tiberius* 36; Tacit., *Ann.* 2. 85.

‡ See Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* 2. 10. 4.

§ Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 5. 5. Various readings for *inquietiores* are *inertiores*, *deteriores*, and *incertiores*.

doing, he apparently assumes the task of maligning a whole race and of rendering unpopular a people whose religion a multitude of his countrymen had evidently come to believe in and respect. We have already seen Tacitus serving as retailer of the Egyptian falsifiers who systematically misrepresented things Jewish. No one can read what Josephus says about the falsifications of Manetho (*contra Ap.* 1. 25 *sqq.*), of Cheremon (*ib.* 32, 33), and of Lysimachus (*ib.* 34, 35) without believing that Tacitus used either these writers or J. himself. In the latter event, the historian has left himself without excuse, for he has purposely overlooked the account of Josephus and culled out the malicious fabrications which Josephus only mentions that he may fairly answer them. In narrating the origin of the Jews Tacitus (*H.* 5. 2) indulges in a tissue of absurdities, historical and etymological, referring the Jews, according to hearsay, successively to Crete, to Aethiopia, to Assyria, and even to the Solymi, "a people celebrated in the Homeric poems."* The whole account is calculated to make the reader believe that these people were national pariahs, who had no history, no God, and no worship that could commend itself to rational men. Even Jewish patriotism becomes in the eyes of Tacitus a culpable obstinacy.† But ignorance and expressed contempt are not to be predicated of Tacitus only. Justinus (36. 2) has an account of the origin of the Jews worthy of comparison with that of Tacitus. Cicero, who was in most matters no narrow bigot, probably voices the opinion of the educated classes when he compares the Jews as a nation of slaves with the Syrians.‡ In *pro Flacco* 28 Judaism is a *barbara superstitio.* And this was the view commonly entertained of it.§ Suetonius (*Aug.* 93) thinks it worthy of mention that Augustus *Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit,* and, after bringing to a successful issue a great struggle, of which the most dreadful siege of ancient times was the culmination, neither Vespasian nor Titus was

* *Iliad* 6. 184, 204; *Ody.* 5. 283.

† Tacitus (*H.* 5. 10) (writing of Vespasian before the siege of Jerusalem): *augebat iras, quod soli Iudaei non cessissent.*

‡ In *orat. de prov. cons.* chap. 5, Cic. says that Gabinius delivered the publicani *in servitutem Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti.*

§ Comp. Seneca cited by St. Augustine, *de civ dei* 6. 11; Tac., *Ann.* 2. 85, and *H.* 2. 4; 5. 8; Quint. 3. 7. 21; Pliny, *Panegyr.* 49. 8; Apuleius, *Flor.* 1. 6; Servius to Verg., *A.* 8. 187; *Digesta* 50. 2. 3. 3. Comp. Horace, *Sat.* 1. 5. 97–101.

willing to assume the name *Iudaicus*, as was to be expected. The Jew is consistently represented by Juvenal and Martial as a low, poor wretch and an object of public insult—a marked contrast to his condition at an earlier time.* These writers both picture him as a chronic beggar, as when Martial (12. 57. 13) speaks of "the Jew who has been trained by his mother"—who begged before him—"to beg." In order to paint as darkly as possible the neglect by his countrymen of a site hallowed by the Numa myth, Juvenal† pictures the place as inhabited by poverty-stricken Jews—so poor that the trees are their shelter by night, and their goods and chattels a basket for begging, and a bundle of hay on which to sleep. Even when Martial (11. 94) addresses a Jewish poet (*Solymis . . . natus in ipsis*) it is in the most insulting tone. Juvenal (3. 296 *sqq.*), in describing the night dangers of the Roman streets, makes the drunken bully who assaults Umbricius add insult to injury by calling him a Jewish beggar: *Ede ubi consistas; in qua te quaero proseucha?* Sometimes the insult was carried so far as to outrage decency and private rights. Suetonius (*Domit.* 12), after the statement that the two-drachmæ poll tax imposed on the Jews was under Domitian collected with extreme rigor, adds that when a young man he was present in a crowded assembly as a state official physically examined a man ninety years of age to ascertain whether, having been circumcised, he was subject to the tax.‡

We have seen how the peculiar attitude of the Hebrew excited contempt and even hatred. This must have been intensified in no slight degree by the bitterness of the great struggle which ended with the capture of Jerusalem.§ How far is this

* Rank, military service, and high place did not stand between him and the taunts of the satirist. There is not much doubt that the object of Juvenal's insulting words, 1-129–131—

Atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
Nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches,
Cuius ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est

sed etiam cacare: Fried. Juv. ad loc.)—is none other than the Alexandrian Jew Tiberius Julius Alexander, nephew of Philo, procurator of Judæa, procurator of Egypt, later in the Parthian and Jewish wars. Comp. Suet., *Vespas.* 6; Tac., *Ann.* 15. 28, *Hist.* 1. 11; 5. 2. 74 and 79. For a time much later see Claud. Claudianus, *in Eutrop.* 1. 230–221.

† 3. 12–16.

Hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae.
Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Iudaeis, quorum cophinus faenumque supellex.
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
Arbor et electis mendicat silva Camenis.

‡ To this sort of thing Martial 7. 55. 7–8 refers.

§ As individuals the Jews seem to have been law-abiding, attending to legitimate means of acquiring wealth. Incidental allusions, such as Justinus (40. 2. 4) makes to Jewish brigands in Syria, prove nothing.

later conventional Roman opinion reflected in the treatment to which the Jew was subjected by his conqueror? We have seen at various times evidences of liberal treatment at the hands of the Roman. Tacitus (*H.* 5. 9), after recognizing that Pompeius was of Romans the first to subdue the Jews, seems to assume that some defense of his action in entering the Holy of Holies is necessary. Cicero (*pro Flacco* 28) seems to consider it a mark of great virtue in Pompeius that he did not steal the vast temple treasure, attributing it to "pudor!" But the political unrest of the Jew continually involved him in trouble. After the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius in B. C. 63, Roman and Jew stood as enemies face to face. The brevity of treatment by the historians is only too indicative of the contempt or ignorance commonly entertained for the conquered people.* Tacitus disposes of the career of Herod the Great in two or three lines—scant notice for a man of whom Josephus (*Antiqq.* 15. 10. 3) can say, "Whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar and then Agrippa, who was his principal favorite, Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod beside Cæsar."

In the year 19 A. D., during Tiberius's reign, the senate, moved by some dreadful exposure,† proceeded against the Isis worship, and Judaism, for reasons already mentioned, seems to have been confounded with the Egyptian cult. What happened we know from Tacitus (*An.* 2. 85): "Measures were taken to rid Rome of the Egyptian and Jewish cults, and the senate voted that four thousand men of the freedman class, contaminated by that superstition and of proper [military] age, should be transported to Sardinia for the purpose of putting a check upon the banditti there. It was assumed that, should they perish there because of the unhealthiness of the climate it would be small loss (*vile damnum*). As to the rest, it was further decreed that, unless before a given day they abandoned their unholy rites, they should withdraw from Italy." It is quite clear

* Julius Florus (40. 30) says: *verum hanc quoque et intravit* [*Pompeius*] *et vidit illud grande impiae gentis arcanum patens, sub aurea vite cillum.* Aurelius Victor (*de viri illustr.* c. 77) disposes of the Jewish war with *atque Iudaeos cum magno sui terrore penetravit* [Pompeius]. Pliny (*N. H.* 7 §98) and Ammianus Marcellinus (14. 8. 12) are almost as brief. Comp. also *epit.* to Bk. 102 of Livy. The limits of this paper preclude more than an illustrative use of the statements of the historians.

† See also Jos., *Antiqq.* 18. 3. 4, 5.

from Suet., *Tiberius* 36, that the Jews are referred to here.* Tacitus's reference (*H.* 5. 9) to the demand of Caligula, that his supreme divinity should be acknowledged in the temple, utterly fails to recognize the monstrosity of the idea to a monotheistic Jew, who could tolerate no human image whatever. That of all the procurators, † Tacitus characterizes Felix, brother of the notorious Pallas, the favorite freedman of Claudius himself, as preeminently outrageous and vile is abundant proof that other accounts of his rule are not overdrawn. The historian says (*H.* 5. 9): ‡ "Antonius Felix, distinguishing himself for cruelty and licentiousness of every sort, exercised with the spirit of a slave a despotism worthy of a tyrant." In view of Tacitus's explicit mention of Christ (*Ann.* 15. 44) as founder of the Christians and his execution under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa, what are we to think of the statement of Suetonius? § Is it a case of crass ignorance? ‖ The *impulsore Chresto* will admit of more than one explanation. *Chrestus* may have been a Jewish false Messiah at Rome, with the real or assumed name *Christus*. The name *Chrestus*=*χρηστός*, "good, gentle," was not rare at Rome. ¶ It is more than likely that the Jews and Christians were confounded in Roman imagination and that Suetonius blunders, placing Christ, whom he misnamed *Chrestus*, at Rome instead of Jerusalem. The difference in pronunciation between *Chrestus* and *Christus* was very slight, and the latter="the anointed one," would mean nothing to a pagan Gentile.**

Tacitus's description of Jerusalem and account of the great rebellion ††—the end of which was coincident with the collapse of the Jewish nation—fragmentary though it is, because of the

* Comp. Tac., *H.* 5. 9. This is not likely inconsistent with the statement of *Ann.* 2. 42, made relative to the year 17, that Judæa and Syria, overburdened with taxation, prayed for relief, and that "the young Germanicus" was sent with extraordinary power to the East to pacify the malcontents.

† Tacitus mentions other procuratores and legati, as do the inscriptions, for example, Wilm. 1622 *a*=*C. I. L.* 3. 5776; *ib.* 3, p. 857, priv. veter. xiv; *ib.* 10. 4862 (Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis).

‡ Tac. *Ann.* 12. 54 ought be read. Comp. Acts chap. xxiv.

§ *Claud.* 25: *Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.*

‖ Dio Cassius (60. 6) informs us that the proposed expulsion of the Jews was abandoned. Comp. Acts xviii, 2.

¶ See Cic. *ad famil.* 2. 8. 1 and the Indexes to the volumes of the *C. I. L.*

** On the misuse of *Chrestus* for *Christus*, see Tertullian, *Apol.* 3; Id. *ad nat.* 1. 3; Lactantius, *Instit. divin.* 4. 7.

†† See Tac., *H.* 1. 10; 2. 4; 5. 1 and 10 *sqq.*

lost books, is most interesting. Too long to quote here, it should be read in connection with the account of Josephus.

Other writers add but little to the fragments of Tacitus. Suetonius * glorifies Titus's personal prowess in the final assault. The inscription on the arch of Titus (*C. I. L.* 6. 945= Wilm. 923), erected in Rome by the senate to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem, ignores any mention of the Jewish war; but the *relief* inside the arch shows the triumphal procession with men bearing sacred vessels brought from the temple.† However, another arch, dedicated to Titus, which stood in the Circus Maximus until the fourteenth or fifteenth century, alludes to the capture of Jerusalem in language needlessly false.‡ These reminders of the past, no less than the coinage of the Flavian emperors with its IVDAEA CAPTA, IVDAEA DEVICTA, must have stung the survivors to the quick (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* 6. 326, 354, 2d edit.). Especially galling to men who recalled the splendor of the old temple§ and had seen that splendor disappear amid fire and carnage must have been the tribute paid to maintain the worship of the Capitoline Jupiter.‖ That the Messianic hope was the mainspring of the unrest, which culminated in revolt, receives countenance from Suetonius (*Vespas.* 4): *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et con-*

* Tit. 5: *Novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, capitque eam natali filiae suae.* Eutropius (see 7. 21 *sqq.*) says the same thing. Aurelius Victor (*Tit.* 10) has not a word about the Jewish war; comp. Id *de Caesar, Vespas.* 9. 10. More interesting is the picture which Valerius Flaccus (in his dedication of the *Argonautica* to Vespasian) gives of Titus at the siege: *versam prolem tua pandet Idumen | (namque potest), Solymo ac nigrantem pulvere fratrem | spargentemque faces, et in omni turre furentem.* Comp. Martial 2. 2. 5.

† On the fate of the golden candlestick, etc., see R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Bost., 1889), p. 296 *sqq.*

‡ *C. I. L.* 6. 944= Wilm. 923: SENATVS . POPVLVSQ . ROMANVS IMP . TITO . CAESARI . DIVI. VESPASIANI . F . VESPASIANO . AVGVSTO . PONTIF . MAX . TRIB . POT . X . IMP . XVII . COS. VIII . P . P. PRINCIPI . SVO . QVOD . PRAECEPTIS . PATRIS . CONSILIISQ . ET . AVSPICIIS . GENTEM . IVDAEORVM . DOMVIT . ET . VRBEM . HIERVSOLYMAM . OMNIB. ANTE . SE. DUCIBVS. REGIBVS . GENTIBVS . AVT . FRVSTRA . PETITAM . AVT . OMNINO . INTEMPTATAM DELEVIT. This ignores the repeated capture of Jerusalem by the Egyptian kings, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes in B. C. 168 (Justin. 36. 1. 1; comp. 37. 3. 8-9) and Pompeius. Comp. Seneca, *Suasor.* 2 § 21. Other witnesses to the siege are the seals found on the Mount of Olives and under the debris of the city and bearing the inscription LXF or LXFRE=*legio X. Fretensis* (*Eph. Epigr.* 2. 349, p. 293; *ib.* 5. 1441, p. 618), which receives interpretation in the fact that the tenth legion was the one left by Titus in charge of the ruined city. The coin of Vespasian, VICTORIA NAVALIS (Eckhel 6, p. 330; comp. *Eph. Epigr.* 3, p. 331), commemorates Vespasian's naval victory on Lake Gennesaret, described by Josephus, *Wars of Jews*, 3. 10. 9, 10.

§ As late as 400 A. D. the *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 14 forbade the collection of the Jewish tax for the maintenance of the temple worship.

‖ If the coin FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA (Eckh. 6. p. 404) can be depended upon, there would appear to have been some amelioration in the matter of the two-drachmæ tax.

*stans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu patuit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes rebellarunt.** The Romans naturally referred this prophecy to Vespasian, hailed emperor by the legions of Syria, of which Judæa was a part.

But Jewish patriotism was not dead. When Trajan died Hadrian inherited the bequest of mingled power and trouble. The result of the last desperate struggle for Palestine (132–135 A. D.), precipitated apparently by Hadrian's attempt to rebuild Jerusalem † (from which the Jew was barred by royal mandate), and led by Simeon bar Koziba (Barcochebas), surnamed "the Son of the Star" (Num. xxiv, 17), could not be doubtful. (Comp. Spartianus, *Hadr.* 5. 2 and 14. 2.) The issue of this forlorn hope was absolute ruin. Still, the obstinacy of the Jew made the Roman victory costly.‡ Even the later coinage calls to mind the fact that the cup of Jewish bitterness was not yet full. The very name of the sacred city was to give place to a pagan one—Aelia Capitolina §—by which the Jew must be reminded at once of his conqueror and of the triumph of the

* Various stories are told by Tacitus and Suetonius of prophecies which foretold to Vespasian the power that afterward became his. For examples, Tac., *H.* 2. 78: *Est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus* [*mt. range through a part of Galilee and across Phœnicia to the sea*]: *ita vocant montem deumque* [*that is, whose oracle was there*]; *nec simulacrum deo aut templum,—sic tradidere maiores—ara tantum et reverentia. Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos, inspectis identidem extis, "Quicquid est," inquit, "Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum exstruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum." Has ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat.* Suet. (*Vespas.* 5) tells the same story, adding, *et unus ex nobilibus captivis Iosepus, cum coiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseravit fore ut ab eodem* [*that is, Vespasian*] *brevi solveretur, verum iam imperatore.* Comp. Josephus's own account, *Wars of Jews* 3. 8–9. See also Cicero, *de divinit.* 2. 54. 110 *sqq.*

† We know from coins and inscriptions that Hadrian was in Syria in 130-131 A. D.; for example, coins with ADVENTUI AVG[USTI] IUDAEAE, Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* 6. 495. *C. I. L.* 3. 116 (found at Jerusalem) is a reminder of H.'s visit: *imp. caes.* TITO. AEL HADRIANO | ANTONINO AVG PIO | P P PONTIF AVGVR | D D [=*decurionum decreto*]. The title *Imp. II.* was doubtless conferred upon Hadrian in recognition of the Jewish war. See *C. I. L.* 6. 975 and 976=Orelli-H. 813 and 2386 and *C. I. L.* 14. 3577. Comp. *C. I. L.* 6. 974=Orelli-H. 5457. *C. I. L.* 3. 2830 mentions the *ornamenta triumphalia* conferred upon Julius Severus, who was transferred from Britain to Judæa to suppress the revolt.

‡ Dio (69. 14) gives the number that perished in battle as 580,000—but a small part of the total loss by plague and famine. Fronto, *de bello Parth.*, in a letter to M. Aurelius (ed. Naber, Leip., 1867, pp. 217–218), says, *quid? avo vestro Hadriano imperium optinente quantum militum a Iudaeis, quantum ab Britannis caesum?* The desperate character of the war is also attested by the inscriptions which prove the participation of legions and auxiliaries, some of them from outlying provinces, where they had long been located. See, for example, *C. I. L.* 14. 3610=Orell. 6501; *C. I. L.* 6. 3505; *ib.* 6. 1523=Orelli-H. 5480; *C. I. L.* 10. 3733=Orelli-H. 832; Orelli-H. 3571. Even the Syrian fleet was called upon, for example, *C. I. L.* 8. 8934=Orelli-H. 6024 and *C. I. L.* 6. 1565 (*Eph. Epigr.* 3. p. 231). See also *C. I. L.* 8. 6706=Orelli-H. 6500.

§ See Eckhel 3, p. 441 *sqq.*; HELYA CAPITOLINA, in the *Tabula Peuting.*; *C. I. L.* 3. 116.

chief representative of the pagan's gods.* As if this were not enough, the site of the Holy Place must be desecrated by a temple erected to the Capitoline Juppiter. The old unrest remains, but it cannot longer be dignified as patriotism.† Henceforth, though cosmopolitan, the Jew is a stranger among men.

The history of later Judaism is not to be read in pagan sources, for the later conflict was waged with the Church, and the Church was not so tolerant of unbelievers as had been paganism. It is doubtful whether much of the legal enactment against Judaism after the second century can be considered as pagan at all, for the union of Church and State inaugurated an active propaganda and the *edicta* of the Christian emperors were inspired by Christianity.‡ On the other hand, Julian (361–363 A. D.), who hated Christianity, favored the Jews. His favor extended so far that, before his fatal Persian expedition, he attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. Why he failed we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (23. 1. 2–3).

Such is the light thrown by Latin sources, other than patristic, upon Judaism. We have seen the Jew pushing his propaganda to the farthest corners of the Old World; we catch glimpses of conquered Judaism wringing reluctant acknowledgment from its conquerors; we see what the Roman thought of it, as Roman opinion veered from favor to jealousy or contempt, and, later, to a hatred which led to repressive measures. But amid poverty, misrepresentation, carnage, and political ruin, national character still asserts itself, until passion has burned itself out in futile efforts to preserve national entity.

* *Aelia*, the nomen of Hadrian; *Capitolina*, referring to Juppiter Capitolinus.

† Of this unrest we have occasional glimpses, as, for example, Julius Capitolinus, *Anton. Pius* 5. 4; Spartianus, *Severus* 16. 7; Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus* 42. 10.

‡ For example, *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 1 (Constantine, 315 A. D.) provided a death penalty for Jews. *Ib.* 1. 9. 1 invalidated a bequest to the Jews of Antioch. At a later time new means of repression and annoyance were found; for example, *cod.* 1. 9. 5 (Gratianus, 383 A. D.) required service of Jews at court. *Cod. Theodos.* 3. 7. 2 forbade marriage between Jews and Christians. Comp. *cod.* 9. 9. 5 and *cod. Just.* 1. 7. 6. *Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 15 (Honorius, 404 A. D.) excluded Jews from an army career. *Nov.* III (Theodosius II, 425 A. D.) disbarred Jews from legal practice, from the civil service, and forbade the erection of new synagogues. *Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 22 (415 A. D.) continues the war against circumcision.

Edwin Post.

Art. VIII.—THE SAVIOUR'S TOMB.

When in Jerusalem we went out of the city to see an ancient tomb, believed by many to be the veritable tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, and the place where the Lord lay. Because of the interest gathering about it we give a description of this tomb, and also some of the reasons why it is considered to be the very one in which the body of Jesus was laid, and from which he arose on the third day. John says, "Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid." Matthew tells us that Joseph took the body "and laid it in his own new tomb." We are told in Hebrews that he, Jesus, "suffered without the gate;" and, whatever gate may be meant, because it was without the gate it must have been without the walls of Jerusalem.

In the excavations and surveys that have been made of Jerusalem it is conceded that the so-called Church of the Holy Sepulcher lies within the old walls. It is further granted by most authorities that the genuineness of the reputed site of the holy sepulcher rests solely upon the vision which Helena, the mother of Constantine, is said to have had; and the reality of this vision is generally repudiated. Therefore, if we are led by a reasonable faith instead of by a blind credulity, if we are guided by confidence in the revealed word of God instead of by trust in a pretended vision of a superstitious woman, then we must reject the traditional site of the holy sepulcher. Further than that, when Titus destroyed Jerusalem in A. D. 70 all that he left standing was a part of the walls of Zion; for sixty-two years the very site of the city was a waste place, and then it was rebuilt by the emperor Hadrian, and became a Roman city. The Jews under Barcochebas retook the city and occupied it only for a brief time, when it was again captured and made a Roman city. Before the siege by Titus the Christians all escaped to Pella, and it is regarded as very uncertain when they returned. During the time of the Roman occupation they were permitted to dwell in Jerusalem only under exceptional circumstances and in small number; and during the Jewish occupation if the sepulcher had been within the city it would likely be known to the Jews, and by them be destroyed

because of the hatred they had of Christians. So that we are not surprised that no mention is made of the holy sepulcher until the fourth century, and that Eusebius tells us the "illustrious monument had been lost in darkness and oblivion." But during the latter part of the first century it may have been known, and Schultz says in the Schaff-Herzog Cyclopedia: "Of course the first Christians knew the place where Christ was crucified and buried, but they evidently did not give much attention, or ascribe much value, to such externalities." But if they knew these sacred places they must have held them in reverence.

By the aid of natural features it may be possible to determine the position of Calvary, and we may also be able to locate the holy sepulcher. The evangelists translate Golgotha as "the Place of a Skull;" and the presence and position of the Greek article, together with the capitals, imply that it was a well-known place, and very early in the history of the Church was designated by a specific name. The gospels no doubt refer to a topographical characteristic in naming the place. As early as the time of Jerome it was held to mean "the Hill of Death." Now, outside of Jerusalem, a little northeast of the Gate of Damascus, there is a peculiar hill; it is in the shape of a skull, as has been shown by accurate plaster casts made of it. It is inclosed by four roads, and is very conspicuous from them and from the city walls, which meets the requirements of inferences obtained from Matt. xxvii, 39, and Mark xv, 29, and from the fact that the Romans always crucified their malefactors in such places in order to make the spectacle an impressive one to the people. This hill has been called from time immemorial "the Hill of Execution." Moreover, it appears that something took place there which has made a lasting impression by stirring the hatred of the Jewish people; for as they pass they throw stones at the hill and cry, "Cursed be he that destroyed our nation by aspiring to be the king thereof." After the most exact and patient investigation Dr. Conder has placed this hill in his maps of survey as Calvary.

Now, it is near Calvary, and in a garden, that we must seek for our Lord's tomb. And here just a little northwest of the skull-shaped hill we find a garden; this may easily have been a garden from the earliest times, for there is a deep and an-

cient well for irrigation, and the configuration of the land and its sunny exposure would make it a very desirable spot for a garden, as it is to-day. In this garden is an ancient sepulcher, of which we offer a brief description. After having hastily viewed it one morning in March we took a guide in the afternoon and went to examine it more closely. Passing a short distance up the road leading from the Damascus Gate toward Nablous, we came to a lane passing up a hill, and in the lane opposite the Church of the Witness of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ we reached an arched gate, the entrance to a garden. In this garden, on the upper side, not far from the gate, we found a deep excavation. Entering the excavation, we came to a singular tomb, very unlike those in the rocks near Akeldama, and different from any tombs we saw in Palestine. This sepulcher is cut into "the Hill of Execution."

The tomb must have belonged to a rich man, for the work is extensive and the finish fine; it must have belonged to a married man who had children, for there is evidence of preparation for several single loculi; and it never had but one occupant, because only one of the loculi was finished. We found two openings to the sepulcher; one was a door, and the other an opening in the masonry above the level of the door that had evidently never been closed. If one were to stoop and look into this opening from the garden level of old he might see clothes lying in the bottom of the loculus in the north side of the sepulcher; but he could not see a napkin that had been bound about the head unless he entered the sepulcher, which is in singular conformity with the requirements of John xx, 5. Upon entering the door of the sepulcher we found ourselves within a rectangular chamber whose greatest length is from south to north. In the northwest part of this chamber there is a groove cut into the rock wherein a slab could be fitted to form the side of a loculus, or single tomb; but the slab has apparently never been placed in position. At the right of this chamber, and at right angles with it, is another chamber cut into the solid rock and divided from the first by a partition which is pierced midway for a door. The second chamber, being below the level of the first, is reached by a descent of two stone steps. Crossing this chamber to the right, we come to a place for a loculus, but the loculus has

never been cut out, and the marks about it show that this place was used at an early date for an altar. On the wall of the chamber above the altar there is the fresco of a peculiar cross, a Roman cross with mortise-like ends. Above the left arm of this cross are the Greek letters iota and sigma, making the ancient abbreviation of the word Jesus; above the right arm are the Greek letters chi and rho, which form the ancient abbreviation of the name Christ. Below the left arm of the cross is the Greek letter alpha, while below the right arm is the Greek letter omega. These letters are in uncial characters, indicating that the fresco antedates the ninth century; and because the chi and rho are not in monogram the fresco may date before the third century, for at that time and thereafter they were usually placed in monogram.

If this peculiar chapel had been known to Eusebius, whose historical memory must have extended into the second century, as he was born in the latter part of the third, he would likely have spoken of it; but he does not speak of it; and of the tomb of Christ he says, as previously quoted, that it "had been lost in darkness and oblivion." Now, the gradual accumulation of rubbish around and over this might have caused it to be lost. Furthermore, there are other more definite considerations to identify this tomb as that of the Saviour. In the south side of the chamber there is cut into the rock a place for a loculus, but no place has been cut for the head to rest, and the slab for the side of the loculus has never been placed in position, the inference being that this loculus was never occupied. In the north end of this chamber is a loculus of great interest. It lies east and west, with head toward the east. The slab forming its side is in position, and the place for the resting of the head is cut out of the rock, indicating that not only was the chapel used for a tomb, but it also contained only one grave, and in this grave a body had been deposited. Outside of this sepulcher a Roman guard could be placed after the door had been closed by a great stone and sealed. Here, as long as the guard remained awake, no man could come and steal away a body, and what Roman guard ever slept at the post of duty? Here they could behold an angel if he rolled away the great stone. Here two women could stand and certain others with them, and two men in shining garments could stand by them

within this chamber. Here, after he had calmed their fears, an angel could lead the two Marys within, saying to them, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay." And here a young man in a long white garment could sit on the right side, and yet sit at the head of the tomb. The position and construction of this sepulcher are just such as a wealthy Sanhedrist would probably choose; and before a body was placed in the one particular loculus it was a new tomb hewn out of the rock wherein never man was yet laid. The strictest examination seems to show that this sepulcher meets the minute particulars given in the varying accounts presented in the several gospels, and harmonizes them all. Opposite the sepulcher have been found broken columns, tessellated pavement, and other remains of an ancient church, and near by was discovered a ruined crypt containing many ancient loculi placed close together. Upon the loculi were found inscriptions in abbreviated words formed of uncial Greek letters. Some of these we examined. One contains the following: "Nonus and Onesimus, Deacons of the Church of the Witness of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ." One tablet which has been removed, we were told, to Gethsemane, is said to bear the words, "Buried near his Lord." The loculi face the west and north sides of the sepulcher and tomb where Jesus is supposed to have been laid. The church must have been very old, for there is no record of it. Those who were to be buried in this crypt believed that so they would be laid near their Lord, that is, near where their Lord had been buried; the name of the church declares their assured and positive knowledge of his resurrection. It should be said in conclusion that this theory of the site of the holy sepulcher is not a new one; Mr. Fisher Howe, of New York, wrote a pamphlet forty years ago advocating its claims. The distinguished missionary and scholar, Dr. Jessup, of Beyroot, considers this to be the very tomb in which our Lord was laid, and an increasing number of scholars and archæologists accept the same conclusion.

W. R. Turner

Art. IX.—OUR BIBLE AND OUR FAITH.

Without doubt the most distinguishing feature of the religious thought of our day is the strife over the Bible. Once before in the Church's history it has been the object of intense controversy. For it the reformers strongly contended against Rome. In God's good providence they secured to us forever an unchained and open Bible, as the Magna Charta of the evangelical Church. But now, over this our priceless treasure we Protestants are striving among ourselves.

What is the cause? It is evident that the controversy is too often without any clear consciousness of motive or aim. We are all agreed in the firm persuasion that in our Bible we possess the sure word of God to us. It is certain no evangelical Christian has any thought of calling in question the authority of the Bible in the Church. Beyond this fundamental agreement, however, there is marked difference of opinion. Most Protestants are furnished and armed with a traditional view of the Bible's miraculous origin and constitution, which they believe to be indispensably necessary in order to a sure reliance upon its message. Over against the old view, and yet at the same time far removed from certain essentially negative theories, stands the representative "new view" of the Bible, championed—with minor differences but in essential agreement—by many of the leading orthodox theologians of the day, and accepted by not a few of the laity. Between the representatives of these two general views there is strife. At the same time all evangelical Christians are united in the common cause of maintaining the right authority of the Bible against the claims of Rome and its divine truth against the assaults of unbelief and of a negative criticism. Manifestly, the difference between the parties in our domestic strife is not a fundamental one.

And yet, respecting the real matter about which we are contending there certainly exists a general and most unfortunate unclearness. "Misunderstandings ordinarily arise from this, that people do not understand each other aright." So doubtless it is with us. So soon, however, as we reflect, it becomes plain that the real motive in all the controversy is the interest of faith. For no mere fond theory do men so contend. This

is no doctors' dispute, but a matter of most vital interest to every Christian. In the Scriptures we think we have eternal life, in their sure testimony concerning the Christ, the eternal Word of God and Saviour of the world. Therefore, for the sake of the faith by which we live, we contend as for our life against every man who seems to us to be about to mar our Bible or take it from us. Yet evangelical Christians do not at present understand each other. The one party believes that, if the absolute inerrancy and verbal inspiration of the Bible are given up, the basis of the faith is gone. The other party believes just as sincerely that the old view is in effect an obscuration of revelation, a hindrance to faith. Evidently the parties do not understand each other. How inconsiderate, aimless, blundering much of the disputing is! Both parties in the strife have one and the same end in view—"that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified." But the controversy can never come to a final settlement until the parties understand each other's spirit, standpoint, and aim, and especially until they clearly conceive the very nature of the issue itself.

The principle involved in the present controversy over the Bible is essentially the same as that for which the reformers contended, namely, the right relation of the Bible to faith; only we have the problem in a more advanced stage. The reformers contended first of all for the great fundamental principle of justification by faith. This having been established, there immediately arose the question concerning the authority for faith—whether to pope, to council, or to Scripture final authority should be ascribed. After much controversy and development of thought all Protestantism laid firm hold on the principle that the New Testament, together with the Old —with which it is inseparably connected in the chain of revelation—in a word, that the whole Bible, being the sure record of the revelation of God in Christ, must in all times and places be the only and sufficient rule of faith. This was the second of the two great principles of the Reformation. To the reformers the Bible had no other significance than as a minister of faith. As such, however, it was to them certainly more than mere rule. It was, first of all, the divine record of God's saving revelation —the ever-fresh and uncorrupted fountain of the water of life, from which every man had the right to drink freely with-

out the mediation of priest. For the reason that it was all this, the Bible—and the Bible only—was fitted to be the Church's canon. The essential principle of the relation of the Bible to faith the Reformation firmly established. To succeeding generations, however, was left the task of bringing the principle to its full conception and perfect application. Protestantism has here an unfinished problem to carry to its final solution. The same is, doubtless, true concerning all the great principles of the evangelical Church. We have as yet only fairly begun to realize them. Original Protestantism was reformed in principle, but was very far from being thoroughly renovated in thought and life. The Reformation recovered all the principles of the Gospel, but we cannot believe that any of them has even now quite reached its perfect application. As to faith, for example, is there not even yet remaining in Protestantism much of the false Roman notion as to its nature and object? As to the holy catholic Church—in which we believe, while we have with well-grounded assurance repudiated the Romish conception of it—can we claim that we ourselves, even after so long a time, have perfectly conceived and realized it? As to the Bible—which we profess to prize so highly—do we clearly comprehend what it signifies to the individual and to the Church, and have we secured its full and proper use? Protestantism according to its very nature has accepted all the problems, not of the world or of the being of God, but of the Christian life, and is bound to solve them. The solution will bring unknown blessing and power, for the solution is the realization of the perfect life and of the kingdom of God.

The persistence in Protestantism of a considerable portion of the old Romish spirit of scholastic dogmatism has only in very recent years received due recognition. It is, nevertheless, a most certain fact, and is the key to the understanding of much of the history of Protestant thought. The part which this old scholastic spirit has played in disturbing and retarding the progress of evangelical theology is nowhere better illustrated than in the case of Protestant dogmatizing about the Bible. In the reformers themselves the evangelical spirit strongly predominated; but in the next generation faith declined, and the scholastic spirit began to reassert itself. It was in this age that the theologians, seeking in Romish fashion to ground faith by means

of some purely external authority, substituted the Bible for the pope and invented for it the strictest theory of verbal inspiration. Could anything be more clear, more perfect, more conclusive, than the doctrine which they put forth? By the most inexorable logic, whoever admitted their first proposition—the actuality of a divine revelation—was forcibly conducted to an inevitable conclusion. If God—so the argument ran—gave man a saving revelation at all, he must have provided that it be conveyed to him in perfect integrity and in a form suited to his comprehension. To this end God must have provided for a written record of the revelation, and this record must be in every way perfect. Hence God must have dictated or suggested every sentence of the record *verbatim et literatim*, and thus have preserved it from error of every sort. Error could no more be ascribed to it than to God himself.

In the confidence of this old theory of inspiration the Church for generations rested quite undisturbed. Yet the theory was not sufficient to prevent a general decline of religious life. Moreover, orthodox Protestants, although armed with a theory apparently so invincible, were utterly powerless to check the tide of rationalism that swept over the Church in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the reason why the orthodox could not withstand the march of the rationalists was that at bottom they were rationalists themselves. For rationalism does not consist in the character of the conclusions one reaches, but in a certain principle and method. Whoever identifies Christian believing with any sort of mere thinking, whether unorthodox or orthodox, is a rationalist.

The old rationalism, however, has mostly passed away, having been overcome by a believing and progressive theology, one of whose chief distinctions was its energetic repudiation of the old mechanical theory of inspiration. But rationalism had never to any great extent modified the orthodoxy against which it contended. It was too extreme and too antagonistic for that. It won over individuals, but it could not modify the opposing system. With the new evangelical theology, however, the case has been different. Occupying the positive standpoint of faith, it has been able to gain in an ever-widening circle a sympathetic hearing. Nevertheless, the progress has not been very rapid. Of late, however, the advance movement of certain new views

of the Bible has been accelerated to a degree sufficient to cause uneasiness among conservative Christians. A century ago biblical criticism was carried on mainly in a hostile way, and by men of a negative and rationalistic temper. Now, however, we have fallen upon very different times. The problems of the higher criticism are being investigated by orthodox scholars, asking the same questions and handling the same materials as were formerly used chiefly with unfriendly intent, but so using them as to increase the intelligibility without diminishing the authority of the Christian Scriptures. The fact that at length faith has taken up in earnest the task of the critical examination of the Bible ought to be accepted by all as a manifest sign of good. But it does not so appear to all. To many the higher criticism in bulk, no matter how or by whom conducted, is a crime. The mere investigation of the authenticity of a book of the Bible is a sacrilege. To affirm that any book of the Bible contains errors of any kind is not far from blasphemy. Nor is this way of thinking confined to the laity. Many ministers are no less disturbed, believing that any modification of the views which they inherited and with little or no examination have adopted must mean a loss to faith. Others dogmatically repel all historical criticism, except where it seems to support their own opinions, however crude and unproved. There are, again, ministers of still another class, who feel bound to acknowledge the right and even the necessity of reverent biblical criticism, hoping for faith's sake that in the end the views which they and many others have cherished may be reestablished. Now all fear of the results of science is of doubt, not of faith. "True, faith, like perfect love, casts out fear."

> Nothing that keeps thought out is safe from thought.
> For there's no virgin fort but self-respect,
> And Truth defensive hath lost hold on God.*

In such a case of distress the theologian has a most important duty to perform. It is not his chief business to cultivate a science. The science of the true theologian is not for its own sake, but for the guidance and edification of the Church in faith. He has a more serious task than merely to settle questions of historical criticism. All critical study must be hallowed and made to serve and not subvert the interest of

* Lowell, "The Cathedral."

faith. No erroneous view of the Bible can be altogether harmless, for in some way and at some time it may become a hindrance to faith. So the critic who in any way corrects such a view takes away a stumbling-block to faith. He should, however, take care not to put another stumbling-block in the place of that which he removes. No doubt some of the popular notions about the Bible are utterly unable to stand the test of scientific inquiry. And when they are destroyed those who held them will be decidedly better off—unless, indeed, along with the destruction of the error faith was bewildered rather than helped. For it is possible that an inconsiderate critic should rudely snatch from people their precious errors without pointing out the real truth by which they must live. He may, perhaps, convince them against their will that what has been taken away is worthless, or even injurious. At the same time they are troubled and bewildered, and the general impression left upon them is that a subtraction has been effected. But the biblical teacher who at the same time is a theologian has in such a case a great opportunity to show that his views about the Bible, instead of being a subtraction, are in reality a distinct addition—instead of making faith harder, are rather calculated to make it easier, surer, deeper. It is his opportunity to quiet the alarm of those who are fearful, and to show them that true faith has a certainty too deeply grounded to be shaken by any of the changing thoughts of men or by any of the results of science.

This, then, is the great problem concerning the Bible, namely, its significance for faith. What is the Bible in its practical relation to the individual and to the Church? The importance of the problem cannot be overestimated. Behind every particular question of doctrine or morals, of creed or polity, lies the fundamental question concerning the authority of the Bible. Now, the fact that the Bible has normative authority in the Church, and that of right, is not a matter of controversy. No evangelical Christian questions it. The problem is to understand that authority so that all hindrances to the realization of the Bible's full significance may be removed. Far too much of the thought concerning the Bible has been directed to the formation of theories as to how God must have given it to us, and as to what it is in itself, apart from its actual

use. But the Bible is given for use, and not for curious theorizings as to how it was made. The first and chief question should be, What does the Bible do, and what is it designed to do, for the individual and for the Church? What it is we can only learn from what it does. Scientific theology has no place for *a priori* arguments to prove what the Bible must be. If it is to be recognized as having universal divine authority it must obtain that recognition by a practical proof of its unique and indispensable value to faith. And this it has done by the thorough test of many centuries of use and experience.

It can scarcely be doubted that much of the unclearness which has prevailed in Protestantism respecting the relation of the Bible to faith has been due to the remnant in it of the old Romish notions concerning the nature and objects of faith. The Roman Catholic view of faith, while it has never absolutely excluded the idea of personal confidence in God, has nevertheless made the credence of dogmas the chief thing. It has accorded to mere doctrines a saving power over the heart of man which the evangelical view ascribes to Christ alone. And the doctrines may be applied by every man to himself, without any antecedent renewal of the heart. The true evangelical conception, on the other hand, makes faith to consist solely in the personal reliance of our whole being upon God. No mere holding of certain things to be true is faith; and so-called articles of faith are not at all immediate objects of faith. They are rather judgments which faith forms concerning the various parts of Christian reality. But the faith itself is never anything else than a sure confidence in God. This faith in God is at the same time faith in Christ, who manifests the Father to us for our apprehension and, by virtue of all that is involved in the incarnation, is the fit and only Mediator to bring us to God. The great and destructive error into which so many Protestants have fallen is that they make the Bible as really as Christ an immediate object of faith, instead of a means to faith. They conceive the Bible to be a book of formal truths which God in these precise words suggested in the inner consciousness of inspired men, whom he also directed to write down the identical words given, in order that the world may know what God, the Lord, has spoken. To accept all these words as exactly and infallibly true, it is conceived, is an act of faith. The evil of this view must be appar-

ent to all who rightly conceive the nature of faith and the nature of revelation, which is the ground of faith.

Faith must have its grounds. If in life and death we are to confide in God it is necessary that he should be manifest as graciously disposed toward us, willing and able to forgive, restore, glorify. That he is so disposed toward us he has made known, not by suggesting a formal statement of the truth in the minds of a few prophets, but by manifest gracious dealings with all men at all times. His infinite love to men and his eternal purpose to save them are perfectly manifested in Jesus Christ, who in his own person sums up all that God is and does for men. In Jesus Christ we behold a life which, while genuinely human, has an unmistakably divine content. When we consider that life of perfect purity and truth, of heavenly wisdom and grace, of measureless love and sacrifice, we are constrained to say, "As is this Jesus, so also must God be." The love of Christ overmasters our hearts, if only we give it room, and we rejoice to find in him communion with our God.

And this Christ is not a mere guide into the presence of of God, there to leave us. He is the perpetual Mediator of the revelation and grace of God. We are evermore to gaze upon him, that we may have "the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." Now faith, wherever it exists, must have a present object. It is not enough to believe that in times past God communed with men. We must find a present Saviour. If Jesus Christ is nearly two thousand years distant he cannot help us. But he is still present, with all power to save, ever making the Father known. The office of the Holy Spirit is to present to us the living Christ, who rose a conqueror over sin and death, that he might fill all things. Faith lays hold of this present Christ. "Faith," said Luther, "is a certain sure confidence of heart and firm assent by which Christ is apprehended, so that Christ is the object of faith, nay, not the object, but, so to speak, in faith itself Christ is present." Hence, faith is saving because it is the bond that cements us to Christ, whose life is our life, whose wisdom is our wisdom, whose glory is our glory.

If, now, the Bible has any vital relation to faith, it must mediate a present revelation, it must make known a present Christ. It is just this that it does. It is the only and sufficient record of the revelation of God in Christ. Faith in Christ origi-

nates by an act of God in willing hearts which yield themselves to the persuasive revelation of God's grace. The ground of faith must be historical fact. We are able to yield ourselves absolutely to God, not because he says he will have mercy, but because in very deed he shows his infinite mercy in Jesus Christ. We read the words, "God is love;" but we believe in God's love because we know Christ, who shed his blood for us. If on every page of a book claiming to come from God were spread in golden letters the words, "God is love," they could not convince us, and would, indeed, be false, unless God actually dealt with us in love. So our faith finds the ground of its confidence in the historical facts of God's self-revelation in Christ.

Mere acquaintance with the facts, however, does not of itself produce faith. There is necessary not only an outward manifestation of God's power, but also an inward revelation of his presence. When Peter confessed Jesus as the Christ the Lord declared to him, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." This is the universal law of the origin of faith. There is first a knowledge of Christ after the flesh, and then, in the obedient heart, an inward revelation of the Word. In Jesus Christ the flesh was not the revelation, but the Word. The flesh was as a veil, or transparency, for the Word. With us the case is not at all different in principle from that of Peter. It is only a matter of circumstance whether the manifestation of Christ, in which by a spiritual revelation we find our God and Saviour, comes to the mind through the eye of the flesh or through tradition. Let once a true picture of Christ be presented to the mind, by whatever means, and there is a sufficient basis for the Holy Spirit to work faith in the obedient heart, whereby the present, living Christ is apprehended. The apostles in their preaching made not the least effort to produce in their hearers an orderly knowledge of the incidents of the life of Christ. They preached him as the Son of God, who died and rose again for our salvation. The New Testament writings, which arose as occasion called them forth, are not to be regarded as the documentary record of the life of our Lord, but rather as the documents of the apostolic preaching and testimony concerning him. They afford such a view of the historical Jesus as is needful for the production and confirmation

of faith in the living, glorified Christ. So the entire New Testament, epistles as well as gospels, belong to the apostolic testimony concerning Christ. Moreover, since Christ came as the consummation of the long revelation leading up to him, we need the Old Testament, which is the record of that revelation, that we may understand the full significance of Him who came as its fulfillment. So, the Church holds to the whole Bible as necessary to the right understanding of God's revelation in his Son.

This whole Bible is, as Luther wrote, "the book given by God the Holy Spirit to his Church." The Church gathered up the writings of the apostles and of some of their companions, and, after generations of practical testing, at length declared them to be—together with the Old Testament—the perpetual rule of faith. The inapproachable esteem in which the Church holds the Bible is due to two great facts. In the first place, the New Testament—and, as inseparably connected with it, the Old—is the original testimony concerning the revelation of God in Christ, is the unchangeable tradition proceeding from the apostolic Church. In the second place, it is an incomparable source of vital inspiration in the Christian life. That the book is from God the Church has never doubted. That it is "an historical piece, but unhistorically given," is a view which in reality is already fallen; but the Church will always affirm that the writers of the Holy Scriptures wrote not out of the wisdom of men, but as they were taught of the Holy Spirit. This Bible must ever be the source and standard of the Church's preaching. The faith that apprehends the risen and unseen Christ is always in the first instance faith in the historical Christ. There is not the slightest possibility that the spirit of faith should ever put anything else in the place of the only record which the world contains of the testimony of Christ's original disciples, trained and inspired for their work. Now this recognition of the authority of the Bible as God's saving word to men is not in the least affected by any questions of historical criticism. Is not the fact that the truth which in all these ages has given life to men is the same truth of which the Bible is the original record—is not this enough to put the authority of the Bible in the Church far beyond the possibility of historical criticism to unsettle it? Criticism has

to do only with the form and manner of the tradition. It has nothing to do with the content of truth. That is settled beyond cavil by the joint witness of those who had seen and could testify that "the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world," and of the multitudes following who, having not seen, have yet believed in the Lord, and in communion with him have great assurance and unspeakable joy. So the Church, knowing the grounds of its faith, will give free scope to all honest research, and will never deny the faith by saying, as some individuals inconsiderately do, that unless the Bible is verbally and absolutely inerrant it is not the word of God.

If the Bible is given, first of all, to the Church as its source and norm of doctrine, it is no less truly given to the individual believer as a member of the Church. It is not a book addressed to the unbelieving world, to bring it to Christ. The world could never be evangelized by means of the mere distribution of Bibles in heathen lands. Faith "cometh by hearing." How shall they believe without a preacher? So the living Church goes with its living message. Believers are brought into the fellowship of all saints through the testimony of the Gospel, which is the same, now and forever, as it was in the beginning. So every believer is to be made acquainted with the Bible, the voice of the apostolic Church, and in unanimous confession the voice of the Church in every age. In this Bible he finds not only credible testimony, but the loftiest and most inspiring expressions of Christian experience, and so his faith is fed and strengthened. If he has a clear certainty of faith—if he knows whom he has believed—he has not the slightest cause for disquietude on account of any real or supposed errors and discrepancies in the form and not the content of the record. To him the Bible is the inexhaustible, unfailing word of God. He proves it to be such; for through it by faith he comes face to face with his Lord, "who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."

J. R. Van Pelt.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is not aware of its own rapidly increasing abundance of high scholarship and manifold culture. This rich and vigorous abundance will report itself with enthusiasm and power, the coming twenty years, in all departments of the Church's life. We predict that in literature its efflorescence will be bloomy and its fruitage bountiful. The contributed articles in this number of the *Review* are by writers who have never before appeared as contributors in these pages. To hold the balance even, our next number will be filled by contributors whose writings have long been familiar to our readers.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote to Dr. S. Weir Mitchell: "I cannot work many hours consecutively without deranging my whole circulating and calorific system. My feet are apt to get cold, my head hot, my muscles restless; and I feel as if I *must* get up and exercise in the open air. This is in the morning, and I rarely allow myself to be detained indoors later than twelve o'clock. After fifteen or twenty minutes' walking I begin to come right, and after two or three times as much as that I can go back to my desk for another hour or two. . . . In composition, especially poetical composition, I stand on the brink of a river and hold myself very still, watching the thoughts that float by on the stream of association. If they come abundantly and of the right kind there is a great excitement, sometimes an exalted state, almost like etherization, incompatible with a sense of fatigue while it lasts, and followed by a relief which shows there has been a tension of which I could not be conscious at the time." Dr. Holmes also says that a man's best things are apt to be spontaneous, not the result of express premeditation, but dipped from the running stream of one's thoughts when it flows full to the banks. He should have added that a man must by diligent study see to it that his mind is continually fed from living fountains of thought, or no such bank-full stream will run in its channels.

Some Hebrew rabbis and others of the Jewish faith have publicly objected to a reference to Jesus the Christ which occurred in the Thanksgiving message issued last November by the President of the United States, wherein it is recommended that we, the citizens of this country, implore forgiveness of our sins and a continuation of heavenly favor through the mediation of Him who taught us how to pray. The objection shows a failure to apprehend the truth as to the character of this nation. By many a token, from the beginning until now, ours is as distinctly a Christian nation as it is a maritime nation; its Christianity is as actual and obvious as its Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The very courts have decided and declared Christianity to be part of the law of the land. Our Jewish friends are at liberty to dislike this fact; but to criticise its recognition in our public documents is neither good manners nor good sense.

With equal fitness the atheist, living in this Christian land, might find fault with any reference by public officials to a divine Providence; and the anarchist might object to the attempt of government to prescribe or suggest anything to the people as to their customs and observances. With similar propriety a Russian Jew might protest against United States officials using the English language in their messages and utterances. But this is a Christian country, and English is the language of the land, as "Old Glory" is its flag. Those who do not like the religion or the lingo or the Stars and Stripes can find large areas of the earth's surface unencumbered (and unblest) by the New Testament, the Anglo-Saxon speech, or the Star Spangled Banner; and at all our ports the gates are oiled to swing easily outward.

THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE IN BALTIMORE.

Madame Blanc, the distinguished French writer, whose observations in America are recorded in her book, *The Condition of Woman in the United States*, noticed elsewhere in this number, visited and examined many of our American colleges for women, as well as some coeducational institutions. A prominent Presbyterian pastor calls our attention to the fact that she seems to prefer our Woman's College in Baltimore. Part of what she writes is as follows: "Among establishments of recent date the college at Baltimore, opened in 1888 under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, seemed to me destined to the largest measure of success. The charming capital (?) of Mary-

...l, where it is situated, affords many advantages—a very mild ...mate, cultivated society, the neighborhood of a university, ...ndant libraries, art galleries like that of Mr. Walters, which ...open to the public on stated days and combines a large num... of the finest masterpieces of the modern French school, and, ...ly, the Conservatory of Music, due, with so many other gifts, ... the munificence of George Peabody. The construction of the Woman's College also testifies to that private generosity so com...only found in America. The Rev. Dr. John F. Goucher erected ...e impressive hall in Roman style, where laboratories occupy ... entire floor, the rest being devoted to classes, assembly rooms, ...collections of minerals, botanical and paleontological specimens, ... Mr. B. F. Bennett, in memory of his wife, added the mass...e edifice, in the same style, devoted to physical culture, and ...ntaining a swimming bath and gymnasium constructed after ...dish methods, which bid fair to oust German methods through...t America. The teachers in charge of the gymnasium are ...m the Royal Institute at Stockholm, and the famous Zander ...paratus is used to correct, by proper movements, any weakness ... deformity in the pupil. Once a year the progress made ... lung capacity and muscular power is measured. Separate ...ildings afford the students something very like family life. I notice when I go through them that the dining rooms, as well ... the kitchens, are situated on the top floor, to avoid all odors. ...evators, running constantly, prevent any inconvenience which ...ght otherwise arise from this plan. The girls eat at small ...bles seating eight. I talk with some of them—pretty, as all ...ltimore women are reputed to be, and possessed of a vivacity ...d grace which are decidedly Southern. There is no shadow in ...m of that somewhat haughty pedantry which I sometimes ob...rved in the North. Then, too, they have greater skill in turn...g a compliment. I have reached the South; I already feel the ...nities which exist between this part of America and France. ...ligious influences reigned over the foundation of the college, ... there is almost as much personal liberty here as anywhere ...e. While there is a rule forbidding the students to attend ...aters or balls, drink wine, or play cards, the girls are per...tted to give a monthly party under the direction of the lady in ...arge of the housekeeping, and each girl is allowed to invite ... or more friends. Food and lodging cost two hundred dollars ... year; tuition, one hundred dollars, not including accomplish...nts, with ten dollars extra for the use of laboratory apparatus.

Of course only a college very richly endowed could give so much for so small a price. The beautiful Methodist Episcopal church serves as the college chapel, there being a private passage between the church and Goucher Hall. The campanile is a more or less faithful copy of San Vitale ; and amid all these structures of Lombard architecture, in rough-hewn granite, it is indeed fine, solid, and severe of aspect. A preparatory school, known as the Latin School, thrives close by the college, under the same rules."

In harmony with the above were the words of Dr. Eliot, spoken to the recent annual meeting of the New England Association of College Presidents: "The best equipped college for women in this country is in Baltimore."

The institution which could so impress observers so critical and capable as Madame Blanc and the President of Harvard University, judging it from their very different standpoints and studiously comparing it with other colleges of its kind, and which receives hosts of students from other denominations and from all parts of the land, is, beyond question, eminently worthy of the pride and patronage of all Methodism. Our own laymen and ministers cannot, without loss and shame, neglect to acquaint themselves with its merits and attractions.

DANGERS FOR THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

There are grounds for distrust of the stability of the republic of France. First of all, French colonization has been a marked feature of the policy of the republic since the disastrous defeat of the nation by the Germans in 1871. During a period of twenty-five years France, having lost by the peace of that fatal year a large slice from her northeast portion, has sought a recompense in barbarous countries. She has established a colony in Tonquin, in a semi-Chinese population, at great cost in money and life ; and she has taken possession of the island of Madagascar within the present year. She has added Tunis to Algeria and pushed her rule southward into the desert. These enterprises have cost much treasure and made no return. Algeria has been a French colony for sixty years, and has not paid back a sou of the immense cost of the enterprise. The ordinary argument for colonies in England and in Germany does not apply in France. The growth of population is so slow that there is no force in the plea that new lands must be provided for the sons of France. Even if it were necessary the French would leave

homeland reluctantly, and go expecting to return. The two explain why France, having once owned more than half North America, does not now own a foot of it. If she had had people to spare in such numbers as England has had, and if her people had been as willing to expatriate themselves as the English are, France would be master here. She had the ... of discovery and conquest, and fastened forever her ... in the geographical names of this continent. If her La ... and her generals had been followed by such a flood of migration as England has poured into her colonies we would not ... here or we would be French. France has always listened to ... advice of her enemies in a remarkable measure. Bismarck ... suggested to a French ambassador, in 1874, that France might repair her territorial losses by founding new colonies; and in a ... months the Tonquin enterprise was undertaken. That pleased ... many for several reasons. It took off the French mind from ... meditations of revenge, consumed French treasure, and scattered the French army out over the globe. An interesting likeness is here to that policy of France with respect to her home frontiers which has been pursued for centuries. Paris is the heart of France; it is perilously close to the northern and northeastern frontier. And yet Bourbon kings, Napoleons, and republics have always tried to push outward the southern and southeastern frontiers; and in each case the enemies of France have adroitly turned the desire of France in the wrong direction at moments when looking northward might have been profitable. The insecurity of Paris threatens the peace of the world. And yet only rarely has a French statesman labored to remedy the evil. French eyes have wandered off to Italy or Spain, and whole centuries of diplomacy and war have been consumed in vain struggles for small strips of land in or beyond the Alps, while the capital remained exposed from the north. A hundredth part of the effort wasted in these vain struggles would have made Paris safe by pushing the northern frontier outward. The evil of the loss of Metz in the war of 1870–71 is that Paris is exposed more dangerously than ever before; this position tempts military Germany. What France under the republic now is to look off—this time far away into southeastern oceans — wasting treasure and dispersing her strength in an effort which ... history condemns. This is the first danger of the republic. ... men of monarchical sympathies see the mistake—see it because their political enemies are making it. They are not slack

in pointing it out; and some day of colonial disaster may overthrow the republic. Besides, there are innumerable details of colonization which provoke one by one discontent. For example, slavery exists in Madagascar. To destroy it by proclamation is apparently impossible; but the ministry has been forced to choose between that method and losing their places. Next year some new ministry will be confronted with the fact that slavery still exists in Madagascar; for the proclamation needs a great army behind it, and there is in fact only a small army there.

A second danger of the republic is its boundless extravagance, its shameless politics, its numerous parties, its ever-exploding scandals—the totality of its political life is diseased. Health there is in the nation, but it is more and more outside of the noisy friends of the republic. The Roman Church has made good use of its bad days; it is stronger in influence than ever before; and it does not trust or love the republic.

A third danger is that, for the first time in a quarter of a century, both monarchical parties have willing and available candidates. There is a Bourbon king in sight and a new Emperor Napoleon. The young men who bear these names are not advertising their movements; but either, in an opportune hour, might be proclaimed. Nothing may come to pass; but the possibility of a king or an emperor is assured; and fantastic politics in the republic inspires hope in two families having sons of full age and of approved character and ability.

A fourth danger lies in the increasing demands of the republic upon the wealth of the nation. Every kind of taxation but one has been pushed to its utmost limits. An income tax is now under discussion. The radicals demand it, and before long it will be conceded. That means a new and dangerous opposition of business classes, to whom, the world over, an inquisitive mode of taxation is odious because it is inquisitive. It carries with it, in France, a weakening of the resources of the nation for a day of peril from a foreign army. The war chest of former days is in our days the power of a people to suddenly and largely increase their taxes. It saved us in the civil war. But France pays in peace all forms and high rates of taxation, and a war minister would find it hard to increase revenue.

The sum of it is that by foolish and costly colonies without colonists, by political extravagance and scandals, by burdensome taxation, and by keeping the Roman Church in fear, the republic is gradually weakened in the confidence of the nation. And

...ns of houses which have reigned have come to mature age ...l command respect. The Bourbon prince is especially con...nous for personal and civic qualities of high excellence.

The army of France is a factor about which nothing is ever ...own until the day of revolution. In France, by tradition and ...tinct, the men of war despise the lawyers, who are now the ...verning class. The antagonism is kept out of sight because ...e lawyer is the master and obedience is the first law of mili...ary life. But the army has ruined two French republics, and ...ay ruin a third. Many contingencies may help the republic ...er the piece of bad road in front of it. The Turkish empire ...ay go to pieces under such conditions as to distract the French ...ind from home griefs. The bad chances in the far-off colonies ...ay not arise; and a strong Republican statesman may arise to ...t order in French politics. The last is not probable. States...n are not made in factions. The outlook is not assuring for ...e republic, though no sign of revolt appears on the troubled ...rface of the national life. Dangers multiply and intensify each ...ar, and many shadows darken the prospect, rendering at least ...oblematical the perpetuity of the French republic.

"OCCUPATION, STATESMAN; RELIGION, NONE."

Thus was the account given of himself by a colossal thief at the sergeant's desk for record on the prison blotter when he was brought in by the police. That the man who so registered did make a study of affairs of state and exercise over them considerable control none will deny; but he was a statesman only as a bank burglar is a banker; one plundered State and city as the other robs banks—a fraudulent and misnomered kind of statesman. His public career was an almost perfect type of statesmanship unmixed with religion, untrammeled by the slightest film of moral principle. Morality and religion are at bottom one—a sense of and loyalty to the highest right. Of that there was none at all in Boss Tweed's statesmanship, and he knew it. But he had the audacity to write himself down a statesman, for which, it must be confessed, he had some warrant from his times, and, were he now alive, might find warrant also in the present, which keeps Tweed in countenance by the presence, in all parties, of "statesmen" unencumbered by any sense of right. In the hall of civic history stands Tweed's figure like a brazen statue of statesmanship without religion. Not in every case does such

statesmanship receive its just deserts, for a "statesman" of that description is always entitled to the privilege of recording his occupation on a prison register, and, if need be, to have a page entirely to himself, that his name may be written large with all its aliases and every maledictory title with which an outraged and pillaged public may be moved by righteous wrath to pelt him.

"Statesmen" not a few, whose religion is the same in kind and quantity as Tweed's, are to-day at large, busy looting treasuries, municipal, State, and national; electing and controlling legislatures, framing charters, wrecking railroads; constituting, coercing, or cajoling courts, and corrupting the purity of elections by buying the votes of some, selling their own votes, preventing others from voting, stuffing ballot boxes, miscounting ballots, and "doctoring" returns. A prominent and politically influential Democratic journal calls attention to the dishonesty which it alleges to have been practiced in the recent presidential election in Virginia and Tennessee; it sternly and solemnly warns all election thieves, directing its words chiefly to those of its own party, and in the South, that they will destroy the republic if they do not stop. In this statement the journal simply speaks without exaggeration the sober, hard, grim truth; the situation is indeed dangerous and alarming. When States which have been thrown on their honor by the nation have not honor enough to confine their chicanery to "protecting civilization" on their own soil, but proceed to imperil by fraud the proper result of national elections, what is to be done?

It is advisable to consider how matters stand. The predicament which is so pregnant with peril is as follows: All citizens complaining to the United States government that they are being robbed of the elective franchise, and other rights given and guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, have been told by the national authorities that the government which can use its courts and its armies for the protection of interstate commerce and transmission of mails, as at Chicago in 1894, can do nothing to protect its citizens from being studiously and systematically robbed of that badge and crown and very heart of all citizenship, the right of suffrage. In this our government is as impotent as it sometimes appears to be in protecting its citizens from insult, robbery, violence, and murder in foreign lands. The ugly and mortifying fact is that, at home or abroad, the American citizen is insufficiently protected. Our federal Congress and federal

courts, not denying suffrage-robbery and other crimes alleged and proven, refers the complainant back for hearing and redress to the State government, to the very power that has assisted to victimize him by enactments which governors, legislatures, and courts combine to create and enforce. Congressional action on the Blair Educational Bill and the Lodge Federal Elections Bill has set the face of the national legislature that way like a flint; while the federal courts by their decision on cases brought up under the Kuklux and Sumner Civil Rights laws, and on appeals to federal courts against invidious discriminations enacted by various States, have delivered over the aggrieved and helpless citizen to the mercy of his State. The right or wrong of this, constitutionally or morally, we are not here and now considering; only stating facts and joining with patriotically anxious journals in remarking that the situation is perilous.

The right of a State to have its elections conducted, if it thinks proper, by means of disfranchising statutes, shotgun intimidations, miscount of ballots, or falsification of returns, appears to have been conceded by the national government, with the tacit approval of the nation and the efficient assistance of numerous friendly journals outside the interested States. It seems to have been firmly and finally decided that if the civilization of any State be of such a type as requires to be upheld by grand larceny of constitutional rights, then such "civilization" shall be permitted to protect itself from the meddlesomeness of hypervirtuous non-residents, and to repel so far as it can the far-fetched and pretentious impertinence of a man named Moses, formerly of Mount Sinai, now a mysteriously influential citizen of the universe, and a potentate among principalities and powers in heavenly places, who menaces certain forms of civilization with extinction by claiming divine authority for such sumptuary restrictions as "Thou shalt not steal"—not even votes nor the right of suffrage; and "Thou shalt not kill"—not even thine unduly pigmented fellow-citizen. By general consent it has been arranged that a State may sit serenely on the summit of its sovereignty surrounded like a heathen god with the bones of human sacrifices and offerings extorted from the terrified, or like the sultan, safe and complacent in his palace on the Golden Horn, and say boldly to all mankind, with the leer and language of that stalwart modern apostle of fraud, Mr. Tweed, "What are you going to do about it."

It seems, according to our metropolitan mentor, who declares

government by the people to be in deadly peril, that before the recent election there were "many misgivings that it would not be conducted honestly" in some States; and some "praiseworthy journals" in the South "made no secret of their distrust as to the methods by which it would be conducted." They therefore "exhorted the local election officers to refrain (this time) from destroying the force of the election as a true expression of public opinion." The journal kindly gives us a glimpse of the grounds for these preelection misgivings by mentioning that hitherto in portions of the South certain peculiar but indispensable measures for the control of elections by a minority have been used. These measures, it says, have been "tolerated by intelligent and enlightened public opinion," as being "necessary to prevent the destruction of Southern civilization." Out of consideration for the exigencies of "civilization" all hampering laws had been removed, so that, we are informed, "those States were left absolutely free in their elections on the third of November last." And now we are able to perceive the exact nature, shape, and dimensions of the peril which has affrighted patriotic journals, South and North. The danger was that the local managers might, through momentum of habit and sheer dead weight of asininity, fail to discriminate between occasions, and so go on as usual practicing fraud, tampering with suffrage and the sanctity of the ballot box, not realizing the importance at this critical juncture of putting at least enough honesty into the election to prevent the "ruin of the nation through Mr. Bryan's entrance into the White House." That necessary, timely, and well-aimed fraud is one thing, and unseasonable, misdirected rascality quite another, is too plain to need elucidation. Even Tweed, the "statesman" with no religion, came in time to perceive that, and to know that "unmerciful disaster follows fast and follows faster" on the heels of miscreants and felons who fail to remember the difference at a sufficiently early hour.

Well, it seems that the awful *faux pas*, foreseen to be possible to an undiscerning "statesmanship," was actually committed. Hence the mournful ululations now sounding long and loud from brainy editorial sanctums. It is reported that, with most fatuous feloniousness, as well as with base ingratitude toward many generous promoters of their liberty, the "statesmen" of certain States have used that liberty as a cloak of maliciousness to rob the wrong party. We are told that the freedom granted to those States for the purpose of enabling negroes to prove an *alibi* if

somebody should accuse them of being at or near the polls on election day has been misused by political mismanagers so as to steal Tennessee and Virginia from McKinley; and this is severely denounced as a scandalous abuse of the liberty to cheat. This high misdemeanor is a shocking disappointment to Northern copartisans, because those States had shown considerable aptitude and practical sagacity in cooperating with the kindly offices of friends outside their borders; they had ingeniously planned and neatly accomplished the expunging from their own statute books of all laws obstructive of the liberty of cheating in elections, so that electoral fraud might have free course and be glorified in the saving of civilization." Even the honor which exists among thieves stands aghast at the turpitude of stealing from the wrong persons. That is the blunder, often referred to, which is worse than a crime. Crime, it is held by "statesmen," may be necessary and commendable for "preventing the destruction of civilization;" but the stupid crime that blunders into imperiling the visible existence of the very republic which protects the right of a State to use any necessary means to prevent the destruction of the local "civilization" is utterly inexcusable. For it the most astute and cunning advocate ever retained by criminals could construct no argument in defense. Such *gaucherie* is simply horrible; its bare mention is enough to make any intelligent thief go softly with unwonted caution, distrusting his kind for the remainder of his days. The offense is rank; it smells to the opposite of heaven; its stench is enough to asphyxiate even lost spirits accustomed to brimstone.

We are not surprised to learn that "Southern papers of the highest character" consider themselves "released from the obligation they previously felt to preserve silence with regard to dishonest practices at the elections," and go to the pitch of indignantly reprimanding those guilty of such flagrant perversion and untimely misuse of the privilege of fraud. And an illustrious Democratic Northern daily, after announcing that "the dishonesty feared, if not expected, was practiced to a serious and even appalling extent in Virginia and Tennessee," justly and solemnly says that "this is a matter of extreme gravity," because it "tends to bring the Southern States into peculiar disrepute, and reveals a condition of public sentiment there . . . which threatens the very existence of the republic, whose only safety rests in the purity of the ballot box or in elections as actually expressive of the popular will honestly and freely declared. If, for instance,"

continues our journalistic luminary, "the result of the late election had depended on the electoral votes of a Southern State whose election frauds were notorious, the consequences would have been appalling;" and then it adds that if the election of Mr. Bryan "had been obtained by false counting and other flagitious practices at the election in any Southern State on whose electoral votes the result for the whole Union depended," there would have been "a terrible revolt against the outrage." Surely, surely, it would have been an "outrage," and where is the man with soul so dead he would not rise in revolt against villainy so misdirected, so unsuited to the situation, so deleterious, and so perilous? We were prepared to hear the journal from which we have quoted propose some drastic remedies for a condition so aggravated. We would not have been startled if it had even suggested that "statesmen" who have displayed such glaring incapacity deserve to have the legalized privilege of fraud taken away altogether by the enactment of laws permitting nothing but plain, unequivocal honesty in elections; but, acute and critical as the crisis is described to be, it seems not to be considered as justifying such severe and awful treatment as the enactment of anything resembling the Ten Commandments or the Golden Rule.

It is extremely humiliating to "statesmanship" which has congratulated itself on its superior adroitness to see its best-laid schemes turned against itself. This "statesmanship" has looked northward with amused pity at the folly of cities like Boston, New York, and Chicago, which submit to be governed, disgraced, and robbed by thugs and criminals, by Tammany gangs, by ignorant, insolent, and predacious foreigners, because those cities lack the sagacity to adopt the new definition of democracy as the rule of a minority; because their pusillanimous and blockhead citizens consent to see their fair and proud municipalities in the control of the worst elements rather than abandon such fundamental republican principles as the supremacy of the majority, the inviolability of the ballot box, and the inalienable sovereignty of the citizen, whether native or naturalized, blonde or brunette. Fat-witted Puritan fanaticism, suffering humiliation, loss, and injury out of stubborn devotion to mere principles, has often been an object of compassion.

But even in the South, now, the serious disadvantages of fraud to communities sanctioning it begin to be acknowledged. The Charleston *News and Courier*, after saying that the people

[illegible] supposed fraud to be better than force for "preventing the destruction of civilization," confesses that "its use was nevertheless a great blunder. Although first used against the negroes, it demoralized public sentiment, and in course of time was used by white men against white men. Hindsight is always better than foresight, and looking back we can see that it would have been better to kill out the negroes or submit to military rule than to have made fraud at elections respectable. Republican government is only safe on the condition of fair elections. Without them society is necessarily at the mercy of the lowest classes." The amount of *ex post facto* half-wisdom in such a confession is encouraging; not that there is a particle of penitence in the words, for this is not remorse, but only chagrin—a retrospective recognition of insufficient shrewdness and blundering method. But even an incipient perception of the inutility of immorality and prudential reflections produced by penalty may have initiative value. The disfranchisers, heartsick with disappointment at the results of their methods, now upbraid themselves for their shortsighted folly in "making fraud at elections respectable," and bitterly regret not having tried murder instead. They seem ready to approve the prompter and nimbler wisdom of Calvert City, Ky., where, it is reported, if a negro shows himself in the place he is immediately "shot by the enlightened freemen of the town." If repentance and reform have only advanced far enough to say regretfully, "It would have been better to kill out the negroes," then we must remark that the ferocity of that proposition is worthy of a Turkish Kurd proposing the massacre of an Armenian village; and "civilization" has its savages. True it is that if only the highwayman had killed his victim he might perhaps have rested comfortably on the certainty that dead men tell no tales; and extinct citizens subterraneously colonized in graveyards have no means of access to the ballot box, being inexpensively detained therefrom by the law of inertia and the steadily reliable force of gravitation. And yet, true as all that is, an attempt to save civilization by means of barbarism might prove unsatisfactory. To turn a State into a slaughter house would be at best a moist, unpleasant, slimy, altogether sickening, and probably very tedious sort of job; and it is doubtful whether murder would turn out more profitably than vote-stealing. Numerous persons, not negroes, would be sure to get hurt before the butchering was over. Occasionally already in certain localities it has become obvious that there are drawbacks

to the shotgun as an instrument of "civilization," one of which is its liability to get reversed. Some man spotted with a large birthmark, so large that it covers his entire body, weary of monotony and reckless of social proprieties, concludes to try how it feels to be at the butt-end of a gun, playing with the trigger, with somebody else at the muzzle to welcome the contents. This preference for the butt-end position might become epidemic among citizens whose skin resembles the hue of the chestnut when it drops from the frost-opened burr; they might become possessed by a craze for playing pitcher instead of catcher in the local ball game. Men of that color made good soldiers in the civil war, and are officially reported to make prime soldiers in the regular army to-day. An effort to "kill out the negroes" would bring upon the State attempting it a reign of terror more bloody, frenzied, and remorseless than that of the French Revolution; and in due time a United States army, with the nation behind it, would appear on the scene to put an end to the carnival of crime and carnage.

The alternative between fraud and murder is probably one wherein, whichever a man chooses, he will wish he had taken the other, unless, indeed, he climbs toward moral uplands by wishing he had not tried either. The system of things shows such unfriendliness toward dishonesty and cruelty as to make all wickedness ultimately look like a blunder. There are dreadful drawbacks to the introduction of corruption. The clerk, trained to deceive customers for his employer's benefit, is liable, in some moment of cupidity born of impecuniosity, to deceive the employer for his own private advantage: a mere clerk may lack the fine ethical discernment to discriminate the difference. The drawback in keeping a ferocious dog to terrorize the neighbors is that the undiscriminating brute may bite his owner's family. A man named Haman reports from a dim antiquity that the trouble about building a gallows for an innocent neighbor is that the loop at the end of the rope manifests a lively preference for the architect's own neck. Inconvenient and embarrassing as some persons find it, the sailor in the prayer meeting was correct in saying, "This world seems to be so made that a man can afford to do just about right;" and neither individual, nor party, nor community can afford to do otherwise. This, however, is not yet acknowledged by some "statesmen," some journals, some communities. The influential newspaper previously quoted, referring to the recent heinous misuse of the privilege of fraud by which the desired result of the

national election might have been endangered, says: "It was a peril that must be completely removed in presidential elections hereafter, or the very existence of the republic will continue to be threatened." The editorial closes with the statement, partly expressed and partly implied, that "the first duty of the Southern States now under charges or suspicions of dishonest practices is to" put a stop to cheating at elections, except so far as may be necessary to save civilization from being destroyed in spots by the mob of a sun-burned majority!

After a while some real statesmen, having horse sense touched with morality, will arise in the midst of the communities now under political censure and say to their fellow-citizens: "Suppose, instead of cheating or killing, we try plain downright honesty and simple manly fairness." And then up from bedrock and far toward the heavens will rise a true civilization, stable, majestic, and lasting, a Dothan in no need of questionable protection, being defended by the horses and chariots of the Lord God Almighty. Meanwhile in certain regions public affairs, including presidential elections, will remain under the control of rulers whose appropriate autograph on the inmate register of the prisons they deserve would read: "Occupation, Statesman; Religion, None."* Righteousness and justice are the only solid foundation for prosperity or safety. Even pagan Rome ages ago was wise enough, religious enough, Christian enough to write on her law book, "Justice is the everlasting unchangeable will to give each man his right."

Statecraft of the crafty sort which winks at wrong while it profits party plans and stands aghast when it imperils them is condemned even by low-grade utilitarian morals, and presents a spectacle at once so deplorable and so ridiculous as to be tragedy to angels and comedy to devils.

* While this was written we have read the statement recently made by "An Old Virginian" that, in his State, "thousands were cheated out of their privilege to register as voters, and many were not allowed to cast their ballots;" but that now a league of influential citizens "has taken up permanent quarters in Richmond and set out upon a campaign for honest elections;" and that "the personnel of this movement includes as a rule the best high-toned citizens, men that may be called the aristocrats of the commonwealth. They have been derisively denominated the 'Kid-gloved Party.' These are the men who are determined that the colored man shall be free to vote as he pleases, and that his vote shall be counted. It is notorious that the upper class has always had the respect of the negro in a far greater degree than the 'poor white trash,' and it has now come to pass that the richest and the poorest, the highest and the most lowly, find themselves drawn together in a common cause." The "Old Virginian" adds that "similar conditions prevail in other States of the South." We heartily agree with him that "these are hopeful signs," calculated to gladden all patriots who respect the two great commandments of Jesus Christ, on which hang all the law and the prophets.

THE ARENA.

"DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?"

In the July–August number of the *Methodist Review* there is an article by Professor Parsons, on Paul's preaching at Athens, in which he rejects the common view that the apostle addressed the Athenians from Mars' Hill (the Areopagus), and contends that his address was delivered in the Royal Court (τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ) at Athens, chiefly because Demosthenes adversus Aristigona says that "The senate from the Areopagus when sitting in the Royal Court surrounded by a rope [in order to keep the crowd away from it] enjoys much quietness by itself."* But the court may not have been trying a case at all, as Pausanias—who made and wrote his *Itinerary of Greece* in the second half of the second century—states that in the Royal Court "the king archon sits during the year of his magistracy."†

But, apart from these considerations, Luke does not say that they brought Paul to the *senate* of the Areopagus, but simply to *Mars' Hill* (or the Areopagus). If he meant to the senate of the Areopagus why did he not say so? The passage from Demosthenes which we have just quoted calls it the *senate* from the Areopagus. Again, in *De Corona*, Demosthenes calls it the senate from (or of) the Areopagus.‡

Æschines against Ktesiphon calls this court "the senate which is in (ἐν) Areopagus."§ In Isocrates, partly contemporary with Demosthenes, the court is called "the senate from Areopagus."‖ That the court in the time of Isocrates was held on Mars' Hill is quite clear from his statement, "When they go up (ἀναβαίνω) to Areopagus,"¶ etc., that is, become members of the court. In the time of Pausanias (about A. D. 160–175) trials were still conducted on Mars' Hill, for he says: "The white stones upon which those who undergo trial and the prosecutors stand, they call the one of them the (stone) of Insolence, and the other the (stone) of Impudence."**

It is plain that Paul does not address the court, but the men who brought him to the hill, and also the crowds in the vicinity. The beginning of his address is, "Athenian men,"†† not judges, language hardly dignified enough to be addressed to such an august court as that of the Areopagus. Paul was not brought to Mars' Hill to be tried, but that the Athenians might learn his doctrine. Socrates was not tried by this court, but by a different one, nor does this court ever appear to have had any special jurisdiction in religious matters.

The language of Luke is altogether appropriate to the conducting of the apostle to a hill (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον),‡‡ ἐπί with the accusative. It was

* 776. † Lib. i. cap. iii. 1. ‡ 134. § 20.

‖ *Areopagiticus*, 14. Note.—The word Areopagus manifestly comes from ἄρειος, *warlike, martial*, and πάγος, a hill, not from ἀραῖος, cursed. In that case it would be Ἀραιόπαγος.

¶ *Ibid.*, 15. ** Lib. i. xxviii. 5. †† Acts xvii. 22. ‡‡ Acts xvii. 19.

not necessary to state that they brought Paul *up on* the hill, any more than in the instance where he states that the shipwrecked passengers were ordered to go forth, "escape to the land," that is, escape to it and get on it, ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.* But Luke makes the matter clear when he says: "Paul, standing in the middle (or midst) of Mars' Hill," etc. Is this suitable language if a court was intended?

In February, 1870, I visited the Areopagus, of which I have given a description in my *Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land*, from which I give the following: "The Areopagus is a narrow ledge of rock nearly west of the Acropolis. This ledge rises gradually from a ravine, and extends in an eastward direction toward the Acropolis for about one hundred and fifty yards, and abruptly terminates when about one hundred yards from the Acropolis. At the northeast end the perpendicular height is about forty feet, at the northwest end about thirty feet. A few feet from this perpendicular end, on the south side, sixteen steps remain cut out of the rock, by which the ascent to the Areopagus was made. These steps begin about five feet from the ground; originally there were lower steps, doubtless, which have worn away in the lapse of time. The height of the Areopagus where these steps ascend is about twenty-five or thirty feet. At the top of these steps are two seats cut out of the rock facing each other, where it is probable the accused and the accuser sat."†

Baltimore, Md. HENRY M. HARMAN.

DR. WHEELER'S "SOCIALISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT."

AFTER finishing the reading of this article by the professor I found that the margin of my *Review* was covered with interrogation points, protests, and marks of surprise. Let me therefore enter the "Arena" with a few of my complaints.

He begins by hinting that Christian socialists are "verily guilty" in consenting to accept anything from, or to live under, an economic order which they believe to be "unchristian." Would he have them leave the country or die of starvation? The political order of Turkey is unchristian; shall we therefore accuse and condemn the reformers in that land who attempt to improve it?

"Give a dog a bad name and then shoot him." That is what the professor does. He gives a bad name to "the excellent people calling themselves Christian socialists," and then proceeds to shoot them. He confounds them, not with socialists proper, but with anarchists like Proudhon, who held that property was a crime, and thus attempts to cover them with odium. Socialists hold, he tell us, "*that private ownership is robbery*, and that, therefore, the whole fabric of our industrial and commercial life is built upon a monstrous crime." But it is not true that socialists generally hold that "private ownership is robbery," and Christian socialists deny it. They make a vital distinction between property held for reasons of personal enjoyment, such as pictures, books,

* Acts xvii, 43. † P. 277.

furniture in a house, and property employed for the production of other property, that is, as "instruments of production." If we define capital as "wealth employed in the production of other wealth," then the socialist doctrine is that capital should be in control of representatives of the people with the view to the highest production of an equitable distribution of products. Let us quote from the professor, lest injustice be done: "It is true that *some* of our Christian socialists are pleased to limit their great principles to a part of property—to that which is employed in production, to 'the instruments of production.' But, since all property is actually or potentially an instrument of production, the distinction does not distinguish, and no lines can be drawn between the things sinfully owned and those whose possession is righteous."

The professor promised us "carefully considered" statements. Will he tell us how a carpet on a parlor floor is actually or potentially an instrument of production so long as it remains the private property of the house owner? He may sell the carpet or raise money on it as security, but then it would be no longer his. The very able article of Thomas Kirkup on socialism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xxii, p. 206, will be accepted as good authority. He writes: "The essence of Socialism consists in this associated production with a collective capital, with the view to an equitable distribution. In the words of Schäffle, 'The alpha and omega of socialism is the transformation of private competing capital into a united collective capital.' This is the principle on which all the schools of socialism, however opposed otherwise, are at one. Such a system, while insisting on collective capital including land, *is quite consistent with private property in other forms* and with perfect freedom in the use of one's own share in the equitable distribution of the produce of the associated labor." How astonishing, then, is the professor's very remarkable statement that "Theft, robbery, spoliation, covetousness, and a large number of other words could have no meaning in a socialistic state!"

The professor's topic is "Socialism and the New Testament," and he makes an extraordinary argument against socialism out of certain illustrations employed by Jesus, drawn from the social order of the times. We are informed that in a socialistic state "the very teachings of Christ would be unintelligable," because, forsooth, people would not understand his references to poverty and riches, to capitalists, usury, thieves, etc. That indeed would be bad for the illustrations, but would it not be splendid for mankind? "A world in which one could not fall among thieves," we are told, "would get no lesson from the parable of the Good Samaritan." And must we then keep thieves to the end of time in order to learn how to treat their victims? and "camels" instead of trolley cars, in order to see through "the needle's eye?" Must "Cæsar" and his coins continue, and "publicans" and "harlots," in order that Jesus may be intelligible and be the founder of an abiding dispensation? What shall be said to such doctrine as this?

Jesus makes frequent reference to kings: "Ye shall be brought

before kings;" and an apostle admonishes us to "honor the king." Shall we, therefore, like the court preachers of Charles II, assert the divine right of kings? "The economic order based on property," the professor tells us, "is so woven into the New Testament that the fading of that order out of the world would make Jesus the founder of a temporary dispensation." After that argument there is nothing more to be said. It is a veritable guillotine stroke for socialism.

There are many statements through this article that need qualification, of which the following is a sample: "The socialist *limits* the *cause* of *evils* to the institution of property." No; many of them would include rum, even under the Swedish system, as a cause of evil. "Socialists teach that institutions make us bad." Do they? Do they not rather say that bad institutions occasion badness? And who will deny it?

Bridgeport, Conn. JOSEPH PULLMAN.

"THE MORMON PROBLEM."

IN the September-October issue of the *Methodist Review* is an article on the above subject which I cannot let pass without protest. Evidently the writer, Rev. F. S. Beggs, is not "up" in Mormon history or doctrine, or he could not have written that article. He speaks admiringly of the courage and devotion which led them to brave the dangers and privations of the wilderness and cites as an instance the experiences of "the Handcart Brigade," one of the most inhuman outrages ever perpetrated on trusting womanhood and helpless infancy, and which should have subjected the perpetrators to extermination from the face of the earth. A wonderful example of heroism truly, to inveigle more than a thousand women with their children across the ocean and out to the limits of civilization, then tell them they must walk one thousand miles to their destination, over mountain and plain, across rivers and through trackless prairies, while to carry their sick and helpless infants they were furnished with carts in which provisions and such household effects as they had must also be transported by the thews and sinews of these deceived and defrauded women! No marvel that the pathway was "blazed" with shallow graves and whitening bones of these victims of Mormon lust and greed of power. Our brother lauds the industry and thrift that changed the barren wilderness into a fruitful garden, that built up the beautiful city of Salt Lake, with its imposing Tabernacle and magnificent Temple. I, too, have looked on these wonders of toil and endurance, but with other eyes than those of Mr. Beggs. I have seen them built by the compulsory toil and forced contributions of men and women lured from the Eastern States, from England, Scandinavia, Germany, and elsewhere, by the promise of a modern Eden, a paradise, a veritable Mount Zion, where God comes down and holds converse with his people as in the Eden of old, where wealth and the divine favor are the lot of all who join this community of Latter Day Saints(?). As well laud the enterprise and industry of the toilers on the Pyramids, the palaces of Thebes, or the temples of Baalbec or Heliopolis.

But Mr. Beggs fails to appreciate the genius of Mormonism; he sees but one bar sinister on its escutcheon—polygamy—and partially defends that. He says they are more evangelical than Unitarians or Universalists, and deprecates the insult of sending missionaries among them. Did the brother ever hear of Unitarians or Universalists who affirmed that Adam was God, and that the human race is the natural offspring of male and female deities? Yet that is orthodox Mormon doctrine.

It teaches further that woman, if saved at all, must occupy a low, menial position in the next life, unless she has been the wife or concubine of some one of "the saints." Can Unitarians or Universalists match that? Certainly they cannot.

It claims that the revelations (?) made to its chief prophets are of superior authority to the New Testament Scriptures, and that Joseph Smith was the peer of any of the Old Testament prophets. I have debated those questions in public with their priests and teachers, and know exactly what they claim.

It teaches that the Book of Mormon is of equal authority with the Bible, holds and practices the doctrine of "blood atonement," which our brother would do well to study, and exercises a more repressing and soul-crushing despotism over the minds of its people than was ever wielded by pope or council.

Its creed is a "crazy patchwork" of Christianity, Judaism, Islamism, and paganism—a travesty on evangelical religion. Its tutelar saint, Joseph Smith, would, to quote Governor Ford, of Illinois, "drink like a sailor and swear like a pirate;" and as an evidence that the stream does not rise above its source I have seen a noisy, intoxicated crowd of men and boys around the door of a liquor store in Salt Lake City above the portals of which was the legend, "Holiness to the Lord;" a fair indication of the moral stupidity of Mormonism.

I have direct oral testimony that large numbers of their youth abhor the religion of their parents, and would gladly shake off its shackles were it not for a well-founded fear of the consequences. The religion of the "saints" is credulity based on fraud, falsehood, and abomination.

Frankfort, Kan. THOMAS SCOTT.

REPLY TO DR. LEWIS.

My critic sees fit to characterize my article on "Entire Sanctification" as "Subjective Theology." All theology that relates to man, as a scheme of redemption, has its subjective side, and we Methodists have ever emphasized the experimental feature. Of course, experience must be in harmony with the objective truths of God's word, as the mental impression of a mountain must have its origin in a real external mountain in order to be true. We base our belief in the removal of the sinward tendency on such passages as, "And the God of peace sanctify you wholly," etc. While it is certainly rational to believe that God will remove that impairment for which we are not responsible, my friendly critic doubts the privilege of having this tendency removed instantaneously, consequent to

our faith and prayer, because there is no specific promise to that effect. As well might he doubt instantaneous conversion. On conversion there is an instantaneous removal of this tendency in a varying degree, and why should not the remainder be removed at a subsequent time? We see no reason against it.

I said nothing in my former article about the witness of the Spirit to this removal, although it does not appear incredible that the Spirit, one of whose offices is to convict of sin, might witness to the removal of a tendency to sin. But what about the witness of one's own spirit? May not a man know whether he has a tendency to evil? Just as certainly as one may know that he has no tendency to drink intoxicating beverages he may know that he has no bias to evil. True, this tendency lies below consciousness; but we judge of a tendency just as we judge of the unseen nature of soil by its products, and, thus judging, we may know when the tendency is gone by the absence of its fruits. Immaturity may still remain and perfection be far distant, as Bishop Merrill so finely discriminates, while on this revealed nature of God as a sufficient foundation we predicate our belief that the effects of sin will finally be obliterated.

These views may be "practically unknown to the great masters of exegesis" outside of Arminian theology, but there are masters here who nobly hold and defend them. Of course, the great Calvinistic theologians hold that the elimination of this sinward tendency cannot occur until death, but Methodism does not so believe. God is able to do for us "above all that we ask or think," whatever may be the thoughts of our friendly exegete in the city by Lake Erie.

G. E. SCRIMGER.

Danville, Ill.

EVOLUTION AND GENESIS.

PROFESSOR CONN, in his admirable paper in the last *Review*, tells us on the first page that scientists and Christians are joining hands. But on page 891 of the *Review* he tells us that scientists attribute the origin of man to evolution. Has the Christian world reached that point yet? If so, of what value is the account of the supernatural origin of man, as recorded in Genesis? Is it an allegory? If it is, has it no force whatever? Does it not teach that man had a supernatural origin? How then could evolution, which is purely natural, originate him? What right have Christian writers on evolution to ignore the account in Genesis? And is it needful for them to reiterate statements that have every appearance of antagonism to the Bible? Professor Conn's article is a fine piece of art, highly original and suggestive, but the point I have raised is a confusing one to many who believe in evolution but do not believe in casting doubts on Bible statements. Let scientists give the Christian world the supernatural origin of matter, life, and mind, and I suppose we will agree to leave to evolution all the rest.

D. M. YOUNG.

Salus, N. Y.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

REFLECTION ON A GREAT PASTORATE.

A most significant event in the life of the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and, indeed, in some respects an event of exceeding interest to the whole Christian Church, is the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the pastorate of the Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., LL.D., of the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn. Not only the congregation, but the churches of the city, and, indeed, the city itself, have done themselves honor in celebrating this golden anniversary in the service of one of America's foremost preachers. It is a pleasant thing, also, to remember in connection with it that he is not celebrating the close of his pastorate; for, at the age of seventy-five, he continues to minister to his people, and it is the prayer of thousands that his life and labors may be continued for many years to come. It is not the purpose, however, of this paper to speak of the event itself, nor to describe it, as it has already been so well done in the current press. We propose simply to note a few matters connected with it which may well engage the attention of our younger ministry.

Dr. Storrs began his ministry when Brooklyn was a small city. He celebrates his fiftieth anniversary when it has grown to be one of the foremost cities in the country, and by its union with New York is soon to become a part of the greatest city on the American continent. His life has been a part of the growth of the city in which he resides. He has helped to make its history, and stands to-day as a most eminent example of Christian activity. It is one of the privileges of an extended pastorate that this may be done. The opportunity, in this particular form, is not possible to the Methodist ministry; and yet many of our ministers have become great factors in the life of the cities in which they have dwelt, having lived long in the same city and having been transferred from church to church. In this way they have exerted a wide power and influence. The cases of such lengthened pastorates as that of Dr. Storrs are relatively few, even in churches of unlimited pastorates. Yet, without entering into the question of the desirableness of the abolition of a definite pastoral term, we may at least assume that the case of Dr. Storrs affords room for reflection on the part of our Church, and material for study on the part of young pastors.

His pastorate has also been remarkable because of the men with whom he has been associated. Brooklyn is designated as "the City of Churches," and its pulpits, of all denominations, have been filled by men of great eminence during Dr. Storrs's residence there. In his anniversary sermon he thus pathetically speaks of his great colaborers who have gone before: "The changes in churches and pastors around us have not been as remarkable as in other decades since 1846. In the last ten years losses by

death have continued. Mr. Beecher has gone from the pulpit which he made famous in the world, and his elder brother, Dr. Edward Beecher, has lately gone. Dr. Henry Van Dyke has gone, and Dr. Charles H. Hall, with each of whom the relations of many of us had been intimate. Dr. William M. Taylor, of New York, who was as much beloved here and almost as much at home as among his own people, has also entered the heavenly society. Bishop Loughlin has also ceased from his earthly labors, and Father Fransioli, than whom no more honored priest has served the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Henry M. Scudder, too, has gone."

Living in the sunlight of publicity and surrounded by so many ministers whose fame filled the land, Dr. Storrs has ever maintained with dignity and power his own unique and brilliant eminence. In the golden anniversary of his pastorate, his influence is undiminished, and a great city pays tribute to him as one of her foremost citizens. Indeed churches of every name, the land over, join in grateful recognition of the event.

We may also notice Dr. Storrs's relation to great public interests. His long pastorate gave him an opportunity of acquaintance with the leading forces of the city, and he was thus enabled to do a work which would have been impossible to him under other conditions. A study, however, of his life shows that he touched the public life of his city and country only at vital points. He did not constantly interfere either in municipal or State or national affairs, but he waited his opportunity and brought his influence to bear only when questions of great moral importance presented themselves. In this way his power did not wane, but grew. Devoting himself as he did only to great interests, on important and sometimes crisal occasions his voice was a trumpet-call to duty. He was the furthest removed from being partisan in his relations to public life.

His career may emphasize also to young ministers the possibility of success, in the entire absence of sensational methods, by constantly preserving in their preaching the loftiest ideals. Dr. Storrs has never been seduced, by the desire for popular applause, to abandon those noble forms of thought and expression which have been the dominant features, perhaps, in his public ministry. He has been regarded as the most polished orator in the country. The maintenance of a lofty ideal in thought and in form is rarely found in the life of any public man, and his career shows that when such a man can live long enough in the same field of labor he can bring to him a congregation which will appreciate his ideals and be profited by his style and methods. For twenty-five years he has spoken without notes, his discourses being always delivered with the most polished diction and in the chastest oratorical form. He has never appealed to passion, or prejudice, or popular favor, by any methods which would lower the dignity of the pulpit, or be reckoned as out of harmony with our Lord's method of teaching.

His sermon in connection with the celebration of the golden jubilee of his pastorate contains some gentle notes of warning. We quote one passage which may well demand attention at the present time: "Those days

of plainer living and higher thinking are not as familiar to us now. The Church feels the change as well as the world. Culture is now the word, rather than the greater word, Regeneration. Preaching is more literary, pictorial, or sometimes sensational. Social questions occupy more largely the attention of pastors and people than do the deep things of spiritual experience. Enthusiasm for the truth of what is still recognized as the divine religion is less energetic than before. Missions, at home and abroad, are often sustained rather by the secular benefits which they promise than for the object of seeking and saving that which was lost. Doubtless there are signs of promise in all this, but doubtless there are signs also of a drift from Christian thought and feeling. It is sufficient for us who are coming toward the end to have rendered service as faithfully as we could; and so long as the Master of the Gospel remains supreme, alike in power and life, we need not fear that means or men will ever be wanting for furtherance of his divine cause." These are not the words of a pessimist or of a man who regards the golden age of the world as in the past; they are the words of one who recognizes the best that is in the present, yet fears that there is a drifting away from the fundamentals, and there needs to be a restoration of the Church's true work, namely, the world's regeneration. We may well take warning from this veteran minister, who is not out of touch with his age, and see to it that we carry forward, in connection with the advanced thought and the changes of our time, those principles and methods which must ever lie at the foundation of a successful ministry.

Dr. Storrs has always and chiefly been a minister of the Gospel, seeking no other place of honor or influence. In this respect his example, like that of the late Phillips Brooks, is of immense value. The wide and lasting influence of both is due to their whole-souled devotion to the one single work of preaching the Gospel of the Son of God. This is the supreme function of the Christian minister.

EXEGESIS OF HEB. I, 6.

THE King James version renders this passage, "And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world," etc. The late revision renders it, "And when he again bringeth in the firstborn into the world," etc. The margin of the revision reads, "And again, when he bringeth in, or, shall have brought in."

The different renderings of this passage are expressive of the difficulties which are found in translating and expounding it. The first difficulty is that with regard to the word "again." Its position in the Greek connects it with the verb, whereas many commentators regard it as used simply in the sense of introducing a new quotation. The change from its place in the Greek is supposed to be rhetorical, or due to a displacement of the word. There is no instance found in the New Testament where the Greek word here rendered "again," meaning "further," or "in addition," does not occupy the first place in the sentence. An accurate

rendering of the passage requires that we adhere, as nearly as possible, to the form in which it is found in the Greek text. We therefore reject the translation, "And again, when he bringeth in the firstborn into the world," because it would remove the "again" from its true place. We would place the "again" with the verb. The verb itself is in the aorist tense, after the particle of time when. It cannot, accordingly, be rendered as a present indicative, translating the aorist tense as though it were a present indicative, and must, therefore, be rendered in the manner in which such a word should be rendered in good Greek. It is a case which in Latin is recognized as a *futurum exactum*, and should be rendered, "And when he shall have brought again the firstborn into the world."*

In the exposition of the passage we have now to inquire as to what point in the life of Christ the text refers. Several interpretations have been attempted of this passage. One expositor refers it to his incarnation; another refers it to the period between his resurrection and ascension; a third, to his second advent; a fourth, to his coming to judge the world; while a fifth interpretation has been that it refers to the prophetic introduction of the passage. The first meaning is excluded by the translation we have given. It is impossible to conceive of Christ as having been introduced a second time to the world on the occasion of his birth. It must refer, somehow, to some other period in his history. Again, the time between his resurrection and his ascension is not historically recognized as a period of such relative separateness in Christ's history as to lead us to suppose this to be the reference in this place. We conclude, then, that it refers either to his second advent or to his coming to judge the world. In order to determine which of these meanings should be adopted we must go back to the Old Testament passage from which it is quoted, and find that to which the idea most probably refers. A glance at Old Testament prophecy will show us that it refers to a threat of penalty which was to be inflicted by the heathen, "and after the heathen be punished, Israel also shall be punished." This seems to indicate its reference to Christ's coming for judgment, rather than to the second advent, and that the passage alludes to something in connection with his appearing to the world as "the first-begotten." This word here indicates his relation to mankind, as "the only begotten" refers to his relation to God. The passage then relates to men, and Christ is represented as coming to judge them.

This is the only instance where "first-begotten" is used absolutely; elsewhere it is connected with other words. It is one of those quotations from the Old Testament in which the sacred writer employs a passage in its general significance. Each particular passage is used, by the one who quotes it, mainly for some specific point which is contained in it. Quotations are sometimes employed, not for the words which they contain, but for the sentiments which they express; hence, it does not seem necessary to insist too strongly on the exact reference of a passage

* See Delitzsch.

in the Old Testament. The emphasis is here laid on the fact that Christ's grandeur and supremacy are such that he is rightfully an object of worship to the angelic hosts. Whether the passage is quoted from Deuteronomy or from Psalm xcvii is not therefore a question of primary importance.

UNCONSCIOUS CODES FOR MINISTERS.

A FEW years ago the editor of a great paper, eulogizing that eminent journalist, Horace Greeley, made the statement that "every man who has charge of a newspaper, who controls a newspaper, has to have a moral code by which he is guided in the conduct of his paper." He then proceeded to give "the professional code that guided Mr. Greeley during his control of the *Tribune*." This code was: "'Always give a hearing to your opponent. Never attack a man and refuse to let him answer in the same column. Be always as considerate of the weak and friendless as of the powerful. Waste no strength in advocating that which is intrinsically impossible. Never compromise your own opinions on account of your subscribers or adversaries. If they don't like your ideas they can always go to another shop.' That was the doctrine which Horace Greeley practiced during his active life. I cannot remember, amid all the controversies—and they were often very bitter controversies—in which he was continually engaged, that he ever violated one of those principles."

It is to be assumed that every minister has a code by which he is governed, consciously or unconsciously. Of course, he recognizes in general that the New Testament is the standard of ethics which he is to proclaim, and by which he is to guide his own conduct. Ethical writers, however, agree that Christ did not lay down a set of rules for every emergency of life, although no one denies that he did announce principles to meet every case as it arises. Each minister has certain unwritten, but controlling, moral principles. He is probably not aware that he has them. It may be that he does not refer to them, even in his thoughts, at the time of determining his actions. He acts from emotions which arise freely and naturally, without suspecting that he is controlled by ethical laws; just as it is possible Mr. Greeley had never formulated the code by which he was constantly guided. The important fact is that at some time, and in some way, he had imbibed principles by which he was controlled.

The minister's code might read somewhat as follows: "Never preach what you do not believe, and never fear to preach what you think ought to be proclaimed. Never favor the rich as against the poor, nor lead your people to feel that you know in your own conduct any class distinctions. Never fail to give your people, every time you preach, the best production of your mind and heart. Never regard your services as rendered for pay or for any earthly reward. Never regard a member of the church as hostile to you or as unchristian because he does not agree with your views and methods."

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

COMPOSITION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

WELLHAUSEN, the most advanced leader among the divisive critics, sees in the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch, at least three well-defined and distinct codes. We say "Hexateuch," because in recent years this term has almost entirely displaced the word Pentateuch, since critics regard the Book of Joshua not as a separate work, but merely as the continuation of the preceding five books. We say "at least three well-defined and distinct codes," not because there are no traces of other documents in these books, for these codes in their turn show clearly that they also are of a composite nature, but because they are independent of each other in every sense of the word. These three codes, written by different men, and in different ages, were skillfully edited by a later writer, who added and omitted whatever suited him. So cleverly did this compiler do his work that more than two thousand years elapsed before the learned world discovered the nature and style of composition. The old view that Moses kept a journal during his sojourn in the wilderness, in which he wrote down facts as he witnessed them, and that he furnished an elaborate system of laws for the government of the Hebrews, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, has been discarded by the critics, and has been labeled "uncritical." That Moses wrote the earlier portions of the Pentateuch in the first year of the exodus, near Sinai; Deuteronomy in the plains of Moab toward the close of the journey, and the other portions during the thirty-eight or thirty-nine years in the wilderness, is, we are assured, no longer credible, for such a view is contrary to the laws of historical criticism and natural development, according to the composite gospel of Darwin and Wellhausen.

We shall not try to reproduce all the theories of the divisive critics regarding the origin of the Pentateuch, even in outline, but shall limit ourselves to the one most in vogue at present, being in the main the hypothesis of Wellhausen, which has been popularized in Great Britain and America by the late Robertson Smith, and more recently by Canon Driver. This theory, according to the former, "is the growing conviction of an overwhelming weight of the most earnest and sober scholarship."

The three codes of the critics are usually known in our day by the signs J E, D, and P. The J E is the most ancient. It is, as the name indicates, a composite work, wherein at least two writers are easily distinguished by their employment of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim; hence the terms "Jehovist" and "Elohist." These two ancient authors wrote quite independently of each other, and a later writer united their separate works into one harmonious whole, but, as might be expected, with various additions and omissions. The J E Code, though mostly

historical in nature, is nevertheless not entirely devoid of law. Wellhausen claims that the "legislative elements are incorporated only at one point, where they naturally fall into the historical context, namely, in connection with the lawgiving on Sinai, Exod. xx–xxiii and xxxiv." This part of the Hexateuch has been termed the prophetic narrative, proceeding, as the designation implies, from those in sympathy with the prophets, rather than with the priestly caste. It dwells with delight upon the early history of the patriarchs, upon their simplicity of life, upon the good old times, when the father performed priestly functions for himself and family at some sacred spot, made holy by a vision from some heavenly visitor or by the offering of sacrifice by some distinguished ancestor. The exact time when the Jehovist and the Elohist wrote is not known, neither is it easy to fix the date at which their works were united into one document. Critics, however, agree that it was at a comparatively late period, certainly subsequent to the age of Solomon. It is also an open question whether J was written before or after E. One set of critics maintain that E is the older, and written between 900 and 850 B. C., while J could not have been produced till between 850 and 750 B. C. Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Stade give the priority to J, placing the date of its composition between 850 and 800 B. C., while E was written somewhere about 750 B. C.

D, or Deuteronomy, was the next in order. This code also shows the results of editing. The original code consisted only of that portion beginning with the twelfth chapter and ending with the twenty-sixth. Thus the first eleven chapters form a kind of an introduction to the Deuteronomic legislation. In recent years readers of Pentateuch criticism have grown familiar with analytical schemes or divisions of books which look more like algebraic equations than helps for determining the age and composition of an Old Testament book. The analytical scheme of the Book of Deuteronomy, according to Driver, is as follows:

P.					
J E.		xxvii, 5–7ᵃ.			
D. i-xxvi, xxvii, 1–4.		7ᵇ–8, 9–10, 11–13, (14–26,)	xxviii, xxix-xxx.		
P.				xxxii, 48–52.	
J E.	xxxi, 14–22.		xxxii, 1–43, 44.		
D. xxxi, 1–13.		23–30.		45–47.	(xxxiii.)*
P. xxxiv, 1ᵃ.		8–9.			
J E.			10.		
D.	xxxiv, 1ᵇ–7.†		11–12.		

The Book of Deuteronomy differs so much from the preceding three books as to make it certain that Moses could not have written it, even if he had been the author of Exodus and the following two books. When was the Deuteronomic Code written? It is a question more easily asked than answered. Only one thing is established beyond controversy—

* Incorporated from an independent source. † In the main.

...ly, that the book was in existence in the eighteenth year of King ...iah, say 623 or 621 B. C. We have said that this has been estab... beyond peradventure, since all divisive critics agree that the ... of the Law," found in the temple by the high priest Hilkiah ... 2 Kings xxii 8, ff.), could not have been the entire Pentateuch, but ... the Deuteronomic version of the law of Moses. The arguments ... favor of this conclusion are by no means satisfactory or convincing. ... to return to the date. The more conservative critics, like Delitzsch ... Riehm, assign it to the time of Hezekiah; Driver sees no good rea... for making it later than the reign of Manasseh; while Kuenen and ... Wellhausen place it in the days of Josiah. Thus, Moses is severely ... out of the question; for in no sense, according to the critics, can ... be regarded as the author of the Pentateuch, much less that of Deu...

P, or Priestly Code, *par excellence* the manual of ritualistic laws or ordi... regarding the services of the tabernacle, the functions of the ... and Levites, is clearly of a much later origin than Deuteronomy. ... once favored the Elohistic or Priestly Code, as the most ancient ... of the Pentateuch. This view has, however, been given up. ... a mistake can be accounted for, because the "uncritical" con... the origin of the ceremonial institutions of Israel and the ... respecting them, which "were gradually developed and elaborated." ... completed form in which we possess the Priestly Code shows ... we are told, that such finished work could not have originated ... toward the end of the captivity. Though the exact date of its ... position cannot be fixed, any more than that of Deuteronomy, it is ... that the Priestly Code in its present form was not made public ... after the return of the Jews from Babylon to Palestine. Ezekiel ... have written a part of it—"the Law of Holiness," Lev. xvii–xxvi—... more likely Ezra wrote it, or some priests of his time. Be that as it ..., it was Ezra, fourteen years after his return to Jerusalem, or 444 ... C., who read and proclaimed this code to his countrymen.

Now, the uninitiated may have sufficient temerity to ask: How can it ... shown that the "Book of the Law," found by Hilkiah in the tem... in the days of Josiah, was the Deuteronomic Code, while the "Book ... the Law" of Moses read by Ezra must have been the Priestly Code? ... us answer the question by beginning with P. The laws and regu... in this code show too advanced a stage of civilization for the ... period. Such a tabernacle as is here described, with such a rich ... elaborate ritual, cannot be a reality, but the invention of later times ... the simple religion of the patriarchs had grown formal and life... In other words, the magnificent portable sanctuary never existed ... the fertile brain of some postexilic priest, or, as Wellhausen says, ... tabernacle rests on an historical fiction of which Hebrew tradi... even from the time of the judges and the first kings, for which ... Mosaic tabernacle was strictly intended, knows nothing at all about." ... as one has said, the Priestly Code is a religious novel, written

for ecclesiastical purposes. Wellhausen further asserts that the tabernacle was "the copy, not the prototype, of the temple at Jerusalem." Thus, what our fathers had regarded as history has been declared a myth, or, as Duhm boasts, "The Mosaic period is wiped out with one stroke; yea, even Moses himself is no more historical than Merlin or King Arthur." Not all, however, who assign a postexilic date to the Priestly Code are as radical as Wellhausen, Reuss, and Graf; for many, while accepting the conclusions of the most destructive critics, are not willing to subscribe to their premises, and though they assent to the most rationalistic teachings regarding the origin of the Hebrew Scriptures, yet they mysteriously hold to the inspiration of the Pentateuch.

Let us next proceed to Deuteronomy. Why is the date of this book depressed eight or nine hundred years? Here again the argument is purely subjective. We are again told that the laws recorded in this code are such as to show the impossibility of their being enacted till Josiah's time, and chiefly for two reasons: (1) Deuteronomy makes no distinction between priests and Levites—a distinction first made in exilic or postexilic times. (2) Deuteronomy teaches the doctrine of one central sanctuary (see xii, 13). But since high places and many sanctuaries were found from the earliest times, even to the days of Josiah, when they were finally—but only temporarily—abolished, it is impossible, it is claimed, that there could have been legislation against them, or that the offering of sacrifice at one central point was required. Do we not find good men offering sacrifice at various shrines, and even Samuel himself, the best man of his day, sacrificing wherever he pleased? And, indeed, do we not read in Exod. xx, 24, "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee?" The plurality of places, which may be inferred from this passage, is successive rather than contemporaneous; but now, as the Hebrews are about to cease wandering and enter Canaan, it is eminently proper that Moses should insist on having one central sanctuary. Even in the unsettled and warlike times of the judges we have clear references to the Levites (Judg. xvii, 7); the ark of the covenant (xx, 27); a central sanctuary, now at Bethel (xx, 18–26), now at Shiloh (xviii, 31), then at Mizpeh (xxi, 1), then again, in the time of Samuel, at Shiloh (1 Sam. i, 3, and often). That Samuel and other good people offered sacrifices elsewhere can, for the most part, be accounted for by the general apostasy of the nation, or by some special theophany necessitating special action. That the people down the ages shamefully disregarded the laws of God, whether in the matter of religious worship or in civil affairs, cannot be urged as an argument for disproving the existence of laws prohibiting such abuses.

There are, however, many other reasons for believing the Pentateuch to be substantially the work of Moses, exactly such a work as we could have expected from the great legislator during his forty years' wandering in the wilderness. Some of these we will endeavor to present in the next issue. We judge the matter to be sufficiently important and opportune to call for more extended discussion.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

HIGHER EDUCATION AS A MISSION AGENCY.

The subject of education in foreign mission fields is one that refuses to be exhausted, though the value of the college as an evangelistic agency has been variously estimated. Its worth probably differs in different countries more than that of any other distinct form of work. In India Duff instituted educational measures with the intent to "strike India through its brains." This was not without result, even when unattended with direct effort to convert the students. The theory has obtained in India, perhaps more than elsewhere, that education itself undermines heathen, and thus prepares the way for something better. There is much doubt, therefore, whether the funds contributed to missionary societies should be used for this indirect line of approach. As a rule a majority of the students in all the colleges of foreign mission fields, except in India, are communicants in the churches. The number of educated young men in India is estimated by millions, and the missionary college has to compete with the government college. It has, till recently, been thought desirable to educate heathen under Christian influences, even when nothing more could be attained; but the number of students who have gone out from some of these colleges to antagonize Christianity has been urged against the efficiency of this less positive form of extending the Gospel.

Some of the missions in India have acquired so large a Christian community—the Methodists in India, for instance—that they cannot furnish educational facilities sufficient for their own Christian students, and are therefore, confinin gtheir operations mainly to their own people. They are furnishing a large number of educated Christian young men, who enter all the avenues increasingly opening to educated persons as Indian civilization takes on more and more the complex European type. The position of Christians occupying places of trust relative to the percentage of the population is one of the most remarkable revolutionary forces in the country, as well as a credit to the efficiency of the Christian schools. The most marked revolutionary feature is, perhaps, the advancement of Christian women. The first Indian lady to graduate in arts was Miss Chundra Mukhi Bose, a Christian. The first Indian lady to graduate in medicine was Miss Mary Mitter, now Mrs. Judge, a Christian. The first Indian lady to graduate in law was Miss Cornelia Sarabji, a Christian. The first Indian lady to travel round the world, in search for means to ameliorate the condition of Hindu women, was Pundita Ramabai, a Christian. The only ladies, as yet, whose writings have won approbation from European critics are Miss Toru Dutt and Miss S. Sattiandhan, Christian ladies. Following this line to the provinces severally the same preeminence and priority of Christian women is found in the Northwest, in Oudh, and in Bengal.

It is not easy to follow the influences exerted by the Christian college. Some of the students of Dr. Duff's college are among the foremost ministers of India to-day. One college in South India numbers over five hundred effective Christian workers as graduates from its ranks. These India Christians have, in numerous instances, even forced their way to important places in Christian countries. Three hundred Christian students are recorded in Great Britain by government report, who have formed an "Indian Christian Association" in London. It is said that in fifty years not a single graduate of the Tungchow College has gone from the institution unconverted. It has been estimated that in seven of the government schools of Japan there is a larger number of Christians than was to be found in the leading Christian colleges of America a century ago. In 1889 there were three thousand students in seven of the most prominent government colleges, of whom one in every fourteen were Christian men.

A very remarkable movement for the extension of Young Men's Christian Associations and of the Student Volunteer Movement prevailing in these colleges in mission fields is worthy of attention. If it be true that not far from half a million students are found in the educational institutions in foreign mission lands, probably ten thousand of whom are professing Christians, it is of the highest importance to ask whether the latter can be brought into some scheme of national and international support. Until very recently they have been segregated, lacking the support which they might derive from each other, the energetic force which might come from mutual acquaintance, and some general combination for aggressive work among the educated young men of the several countries. Since the organization of the first College Young Men's Christian Association in Asia, in 1884, at Jaffna College, Ceylon, the movement has extended through many countries. The Christian College of Rangoon, Burmah, and the colleges of India, of Oroomiah, Persia, of Syria, West Turkey, Africa, Bulgaria, Japan, and other countries, have already become colleagues in the use of systematic methods of advancing Christianity among the young men of heathendom who are being prepared for leadership in their several countries by European training. The momentum which shall come from such combined organization to advance personal Christian life among this great body of prospective leaders of thought in Asia and elsewhere, it is hoped, will make a "new chapter of Church history." Secretary Wishard, of the Young Men's Christian Association, spent four years in investigating the world's college development, with a view of laying foundations for what, in his little volume recounting his observations, he calls *A New Program of Missions;* and Dr. Richard S. Storrs, of Brooklyn, confesses himself "profoundly impressed" by Mr. Wishard's statement of facts and "the bright and vast outlook into the future" suggested by them.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

It does not appear that Protestants alone feel the pressure on their missionary treasuries. The Propaganda has experienced a falling off of about

$16,000 in their receipts, which is attributable, not only to the financial depression throughout the world, but also to the development of local activities in nearly every country of Europe. In other words, the specific foreign mission development has been partially at the cost of the foreign budget. The income of the Propaganda for 1895 does not exceed that of 1882, though it has now nearly twice as many foreign missionaries to support as it had fourteen years ago. This reads very like the statements one finds in Protestant mission reports, and suggests far more similarity between the causes that affect ecclesiastical finance in the one case and the other than we have been sometimes wont to acknowledge. We have somehow come to believe that the clerical pressure possible to the Roman hierarchy was equal to any emergency, quite apart from the general principles which govern the money market, and notwithstanding the fact of the lower average of income with the Roman Catholic than with the Protestant.

It is not remarkable that the greatest financial income of the Propaganda should exhibit itself in France, because that is perhaps as thrifty as any Roman Catholic nation, and because it has identified the national colonial advance with Roman Catholic missions. France contributed more than one half ($827,365) of the aggregate income of $1,364,063. How it was with the expenditure on the lands whence the contributions came, other than the United States, need not now be stated; but here, too, half the receipts, aggregating $34,000, were spent within the country for needy missions.

It is stated that in Africa there are twenty Roman Catholic agencies, laboring in thirty-four districts, against fifty-seven Protestant agencies in seventy-nine districts. Of the Roman agencies nine are French, and the missionaries make no secret of the fact that their object is to advance the interests of France as distinctly as those of the Church. In Uganda they have left no means, creditable or the reverse, unused to oust British influence. The "armed brotherhood" of the Cardinal Lavigerie crusade is more and more plainly acknowledged to be an armed advance of the Roman Church with political intent. The Brothers of the Sahara have built a station like a fort, and in Uganda they have relied on civil and political intrigue. Protestants have discouraged armed defense wherever practical. Bishop Tucker found the natives who attended divine services bringing their firearms with them, but persuaded them to rely on moral force and to leave their weapons at home, though the unsettled state of the land rendered it possible that war might break out at any time.

Dr. H. Martyn Clark, who has labored as a medical missionary in India, charges the Roman Catholic missionaries with further unworthy forms of advancing their cause. It is well known that they have at no time scrupled to teach the people to worship their same old idols under new names; but that they should have cherished the deliberate purpose of making perverts of Protestant missionary adherents, by bringing them into disgrace through persistent attempts to demoralize them, seems

scarcely conceivable. He charges that in July, 1890, the fathers of the Franciscan mission fell upon a community of some five thousand Christians which the Protestants had gathered in from the lowest classes of the people. From the worst part of this population, which Dr. Clark calls "riffraff," they hired agents to go into the villages around seeking proselytes, giving them higher wages than they could otherwise earn. Thus in a few days they induced hundreds of the people to become Roman Catholics, whom they had bribed with money, food, and presents. These poor people were fed, lodged, and even driven about in carriages.

Dr. Clark, however, goes still farther, declaring that the priests have deliberately promoted habits of intemperance and have fostered immorality among the people, that they might be cast out of the Protestant Churches, after which they were received with open arms into the Roman Catholic community. One illustration of this was their demoralization of the people by the introduction among them of intoxicating liquors. The native community in the Punjab were a nation of water drinkers, but simultaneously with the appearance of the Roman Catholic missionaries there came a flood of strong drink, indulgence in which was favored by precept and example. Again, among the Kohls, one of the many aboriginal tribes of India, it was the custom never to drink except for the purpose of intoxication, and the Roman Catholic priests have introduced moral corruption among them by the encouragement of the use of intoxicants as a mere beverage. These are grave charges to make, but they are openly made, and only because of the moral degeneration superinduced by this method of making perverts.

PAUL THE TYPICAL FOREIGN MISSIONARY.

Dr. Behrends, in his strenuous and sturdy book, *The World for Christ*, makes a study of the apostle to the Gentiles and finds in him the elements necessary for victorious world evangelization. Noting the training he received at Tarsus, his native city, his thorough grounding in the Old Testament Scriptures, the positiveness of his teaching, his passionate conviction and tumultuous energy, he says that it must not be overlooked "that the foreign missionary among the apostles was the most carefully educated of them all. . . . He was the only college graduate. There may be room for lay evangelists, with the scantiest of educational preparation, in lands where Christianity has become naturalized—though even here the necessity for a thoroughly equipped ministry is greater than ever; but the men who are to subdue the paganism of Asia and Africa cannot be recruited from the ranks of the undisciplined. . . . The foreign field needs and must have the best. It requires the clearest personal experience, the most steady poise of mind, the most careful and thorough educational discipline, the most genuine and cosmopolitan sympathy, and the finest theological equipment which can be found in the Church. It is the greatest task committed to her hands."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

E. G. Steude. His position as one of the editors of *Beweis des Glaubens*, the German theological magazine expressly devoted to the defense of the faith, is sufficient proof of his orthodoxy. On the other hand, he is a good example of the degree of variation from ordinarily accepted views permitted to the orthodox in Germany. We take as an illustration his opinion with reference to the historical trustworthiness of the biblical record of creation. He asserts that the two records of the creation found in the first and second chapters of Genesis respectively are not only based upon sources independent of each other, but that also they differ in their contents to such an extent that all the arts of the harmonists are unavailing in their reconciliation. Furthermore, Psalm cviii, Job xxxviii, and Jesus either contradict or disregard the account in Genesis. Then, too, almost no educated Christian to-day holds the view of the relation of the heavenly bodies to each other which molded the utterances in Genesis. The Copernican theory completely contradicts Genesis. He even goes so far as to take up one by one the theories by which it is proposed to "reconcile" the record in Genesis with the results of scientific research in the domain of nature, and to declare them each in turn to be impossible of acceptance. The assured facts of natural science cannot be brought into harmony with the scriptural account of creation, nor, *vice versâ*, can this be harmonized with them. Besides, Steude claims, this insistence upon the scientific character of the scriptural records robs us of their true significance, which is the religious. The biblical record of creation is designed to make clear that whatever God wills and commands at once takes place, or, in other words, his omnipotence; that God is a God of order, and, by this representation of God as doing his work slowly and gradually, that he prepares the mind of man to understand his humiliation of himself in the interest of humanity. Then, if we do not insist on the scientific character of the Genesis record, says Steude, we may insist with effect upon those facts in the record so true to the results of science as to be an evidence that that record was not conceived by one totally unaided by the divine Spirit and may so claim it as an utterance of the Spirit of revelation. But the chief advantage in yielding the historical-scientific exactness of the Genesis record lies, according to Steude, in the fact that thereby we are in a better position to win scientific men to belief in the essentials of the Christian religion.

Theodor Kolde. By his Luther Biography and other writings relative to the Reformation he has been lifted to the front rank among the leaders of thought in Europe and America. But while great historical themes have chiefly occupied his mind he is by no means indifferent to existing

conditions, which he studies with philosophic breadth and insight. For many years he has watched with keen eye certain movements within Roman Catholicism, which, while they are known in a general way by Protestants, have not been considered as carefully as they ought in reference to their bearing upon the religious and political life of Romanists as individuals. We refer especially to the brotherhoods of Romanism, which are so numerous that Kolde declares that for almost every saint there is a brotherhood, and that there is scarcely a church which has not at least one brotherhood. Among these he names the congregations of Mary as the most numerous; and so skillful are the priests in the management of this organization that for almost every occupation there is a special congregation; for instance, there is a congregation of dairymen, one of hotel keepers, one of servants, etc. Membership in these organizations is made easy by the reduction of the fees to such a point that even the poorest can enjoy the blessings of them, while the benefits, consisting mostly in indulgence munificently bestowed by Pius IX, are regarded as so valuable that membership is highly prized. Instead of heavy money payments, as formerly, the conditions of membership are pious works, such as devotional exercises and subjection to the priesthood and papacy. Members may be received at a very early age, and should they fall away from the faith their former connection with the brotherhood becomes a means of their recovery. The members are naturally most intimately connected with that priest to whom is committed the guidance of the brotherhood. To him they go to confession, and thereby he can regulate their lives. But at the same time, since each organization elects its own presiding officer from among the laity, laymen are given an attractive place in the management of the Church from whose more sacred offices they are excluded. By the multiplication of the offices the number of those thus held both to the brotherhood and the Church is greatly increased. The result is that by these brotherhoods the recent progress of Ultramontanism is to be largely explained, and that the loyalty and obedience to the Church which the system engenders can be employed by skillful hands almost without detection.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte" (Handbook of Latest Church History). By Friedrich Nippold. Hamburg, Lucas Gräfe & Sillem, 1896. The reader of the German language has in this work a compendium of Church history during the nineteenth century comparable in value to McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times.* Of course, we do not mean by this to give the work our unqualified indorsement. It is written with as much objectivity as is possible to a strong partisan, but the reader cannot fail to discover a strong leaning toward the views of the "Protestant Association;" while, in the last sections of the work, its author openly makes use of his opportunity to bolster up that waning organization's failing cause. Nippold has been too active in the strife he por-

seems to write with unbiased mind. Still, the work is the only one of its kind, and its value to the student of Church life during our century is immense. The first book reviews the history of the Church from the Reformation to the period of rationalism, the second the age of Frederick the Great, and the third certain revolutions and reactions—all of which are treated in an introductory volume. The next two volumes portray respectively the history of Protestant theology and the history of Roman Catholicism during the century. The last volume discusses questions of the times as related to the several confessions, and questions as to future policy, and can hardly be termed history. One of the great defects of the work is that it almost wholly ignores England and America. However, we must confess that there is little in English and American Church life which has affected Christendom as a whole outside of those countries, since they have been borrowers rather than lenders. Nevertheless, England and America would have influenced the Church life of the Continent if Germany had been less impervious to new ideas; but her own thinkers have kept her so busy that she has had no time in this century to look across the Channel—to say nothing of the Atlantic. Out of the vast mass of material we can choose for special mention the discussion on the results for the believing congregation of scientific research in the life of Christ. The conclusion reached is that all this research has led to the study of the religion of Jesus himself, independent of every later addition and modification, whether by apostolic or post-apostolic influence. That this gain may be utilized Nippold insists that those points in which there is practical agreement shall be kept separate from those not yet settled.

"Das System Albrecht Ritschl's Dargestellt, nicht kritisirt" (Albrecht Ritschl's Theological System Set Forth, not Criticised.) By Gottfried Mielke. Bonn, Adolph Marcus. Of the multitudinous and multifarious works which have been produced as a result of the study of the Ritschlian theology this is in reality unique. It is really a brief exhibition of the somewhat scattered elements of Ritschl's theology in systematic form. The work is so much the more accepted because it is fair in tone and tends to clarify the involved and intricate discussions which have puzzled so many readers of Ritschl. Having set forth the doctrine in question, the author appends no comments, either commendatory or condemnatory, but leaves each reader to judge for himself. It is to be hoped that those of Ritschl's opponents in this country who have received their information concerning him from his enemies will, if they can read German, read this little book. They may then still condemn his views, but they will no longer do so without having given him a hearing. Besides, while we do not believe that any considerable number of such readers would accept his system as a whole, yet we believe many would learn from him some things which need attention in the theological world to-day. The first part of Mielke's book delineates the general view-points of the Ritschlian theology, such as the adequacy of revelation, his rejec-

tion of natural theology, and his attempt to define the limits of metaphysics in theology. It then portrays his doctrine of the kingdom of God, in which is discussed, not only the nature of the kingdom as such, but also the limits of our knowledge of God, and the abiding significance of Jesus for believers. This is followed by the doctrine of redemption through Christ, including the discussion of sin, evil, faith, assurance, eternal life, and the Holy Spirit. The doctrine of the Christian life is then taken up. It is all comprehended in the idea of Christian perfection, whose elements are belief in the divine providence, humility, patience, prayer, and the virtues as exercised in the social life. The final discussions pertain to tokens of the Church and its nature. He who reads these sixty pages will not wonder at the attention, both favorable and unfavorable, which Ritschl has excited. But we doubt whether anyone can read the book without wishing for a fuller knowledge of a system which, with all its peculiarities holds so much of good.

"Die Lebensfrage der systematischen Theologie die Lebensfrage des christlichen Glaubens" (The Vital Question of Systematic Theology the Vital Question of the Christian Faith. By Theodor Häring. Tübingen, J. J. Heckenhauer, 1895. The fundamental problem of every science is that concerning its right to be. In systematic theology this fundamental question is raised to a vital one, since it is one of existence or nonexistence. From the standpoint of science the claim of Christian theology to absolute truth is absurd, for science only seeks, but does not possess, the truth. There can be Christian theology only on condition that this claim of absoluteness can be established, and, on the other hand, Christianity demands a theology which can render this service. The two concepts, evolution and relativity, rule the thought of the present page. Both forbid the idea of absoluteness, even in the Christian religion, though both may admit that the highest religion and the highest morality known are those of Christianity. Hence the theologian must feel the force of the relativistic view, while at the same time he holds fast to the absoluteness of Christianity. To yield this point is to yield Christianity itself. The real grounds upon which we can continue to hold fast this high claim of Christianity are those of experience, which lends to the individual the assurance of salvation. Yet this experience is not merely the subjective, but rather in the recognition of the ground of experience. If one has really a Christian experience he finds himself a part of a great company, each of whom, like himself, discovers himself in possession of a good which consists of a communion with God that lifts him above the cares of this world, releases him from the pangs of a guilty conscience, and gives him the blessings of eternal life. Those who have this experience cannot conceive of a qualitative higher relation to God than that which they enjoy when they call him Father through Christ. They know that the divine influence on them is inseparable from the influence of Christ upon them. They cannot think him away and yet have the same God as

before, who alone is good in that he forgives sin. It is rightly said that the hunger for love pervades our agitated, restless age. This hunger can only be satisfied by the love of one whose love can be felt to be the love of God, strong enough to win and satisfy all.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Kaftan on Christianity and Philosophy. The second apologetic address delivered in Berlin under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance was by Julius Kaftan, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Berlin University. He begins by quoting Justin Martyr as saying, in substance, that Christianity is itself the only true and really satisfying philosophy. From the standpoint of philosophy as an inquiry into the final questions of human knowledge this might not be clear. But Justin had in mind the philosophy of his time, which dealt rather with questions of practical life. He then takes up the two principal conceptions of philosophy which have controlled the thought of the world: first, Aristotle's, which makes it the science of the final causes or the first cause of all things, the central science, the queen in the realm of theoretical investigation; and second, Kant's, according to which philosophy is the doctrine of the highest good, a conception which makes it more internal than external, and rather a matter of practical life than of knowledge. But these two conceptions of philosophy are by no means mutually exclusive. In answer to the question how we can put ourselves in possession of God, the highest good, Plato said that it is by means of thought and knowledge. Long enough has the controversy between Christianity and philosophy consisted mainly in the emphasis by the former of the historical and positive and by the latter of the universal philosophical thoughts and conceptions. But to-day it is not possible to maintain the union of philosophy and Christianity which began with Justin and continued for so many centuries. This is the result of two historical phenomena, the Reformation and modern science. The Reformation is a protest against the doctrine that thinking and knowing is that by which we draw nigh to God and become united with him. But the doctrine has exercised a profound influence upon the development of Christianity and its dogmas. For that which is most Godlike in us and by which we come to God must without question claim the first place. If this is thought and cognition, then everything else, even the ethical, must retire into relative insignificance. But the rule of this principle and this ideal of life has been destroyed for the evangelical portion of Christianity by the Reformation, which has given the first place to simple ethical obedience. The difference is most distinct in the conception of God which each principle carries with it. When the theoretical is regarded as superior God appears as the infinite substance and at the same time as the thought of himself. When the practical-ethical is held superior God is regarded as the highest energy of personal will, in whom the infinite reason is subordinate to the will with its purpose. This latter is the doctrine

of the Reformation, which, however, being in advance of developments in all other departments, had to wait for its recognition until these made further progress. Modern science is thus the second historical phenomenon which makes the old union between Christianity and philosophy a present impossibility. The history of the positive sciences is the history of their emancipation from philosophy—from the philosophy which led up through investigation and knowledge to a knowledge of God. It can therefore be as truly designated the emancipation from theology. This change has brought with it some serious difficulties. But they are only temporary. We must learn that modern science does not lead us to God. This ought not to produce any alarm when we recall that the God whom we learned to know through nature is not the spiritual, personal God of the Christian faith, but a god of nature, a mere god of appearance. Two opposing tendencies of modern philosophy have grown out of the error of supposing that the results of natural science can be made directly tributary to a correct understanding of the world. The first is materialism, the second the doctrine of Fechner of the soul-life in all things. The most dangerous fact in connection with materialism is that as it is based on a false prejudice it cannot be answered, but only overcome as the prejudice is overcome. Fechner's doctrine is entirely incompatible with the Christian thought of creation, which places God superior to the world. The substance of spirit is not logical but ethical being. "Even if I were not a theologian and Christian I should be compelled to judge as I do." Materialism and naturalism are contradicted by means of the criticism of thought, traced to their psychological sources and declared to be mere prejudices. The attempt to reduce everything to spiritual processes goes to pieces on consideration of the fact that spirit and nature are entirely distinct. There is but one way left, that is, to find in that idea of the highest good which is ethically conditioned the real and final key to the understanding of the world. This leads us to the threshold of Christianity. It also affords us a new form in which science and Christianity can unite, namely, the ethical ends which both serve. But faith and philosophy are still, and will ever remain, separate and distinct. Philosophy is ever ready to change its tenets for good reasons. This very freedom, this ever-open ear, is its fame and glory; but it is also its weakness that it is to some extent hypothetical, never losing its character of a purely human opinion and never leading to true inner assurance and certainty. With faith it is the reverse. It grows in power by means of its lack of inner freedom; it becomes assured by means of obedience and free subjection to the divine revelation. For we cannot do without the revelation as we have it in Jesus Christ. In the confession that there is no other name under heaven whereby we may be saved but that of Jesus Christ, we confess that he is the way, the truth, and the life. The result is that Christianity is the true philosophy, because it assures of eternal life and grounds our certainty on divine revelation given in Jesus Christ. Philosophy may change; Christianity, because founded in God, is changeless as eternity.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January the first article is by Professor [illegible] W. Simon, who endeavors to reconcile evolution with the fall of man, showing, as did Dr. A. J. Baker in our own *Review* in November, 1894, that the Scripture doctrine has a scientific basis. Under the caption "An Eighteenth Century Club," Professor R. T. Stevenson, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, writes of the Holy Club at Oxford, and what came of it for England and the world. His picture is not overdrawn. For the background he fills in a strong and faithful description of England as it was when out from Oxford came Methodism, which Canon Taylor declares to be "the starting point of modern religious history;" just as Lecky says that the warming of Wesley's heart in the Aldersgate Street "forms an epoch in English history." We are glad to commend this admirable article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. The biblical article of the number is on "The Predictive Element in Old Testament Prophecy." The theological articles are "The New Theology," by Jacob A. Biddle, pastor of St. Mary's parish, South Manchester, Conn., and "The Reconstruction of Theology," by Dr. David N. Beach. The ninth paper, by Dr. N. W. Hillis, successor of David Swing in Central Church, Chicago, has for its text Professor R. T. Ely's book on *The Social Law of Service*, which is a study of the second great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Strength is a debtor to weakness; wealth has an obligation to poverty; wisdom is a trust in the interests of ignorance. The science of political economy is being entirely rewritten by the best economists in the light of the Sermon on the Mount. "Students of the problems of the market place are becoming preachers of righteousness, emphasizing increasingly the debt of strength to weakness, and the law of social sympathy and social liability." Dr. Hillis's article mostly discusses and illustrates the working out of progress by the law of vicarious suffering. "Why is it that Curtis says there are three American orations that will live in history—Patrick Henry's, at Williamsburg, Abraham Lincoln's, at Gettysburg, and Wendell Phillips's, at Faneuil Hall? A thousand martyrs to liberty lent eloquence to Henry's lips; the hills of Gettysburg, all billowy with our noble dead, exhaled the memories that anointed Lincoln's lips; while Lovejoy's heart, newly martyred to Alton, poured over Wendell Phillips's nature the full tides of speech divine. Vicarious suffering explains each of these immortal scenes and utterances." The article closes by saying that if Christ's law of social service could be immediately incarnated in all our social and industrial institutions there would be "no more trusts, no more grinding monopolies, no more strikes and lockouts, no more bitter hunger, but each bearing another's burdens, and wisdom and wealth serving poverty in the noble effort to fulfill the law of Christ." Dr. Hillis puts one side of the case, the side which

greed and selfishness have left out of sight. Sympathy and assistance for the disabled and the helpless there must be ; fairness toward all men, low or high, there must be ; but the law will ever remain that the prizes and emoluments of life, great or small, are not gratuities to be distributed but wages to be earned ; they must be gained by hard labor, austere self-denial and struggle, taxing every power of body and mind to the uttermost. No rosewater schemes can change that stern, just, and beneficent law ; and if they could they would make a mush of human character and a maudlin mess of human society. As for unnecessary hardships inflicted by "man's inhumanity to man," and the harsh cruelty of unscrupulous power, let these be severely punished, and utterly abolished in the name of all men's great brother, Jesus Christ.

In the *New World* for December, George Batchelor writes forcibly of "The Infection of Pessimism." Speaking of struggle and competition as the universal condition of progress, he says: "Dreamers tell us of a world where competition will give place to cooperation," and "painful effort and suffering will cease." "This is not the dream of an optimist, but the subtle delusion of a pessimist who is kicking against the pricks of reality. When one tries to abolish this vast terrestrial experiment of producing all good things by competition and emulation he is simply fighting against the nature of things." It is folly to talk of doing away with the manly antagonisms and contests of the struggle in which we in common with all creatures live, and by which our powers are developed. The discontent of millions is stirred and needless bitterness brought into the struggle by what are nothing else than complaints against the nature of things. Relief will come, not through attempts to abolish competition and unchangeable laws of survival, but by bringing the rank and file of the great army of industry to temperance, economy, thrift, and by training them to have skillful hands, swift feet, active brains, the wisdom to plan and the ability to execute. The prizes of life must be won by intense struggle; they cannot be distributed. Achievement, attainment, acquirement come by striving and toiling and suffering. Professor Francis Brown in an article on "Religious Movements in England" quotes from the *British Weekly* the following comments on Dr. J. H. Rigg's view of the so-called Oxford movement: "We cannot understand how a man like Dr. Rigg can treat this whole movement so lightly and contemptuously. It has taken captive for religion some of the strongest and most serious minds of our time. Its influence in the country has been enormous; in many circles it has been the one dominating Christian force. Nor do we see any signs of its waning. . . . On the whole it is perhaps more vital at present than any other system." Professor Brown is sure that whatever may be the future of that powerful religious movement, the Salvation Army, it has influenced religion, especially in England, to a vital degree, and that something like its self-abnegation and its unflinching hand-to-hand work will abide in the Christian life which has

the contagion of its devotedness. An article on "Heretics" speaks of "the preaching of a gospel of divine love by Whitefield and the Wesleys to an England in which Paley regarded Christianity as utilitarianism was regulated by the hope of heaven and the fear of hell." An English colonial professor writes that only by observing the effect of physical environment can we account for the inveterate lasciviousness of the Polynesian, the ghastly cannibalism of the denizens of African forests, the calculating keenness of the Chinaman, the subtlety of the Greek, the bounce of the American, the insolence of the Englishman. Shakespeare is called "a poet without a philosophy or a religion." A book notice takes exception to Professor George P. Fisher's characterization of Channing's Arian Christology as "one of the crudest notions which the history of speculation on this subject has ever presented;" and also to his description of Carlyle's style as a "powerful jargon." A review of Dr. R. E. Thompson's *History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States* finds in it something of the obstinacy hinted at in the prayer of an old Presbyterian elder: "Grant that I may be always right, for thou knowest I am hard to turn;" it also recognizes a downright sincerity like that of the Welsh parson who, after listening in the synod to much liberal interpretation of good old texts, sprang to his feet and cried out, "He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned, and I axes no pardon." The manly candor of Dr. C. C. Tiffany is noticed in his recording concerning the Episcopalians that, during colonial times in Virginia, "the low state of morals, both of the clergy and of the laity, had caused a reaction in the community against them;" and that in Maryland "the Roman Catholics and Dissenters looked with contempt upon an establishment so profligate in some of its members that even the laity sought to purify it, and yet so weak in its discipline that neither clergy nor laity could purge it of offenders;" and also that, at the outbreak of the Revolution, "while other bodies were divided, Episcopal clergymen at the South were of one heart and mind," being all Tories.

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church, South, for November–December has, 1. "New England in the South—George Denison Prentice," by Professor G. Mullen, Ph.D.; 2. "George Denison Prentice," by J. L. Kirby; 3. "The Educated Woman of To-day," by Bishop O. P. Fitzgerald; 4. "The Sources of Civilization, Whence are They?" by Professor J. R. Allen, Ph.D.; 5. "Divine Providence," by James Mudge, D.D.; 6. "The Special Obligation of American Christians to Missions," by Rev. J. A. Anderson; 7. "Vergil's Preeminence Among the Christian Fathers and in the Universal Church," by Professor E. W. Bowen, Ph.D.; 8. "Cyrus Hamlin," by Edward Barrass, D.D.; 9. "Our Senses—How We Use Them, and What They Tell Us," by J. J. Tigert, LL.D.

IN the *North American Review* for December ex-Senator J. F. Wilson writes in attractive reminiscence "Some Memories of Lincoln;" the

Hon. J. H. Eckels discusses the "Duty of the Coming Administration;" and Mrs. J. D. Townsend shows the pressing need, in the interests of the social life, of a "Curfew for City Children."——The *Missionary Review* for December has "The Permanent Basis of Missions," by A. T. Pierson, D.D.; "The Jewish Question—Notes of a Recent Mission Tour," by the Rev. David Baron; "Hannah Marshman, First Woman Missionary, 1767–1847," by Dr. George Smith; "Christian Education in China," by the Rev. G. S. Miner; and much important miscellaneous matter.——A pertinent article in the December number of the *Homiletic Review* is "The Date of Christ's Birth," by Cunningham Geikie, D.D. His helplessness in the face of the oft-asked question is in his opening sentence, "Anyone anxious to amuse himself by playing intellectual blindman's buff on the largest scale could not do better than try to prove to the satisfaction of all concerned the exact date of the birth of Christ." But his justification of the present practice is in his closing statement: "The Christians, from 'Thrace to Cadiz,' used the Roman calendar; and, as Nisan, the first Hebrew month, corresponded to our April, the ninth month was December, and the 25th of that month seemed pointed out as the right day."——Among its noticeable articles the *Nineteenth Century* for December has, "The Olney Doctrine and America's New Foreign Policy," by Sidney Low; "Total Abstinence," by the Rev. Harry Jones; "The World Beneath the Ocean," by A. P. Crouch; "Machiavelli and the English Reformation," by W. A. Phillips; "The Commercial War Between Germany and England," by B. H. Thwaite; "A Seventeenth Century Chesterfield," by the Hon. Sidney Peel; "A Shinto Funeral," by Mrs. Sannomiya; and "The Financial Grievance of Ireland," by J. J. Clancy, M. P.——The *New Review* for November opens with "Gold, and the Prices of the Products of the Farm," by L. G. Powers. "Varying harvests," he declares, "changing the supply of agricultural staples, change their prices, or, what is the same thing, the purchasing power of gold with reference to those staples." Other papers are: "Recent Economic and Social Legislation in the United States," by F. J. Stimson; "The Shifting of Taxes," by T. N. Carver; "Recent Legislation in England," by Edward Porritt; and "Half a Century of Improved Housing Effort by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor," by W. H. Tolman.——The December number of the *Catholic World* has as its illustrated article, "In the Chime Tower," by Mary Boyle O'Reilly; "The Schaffliertanz and Metzgersprung in Munich," by Alguien; "Where Southern Lilies are Trained," by Eliza Allen Starr; and "Holy Brittany," a poem, by J. J. O'Shea.——*Christian Literature* for December has, among its noticeable reprints, Professor A. H. Sayce's article on "The Biblical Critics on the Warpath." It was first published in the London *Contemporary* for November, and is a personal defense against their recent strictures. "The forefront of my offending," he says, "seems to be that I have spoken of 'the critics' as a body, without pointing out that whereas Professor X. is disposed to admit that the Israelites were in Egypt, Professor Y. refuses to make any such admission at all."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Gospel for an Age of Doubt. By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 457. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Most of what this book contains was delivered as one of the courses of the Lectures on Preaching on the Lyman Beecher Foundation. The seven chapters are entitled, "An Age of Doubt," "The Gospel of a Person," "The Unveiling of the Father," "The Human Life of God," "The Message of Authority," "Liberty," "Sovereignty," and "Service." The appendix, containing much material of value, occupies 138 pages. The author's purpose is defined in his "Foreword:" "The deep question, the important question, the question of widest interest, is what to preach to men and women of to-day, to cheer them, to uplift them, to lead them back to faith, and through faith to a brave, full, noble life. This is the question for which I have tried, at least, to point the way to an answer. What is the word of spiritual life and power for the present age? Evidently it must be a real gospel, a word of gladness and a word of God. It will not do to teach for doctrines the commandments of men. Tradition is powerless. Dry systems of dogma cannot quicken the soul. The preacher's message must come to him from a heavenly source, and take hold upon him with the charm of a divine novelty. It must be so fresh, so vivid, so original to his own heart that he cannot help wanting to tell it to the world. This wonderful sense of newness in the Gospel is what makes men long to preach it and the world glad to hear it. But it is no less plain that the message in a certain sense must also be old. It cannot be out of touch with the past. It must be in line with the upward movement of humanity through the ages. It must be in reverent harmony with the faith, and hope, and love which have already cheered and purified and ennobled the best of human lives. An altogether new religion can hardly be an altogether true religion. Now, the solution of this apparent difficulty—the reconciling of the old and the new—lies in a personal view of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The effort to get such a view for every age and for every man results in a thrilling and joyful sense of new discovery of an old and changeless truth. One way in which this feeling of newness comes is through the necessity of clearing away the human accretions which have gathered about the Gospel. Christianity always has been, and probably always will be, subject to obscuration and misunderstanding. It has been presented as a complete system of doctrine. In reality, it is a personal life. The arguments used to defend it have often become hindrances to its acceptance. The formulas framed to express it have often hidden Him who is its true and only center. Christ is Christianity. To trust God in him, to trust and love God in him, is to be a Christian. To preach him, in the language of to-day, to the men of to-day, for the

needs of to-day, is to preach a gospel as new and as old as life itself. This is the thing in which Christianity differs from all other religions. It has a Person at the heart of it: a Person who is as real as we are; a Person who carries in himself the evidence of a spiritual world; a Person who has proved in myriads of souls his power to save men, not only from the evil of sin, but also from the gloom of doubt. . . . To see him is to be sure of God and immortality. Such a person could not have lived if the universe were a mere product of matter and force. It would be easier to think that the floating clouds of sunset could beget out of their vaporous bosoms a solid and eternal mountain peak than that the vain and vague dreams of spiritual life rising from a humanity born only of the dust, and fated to crumble altogether into dust again, could have produced such a firm and glorious reality as the character and life of Jesus of Nazareth." By quotations from many recent writers the author seeks, "First, to make it clear by the sorrowful and confused confessions of modern doubt how much the age needs a gospel; and, second, to show how many men of all classes are moving in the same direction—toward a renewal of faith." We recommend, without hesitation, to all ministers the purchase of Henry Van Dyke's *Gospel for an Age of Doubt* and John Watson's *Cure of Souls*. Put them alongside of Nathaniel J. Burton's *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, and you have a trio of stimulating, strengthening, and suggestive books.

The World for Christ. By A. J. F. BEHRENDS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 167. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

These six chapters are the lectures on missions delivered in 1896 at Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation. A unique composite interest attaches to them as having been delivered by an eminent Congregational minister (whose personal religious and ministerial history is also composite) upon a foundation established by an honored member of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in a Methodist university. The author treats the subject under six heads: "The Authority to be Recognized," "The Field to be Won," "The Result to be Achieved," "The Resistance to be Overcome," "The Leaders to be Appointed," and "The Agencies to be Employed." He treats his theme "in the most general way, from the standpoint of a pastor who would create and foster an intelligent and generous sympathy among his people in the cause of Christian missions." These lectures were prepared on two months' notice, and are characterized by the author's rugged mental vigor and hearty sincerity. We cannot help wishing we now had before us what the sturdy mind and warm heart of Dr. Behrends would make of these lectures, with a year for their preparation. His introduction of himself to his audience is of suitable interest for quotation here: "I was never a Methodist. I was born and trained in the Dutch Reformed communion, and was early inoculated with the Calvinistic theology. But when eighteen years of age, while teaching in one of the rude schoolhouses of southern Ohio, I came under the influence of a Methodist circuit rider, who preached for a fortnight where I taught by day. As I listened to his pointed and fer-

... appeals the religious impressions and convictions of many years ... to a head, and one afternoon, as I tramped along the highway, I ... my heart to Christ because he had given his life for me. My the... had little to do with my conversion. In fact, I consciously ignored ... And it is more than probable that this early association has had ... to do with the gradual, but steady, slackening of dogmatic bonds, ... I have abandoned the profession of marching under the Calvinist ... . . . So you will understand why I always feel at home in a ... odist crowd; and I enjoy their amens, provided they are put in the ... place. The years seem to roll back, and I am once more in the ... val forest, the woods which were 'God's first temples.' I see the ... sawmill and the limpid brook, over which a log served as a bridge, ... it was frozen in winter. I see the rude benches and ruder ..., with the stove in the center of the room. I see the primitive lamps ... whose dim religious light the preacher addressed his audience, and ... mourners' bench, at which many of them kneeled. And though the ... of God came to me during the silence of an evening walk I am afraid ... I shouted more than once when that night I, the schoolmaster, told ... story of deliverance. I have forgotten the name and face of the ... cher, but the place has been indelibly photographed upon my mind ... heart. It all happened thirty-eight years ago, and I have never ... the spot. I do not care to do it now, for I am sure the familiar ... marks are gone, and I should feel like one

> 'Who treads alone
> Some banquet hall deserted,
> Whose lights are fled,
> Whose garlands dead!'"

We transcribe here the lecturer's personal reminiscence, chiefly because in so doing we embalm with tender respect upon a page of this *Review* the sacred memory of an itinerant, only one of thousands like him, name unknown but deeds immortally famous, who in rude places preached the everlasting gospel with prevailing power, laborious harvesters of much rich grain for heaven's eternal garners. If the man of God who conducted a revival in that Ohio schoolhouse nearly forty years ago had no other fruit of his whole ministry's exhorting and praying but A. J. F. Behrends, the promise was to him fulfilled that he should not labor in vain. A fruitful fortnight indeed it was.

... *of Social Theology.* By WILLIAM DE WITT HYDE, D.D., President of Bowdoin ... 12mo, pp. 260. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author's purpose is indicated in the Preface: "Idealism and the... originally joined together in 'the Gospel according to St. John,' ... put asunder through the estrangement of the Greek and Latin ... The Greek Church put a metaphysic in the place of religion, ... paid the penalty in spiritual sterility. The Latin Church put author... in the place of reason, and paid the penalty in intellectual barrenness. ... Protestantism has inherited the Greek formulas without the philosophy ... gave them meaning, and the Latin distrust of reason without the

authority which makes dogmatism effective. The remedy lies in a reunion of vital religion with rational theology. The time has not come for writing this new theology. The returns from psychology and sociology, on which it will depend, are not yet in. A man, however, may blaze a path, even though he lacks the materials and the capacity to build a road. This little book aims to point out the logical relations in which the doctrines of theology will stand to each other when the time shall come again for seeing Christian truth in the light of reason and Christian life as the embodiment of love. I have called it *Social Theology*, because the Christianity of Christ and his disciples was preeminently a social movement, and because we are looking at everything to-day from the social rather than the individualistic point of view. In ethics, in economics, in sociology, in politics, we no longer treat man as capable of isolation. *Unus homo, nullus homo.* Man is what he is by virtue of his relations to what he is not. In these special sciences we try to solve the problem of the individual by putting him into right relations with the forces and persons about him. Christ came to place man in right relations with God, with nature, and with his fellow-men. The modern man translates the Greek ψυχή by life rather than soul. The preservation and enrichment of life, not the mere insuring and saving of the soul, is the function of religion which appeals to men to-day. And at this period of transition the adjective 'social' serves to call attention to the shifting of emphasis from the abstract and formal relation of the isolated individual to an external Ruler, over to man's concrete and essential relations to the divine life manifested in nature, history, and human society." Dr. Hyde's book is divided into three parts. Part I is theological, and considers "The World and the Self—The Father;" "The Real and the Ideal—The Son;" and "The Natural and the Spiritual—The Holy Spirit." Part II is anthropological, and deals with "Sin and Law—Judgment;" "Repentance and Faith—Salvation;" and "Regeneration and Growth—Life." Part III is sociological, and discusses "Possession and Confession—The Church;" "Enjoyment and Service—The Redemption of the World;" and "Abstraction and Aggregation—The Organization of the Kingdom." One of the deepening and widening joys of the Christian thinker to-day is in seeing how, from all directions and in the consideration of all subjects and problems, there arise more clearly and undeniably both warrant and need for calling Christ our Master, and, as Browning says, "the illimitable God:"

> The very God! Think Abib: dost thou think?
> So the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
> So through the thunder comes a human voice
> Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
> Thou hast no power nor may'st conceive of mine,
> But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
> And thou must love me who have died for thee."

The Gospel and teachings and spirit of Jesus Christ, our adorable Lord and Saviour, furnish the only solvent of all human difficulties and problems. With him all things are possible; without him we can do nothing.

The Cure of Souls. Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at Yale University, 1896. By JOHN WATSON, M.A., D.D. 12mo, pp. 301. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

A sudden fame, popularity as wide as the English-speaking race, and extraordinary success in books of fiction and books of theology, in lectures to divinity schools and to miscellaneous audiences—all this rich, varied, and extensive harvest "Ian Maclaren," the author of *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush, The Days of Auld Lang Syne, The Mind of the Master, Kate Carnegie,* and *A Doctor of the Old School,* is now loading upon his wains and stowing in his barns. These lectures on preaching are fitly dedicated to that eminent, broad-minded, and well-balanced scholar, Dr. George P. Fisher, Dean of the Faculty of Theology in Yale University. The author says that he was compelled to enter on the ministry without having received from any lecturer any "account of the difficulties and dangers which were likely to beset the path of one who, like himself, represented the average man. As he paid his bitter premiums to experience, it came to him that some day he would write a little book in which he might be able to save some brother minister from humiliation and suffering, and this he has now tried to do." The nine lectures are on "The Genesis of a Sermon;" "The Technique of a Sermon;" "Problems of Preaching;" "Theology the Theory of Religion;" "The New Dogma;" "The Machinery of a Congregation;" "The Work of a Pastor;" "The Public Worship of God;" "The Minister's Care of Himself." The book is full of manliness, godliness, and "sanctifigumption." It was a good thing to bring a stalwart, healthy, hearty, brainy, breezy, whole-souled Highlander over the sea to face and fill with his own strong mental and spiritual life a school of theological students in some danger of drying up. This book will be read; it will make a tenderer and truer minister of every preacher who reads it. From its pages a quickening spirit breathes.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Moral Evolution. By GEORGE HARRIS, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Crown 8vo, pp. 416. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

The purpose of this book, as explained by the author, is to establish the harmony of personal and social morality with the facts of evolution. He thinks there is a unity in the entire process of development, even in respect to tendencies which seem to conflict. He has not gone into the technicalities of science, nor into the abstractions of philosophy, but has tried to set forth his "conclusions and reasons with as much clearness, directness, and concreteness as possible." The distinctiveness of the book is claimed to be "the recovery of self from the mistaken neglect, into which it has fallen at the hands of many philosophers, to its proper value. Self-preservation, with all its incident evils of struggle, waste, and cruelty, is shown to be in the line of progress, and an essential condition of progress. The social, sympathetic, altruistic feelings are not forced to bear all the mighty burden of human advancement. Social regeneration is not allowed,

with the author's consent, to overbalance personal good. The two values, the personal and the social, are carried along together from the beginning to the end of the volume, even as they are inseparable from the beginning to the end of moral evolution." We have not space to discuss this volume, but must notice a singular mistake for Dr. Harris to make, which occurs on page 204 in this sentence: "John Stuart Mill put feeling into mathematics when he said that if he must believe on pain of going to hell that two and two make five in any part of the universe, to hell he would go rather than admit it." We suppose that among the things oftenest quoted from Stuart Mill two are conspicuous. One is his saying, in accordance with the empirical philosophy, that for aught we know two and two may make five in some other planet. The other is his saying that he would call no Being good who was not what he meant by that term as applied to men; and if such Being should send him to hell for not so calling him, to hell he would go. But those two sayings, now widely familiar through being frequently quoted, are in no way connected in Mill's writings, and, indeed, his peculiar philosophical position makes it impossible that he could connect them in the manner in which Dr. Harris says he did. A willingness to go to perdition was never connected by Mill with the possibility of two and two making five, but rather with his being required to call some Being good when he did not so regard him. How the confusion seen in Dr. Harris's sentence could happen in a scholar's recollection is hard to understand, although we are assisted somewhat by remembering that Homer is reported to have nodded; and popes, declared infallible by world-wide councils, make prodigious and atrocious blunders; and even editors sometimes fall a trifle short of omniscience and unerring recollection. On page 443 the author says with reference to one of the conclusions reached in his volume: "To find myself mistaken in this matter would be a sad surprise which would make me doubtful of my mental and moral sanity." The mistake we have noticed is not sufficient to impeach the author's sanity or competency, mental or moral. The volume closes its reasonings with the following expression of confidence: "At a slow rate indeed mankind advances, but it does advance. And so optimism is more than a hope for the future. It is based on the possession and enjoyment of present value. Science, culture, art, friendship, love, country, religion, are actual possessions. Pessimism cannot gainsay these, although they have not yet reclaimed all outlying provinces. The friendship which is true, in spite of faults and affronts, the love which binds hearts together, and the aspiration to be worthy of friendship and love are human and spiritual values which the pessimistic materialist cannot take away. After two friends whom Stevenson introduces as principal characters in *Prince Otto* had composed a quarrel and reaffirmed their affection, one of them says to the other, "What matters it how bad we are, if others can still love us and we can still love others?" "Ay," replied the doctor, "it is very well said. It is the true answer to the pessimist and the standing miracle of mankind." The very genius of Christianity is the present realization of the ideal. Now are we the sons of God. The

dom of God is among you. The kingdom comes on earth because will is done by his children. And such a present is the prophecy of a ater future.

I answer, Have ye yet to argue out
The very primal thesis, plainest law,—
Man is not God but hath God's end to serve,
A master to obey, a course to take,
Somewhat to cast off, somewhat to become?
Grant this, then man must pass from old to new,
From vain to real, from mistake to fact,
From what once seemed good to what now proves best.
How could man have progression otherwise?

. . . . . .

While man knows partly, but conceives besides,
Creeps ever on from fancies to the fact,
And in this striving, this converting air
Into a solid he may grasp and use,
Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,
Not God's, and not the beasts'; God is, they are,
Man partly is and wholly hopes to be.*

The Condition of Women in the United States. A Traveler's Notes. By MADAME BLANC (TH. BENTZON). Translated by ABBY LANGDON ALGER. 12mo, pp. 285. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

A strong, well-balanced, self-possessed French woman, of no mean reputation as a writer in her own country, the author of a dozen books, as well as a critic of English and American literature, visited our country in 1893 and studied American life from the standpoint of woman's condition here. She made a study of woman's status and activities as exhibited in the World's Fair at Chicago, in women's clubs, in women's colleges, in coeducational institutions, in university extension, in homes and clubs for workingwomen, in industrial schools, in prisons and asylums, and in domestic and social life. Her methods of investigation put her in direct contact with facts, and her book shows her to be a woman of experience, with clear penetration and excellent practical judgment. It is not often that a foreign observer writes more discerningly of American life. Much would be interesting to quote had we room. She notes "the brutal distinctions established by the greater or less amount of dollars." She observes our Anglomaniac dudes, "Americans whose compatriots declare that they turn up their trousers on Broadway in fine weather because it happens to be raining in London." Certain New England damsels remind her of "Greek statues retouched by the hand of an æsthete." She saw in Chicago the funeral of Mayor Harrison, murdered on the eve of his marriage; she says, "Harrison was a politician of much popularity among the lovers of that sort of liberty which consists in keeping bars, theaters, and gambling houses open on Sunday. A sympathetic mob accordingly flocked to his obsequies. I never saw so many evil faces." Hull House and Jane Addams receive careful study and description. Of Chautauqua and its founder she has this to say: "In Bishop Vincent there is something of the apostle, and also of the seer who lives in the contemplation of an almost celestial Chautauqua, whither—thanks to

* From Robert Browning's "A Death in the Desert."

electricity—coming generations shall be borne in the twinkling of an eye to behold the perfected wonders of the telephone, the phonograph, the microphone, etc.; where the changing hues of luminous fountains shall mingle with the living waters of the lake; where all tongues shall be taught by natural methods, visitors being free to travel at will through the German, French, and Italian quarters, as well as through other foreign regions which shall make of this university a world. So, too, all may enter one common church, sacred to the spirit of charity which brings all Christian sects together, and where the liturgies of all ages will find a place, without prejudice to spontaneous products. Bishop Vincent's hopes, as we see, do not stop at a 'local and literal Chautauqua;' they include a 'Chautauqua of ideas and inspirations' so lofty that it is scarcely of the earth. This artless and generous enthusiast might well vie with Peter the Hermit, and it is indeed a modern crusade that he preaches. Chautauqua now has branches in all directions; also summer residences whose various advantages are indiscriminately boasted—culture, religion, music, walks, and restaurants. The impulse given by Bishop Vincent is in reality the same which once produced revivals, spiritual awakenings; and they took place under the same Methodist influences, although they now extend to all Churches as well as to all branches of human knowledge. . . . It cannot be denied that this encampment of a whole nation round about knowledge has elements of greatness." After Madame Blanc's travels through our Western States, she received from a proud and uncompromising native of the prairies, a talented writer, the following letter written from a Wisconsin farm: "Come again and stay longer. As my mother says to her visitors, 'Come again and bring your knitting.' What pleased me in your visit was your determination to see the *people* of America and not its snobs. The true American is not to be found in drawing rooms. It is only in the little towns and villages, in the country, that the democratic ways which characterize him still exist. How long will this resist the rising tide of money and its insolent privileges? I cannot say; but it exists in our homestead, where I spend the summer, eating at the same table with the hired girl, and where the gardener calls me by my Christian name, my top name, as Walt Whitman would say." She made quite a visit at Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., and writes: "I left Galesburg with regret; I still think of it with sympathy and respect. It would be a great pleasure for me to go again and 'take my knitting,' as I was invited to do in the frank parlance of the West."

Aspects of Fiction, and Other Ventures in Criticism. By BRANDER MATTHEWS. 12mo, pp. 234. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author says that no book has yet been written which can serve as a text-book or even as a reference-book for the study of fiction, or of the art of story-telling, but one critic believes that this volume will surely go far toward filling the void. The opening chapter, on "American Literature," is clear, concise, and patriotic, and contains much inspiration and encouragement for young writers. For writers and readers as well there

much of interest in the discussion of "Pleasing the Taste of the Public." Students of the art of story-telling will find the essay on "Text-books of Fiction" very suggestive. The other subjects treated in this volume are: "Two Studies of the South" (a criticism of Professor William P. Trent's biography of William Gilmore Simms and of Thomas Nelson Page's essays in *The Old South*); "The Penalty of Humor;" "On Certain Parallelisms between the Ancient Drama and the Modern;" "Two Scotsmen of Letters — Andrew Lang and Robert Louis Stevenson;" "The Gift of Story-telling;" "Cervantes, Zola, Kipling & Co.;" "The Prose Tales of M. François Coppée;" "The Short Stories of M. Ludovic Halévy;" and "Charles Dudley Warner as a Writer of Fiction." Of Stevenson these true words are written: "Whether it is a tale he is telling, or a drama, with its swift, sharp dialogue, or an essay rambling and ambling skillfully to its unseen end, the style is always the style of a man who has learnt how to make words bend to his bidding. He writes as one whom the parts of speech must needs obey. He had a picked vocabulary at his command, and he was ever on the watch for the unexpected phrase. He strove incessantly to escape from the hackneyed form of words and cut-and-dried commonplaces of speech; and, no doubt, the effort is evident sometimes, although such instances are rare enough. There is at times, it is true, more than a hint of preciousness, but he never fell into the self-consciousness which marred many of Walter Pater's periods." The following comparison is true in its general direction, but not quite fair to Stevenson: "Andrew Lang and the late Robert Louis Stevenson were for a while the two Scottish chiefs of literature. Both lived out of Scotland, yet both were loyal to the land of their birth, and loved it with all the robust ardor of a good man's love. Neither was in robust health, but there was no taint of invalidism in the writings of either, no hint of morbid complaint or of unwholesome self-compassion. Both were resolutely optimistic, as becomes Scotchmen. Both were critics, with sharp eyes for valuing, and with a faculty of enthusiastic and appetizing enjoyment of what is best. They had both attempted fiction, and both belong to the romantic school. In differing degrees each was a poet, and each was master of a prose than which no better is written in our language nowadays. Mr. Lang's style has not the tortured felicity of Stevenson's; its happiness is easier and less willful. The author of *Letters to Dead Authors* is not an artificer of cunning phrase, like the author of *Memories and Portraits;* his style is not hand-made nor the result of taking thought; it grows more of its own accord. The style of each is transparent, but while Stevenson's is as hard as crystal Lang's is fluid like water; it flows, and sometimes it sings as it flows, like the beautiful brooks he longs to linger beside, changing with the sky and the rocks and the trees, but always limpid and delightful." Robert Louis Stevenson was a man of rare genius and of exquisite morals, a worshiper of that which is perfect, with a firm, resolute, patient heroism to inflict on himself any measure of severity necessary to the utmost possible approach toward his lofty ideals. This makes our respect for him deep and tender.

Modern Greek Mastery. A Short Road to Ancient Greek. By THOMAS L. STEDMAN, A.M., M.D. 12mo, pp. 389. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

It is well known that Dr. Schliemann, the famous explorer of buried cities, began his Greek studies by learning the language of modern Greece, and that when he had learned to speak and think in the speech of to-day he found little difficulty in mastering the speech of twenty-five centuries ago. Says the author of this book in his Preface: "Greek of our times has a closer relation to the language of these works [the ancient authors] than English and the other modern tongues of Europe have to their early classics. . . . Any unprejudiced student acquainted with classical Greek needs but to glance through a modern Greek newspaper to become convinced of the practical identity of the two forms of speech. Modern Greek is, as Geldart has so happily phrased it, simply ancient Greek made easy. The conjugation of the ancient Greek verb is shorn of its terrors to one who is already familiar with the simpler forms of the modern verb. And in that, if we except the slightly different arrangement of words in the sentence, and a vocabulary modified to meet the necessities of modern thought, lies practically the only difference between the language of Demosthenes or Herodotus and that of Coraës or Bikelas." Dr. Stedman proposes, then, to simplify the study of the ancient language by first studying the language of modern times, and to this end has prepared this text-book on modern Greek. Its plan is an eclectic one, combining the most prominent features of the natural method with those usually found in the ordinary *delectus*. The book deserves the candid consideration of all classical teachers. We notice, however, other differences besides those mentioned above by the author. The dative case has practically disappeared from the language as it is used in modern conversation. Many nouns originally in the third declension have been popularly transferred to the first or second. The form *elvai*, from being infinitive, has become third person indicative; and we cite it as an example of similar changes. Dr. Stedman's plan seems feasible, and has the support of some eminent authorities, probably of all who have seriously tried it. We quote one more sentence from the author's Preface: "It is difficult to understand how the latter [the New Testament] can be studied with profit by anyone ignorant of the modern idiom, so replete is it with nonclassical and even present-day phraseology."

The Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets. By VIDA D. SCUDDER. 12mo, pp. 340. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The number of persons now alive who could have written this book is not large. It requires one in whom the life of the spirit is full and fresh and sensitive to appreciate and interpret the meaning and message of poetry in this fashion. An intellect and a soul not unequal to the task are at work in Miss Scudder's book. Her Introduction begins thus: "A great poetry has accompanied our century of swift development in thought and deed. Only within the last decade has it sunk into silence, with the death of Tennyson and Browning. Swinburne and Morris, our only sur-

poets, have nothing new to say; no younger men are rising to take the vacant places. So far as we can tell, the story of our modern English song is ended." Yet she does not doubt that the hush which has fallen upon us precedes a new creation. Remarking that the movement of modern thought has been guided by great powers—science, democracy, and the power of the historic past—she passes from the Introduction on into her book with these words: "Let us study, then, the influence of science in all our poets; the new democracy, especially in Wordsworth; the early religious and social ideas, especially in Shelley; the power of the past in the poetry of inversion; the power of the present in the ironic art of Browning; the poetry of religious inquiry in its various phases; and finally the outlook of faith. So studying we shall come to feel that the poetry of our age has a vital unity, and witnesses to an advance of the spirit, straight as the line of experience, from doubt to faith and cheer." We are loath to let the book pass with so brief a notice; but want of space compels us. Our quotations have given no idea of the quality of the book. We must add the lines from Browning's "Bishop Blougram's Apology," which the author quotes at the opening of her section on "The Faith of the Victorian Poets:"

> No, when the fight begins within himself,
> A man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head,
> Satan looks up between his feet. Both tug;
> He's left, himself, in the middle. The soul wakes
> And grows. Prolong that battle through his life!

Mere Literature, and Other Essays. By WOODROW WILSON. 12mo, pp. 247. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Professor Wilson is one of the younger men whose presence in the faculty brings distinction to Princeton University, and whose books, lectures, magazine articles, and addresses are in wide and increasing demand. Perhaps no other reputation so recent as his is so strong. All the essays in this volume appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Century Magazine*, or the *Forum*, except that on Edmund Burke, entitled "The Interpreter of English Liberty." The other essays, besides the one which gives its title to the volume, are on "The Author Himself," "An Author's Choice of Company," "A Literary Politician," "The Truth of the Matter," "The Course of American History," and "A Calendar of Great Americans." The book will add to the interest and value of any library.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

History, Prophecy, and the Monuments; or, Israel and the Nations. By JAMES FREDERICK MCCURDY, Ph.D., LL.D. Vol. II. To the Fall of Nineveh. 8vo, pp. xxi and 433. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $3.

When the first volume of this work was published, in 1894, we believed that the title hardly described the exact character of the whole. The first volume was a history of Israel and, in a subordinate degree, of the nations which influenced or were influenced by God's people. In other words, the book was in a minor sense less than its title demanded, and in another and

better sense it was greater than its title promised. In this second volume we have as a second title the words, "Israel and the Nations," and this really is descriptive of the actual contents of the volume. In this case, as in many others, the book has grown in the author's hands, and what was once to be completed in two volumes will now require a third for its finishing. The first volume carried the story of Israel's life down to the fall of Samaria. It was a story well told, in the light of all the fresh learning of the past decade by the discoveries in Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt. In no other popular book was the history of Israel and of Israel's neighbors so well set forth. The story was, however, in so far defective that it gave almost exclusively the political, the external history of all these great peoples. This defect, if defect it was, is more than remedied in the second volume, which begins with Book VII, to which no less than two hundred and thirty-six pages are devoted. This book is entitled the "Inner Development of Israel," and the scope of its discussion is indicated in the titles of some of its chapters, such as "Elements and Character of Hebrew Society," "The Hebrews as Nomads and Semi-Nomads," "Society, Morals, and Religion." Under such titles as these Professor McCurdy writes rather as a sociologist than as an orientalist. Perhaps the very first thing that strikes the reader of Book VII is the curious list of books to which reference is had upon page after page. Here are Tylor's *Anthropology*, Lecky's *History of European Morals*, Hearn's *Aryan Household*, and others of similar classes. The use of these books as authorities or even as storehouses of illustration for the illumination of the inner development of Israel suggests at once a doubt as to whether the author had not fallen into the camp of theorists who have attempted to explain Semitic customs by Indo-European models. There are several places in the sprightly and highly colored text where this fault is apparent. But it would be a great injustice to imply that these places are numerous, or the fault flagrant. Professor McCurdy is too widely and deeply read in the earliest literature of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians to be easily given over to this learned madness. It is, however, just to say that he plainly does not know the Arab as well as he knows the Assyrian, or we should have found the references to Daughty more frequent than those to Hearn. The Arabic poets also would have furnished many a side-light upon early Semitic family and social ties. But these are small things. The great fact remains that an American scholar trained as an oriental philologist has in this Book VII given a clear, strong portrayal of all that inner development of Israel not explicitly connected with religion. And just here there was need, for almost all that is written of the people of Israel is concerned chiefly, if not wholly, with religion. He who reads of Israel in the literature of even this critical age might often ask if indeed Israel ever thought of common affairs, ever lived a social life similar to the other Semitic peoples of western Asia. It is fitting and proper that distinct emphasis should be laid upon Israel's religion in every portrayal of Israel's career, but it is well not to devote all of one's attention to this only. The student of

... who has studied Israel's history in these later days, and has heard ... phetism, and only that, may be safely urged to read Book VII of ... ond volume as a partial corrective of the biased point of view. ... this discussion of the inner development Professor McCurdy re... to the external history. The narrative begins, where Volume I had ..., at the fall of Samaria, and continues to the fall of Nineveh. It ... judiciously bestowed to say that this sketch of the history of ... and her neighbors is for this period by far the best now existing ... English. We cannot agree with Professor McCurdy in very many ... We believe, for example, that some of the translations of As... texts are too free for accuracy, even where their rendering of the ... trend of thought is unobjectionable (see Sennacherib's inscription, ... 437). Again, we find ourselves unable to agree with sundry state... concerning the date of biblical books or passages. There is, for ... no easily found reason for locating the prophecies of Nahum as ... as 610 B. C. Strack locates them "certainly" before 620 B. C., ... at 625, while König would place them at 650 B. C. This is a ... matter, it is true, for even the date 610 B. C., late though it seems to ... be, is nevertheless violative of no important synchronisms in Israel's ... But laying aside these differences as to translations here and ..., or dates of biblical books, or even of doubts of chronology, we are ... to recur heartily to praise of the entire book. It is all well done, ... to cis-Atlantic scholarship, readable and eminently instructive. ... shall await the third and concluding volume with impatience.

...national History of the United States. From their Declaration of Independence to ... Close of their Civil War. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. In two volumes. Vol. II. ... ed by JOSEPH CULBERTSON CLAYTON. 8vo, pp. x, 789. New York: Harper & Broth... Price, cloth, $3.

In 1854 Mr. Curtis published his *History of the Origin, Formation, and ... tion of the Constitution of the United States*, which, after a thorough ... sion, appeared thirty-five years later as the first volume of the present ... k. At the time of his death, nearly three years ago, he had prepared ... h of the manuscript for the second volume; and this is now pub... d, practically in the shape in which he left it. Some of his pro... d chapters, such as that on the "Impeachment of President John... ," and others on matters growing out of the Civil War, were never ... ten; others were not fully finished; but, says the editor, "the ... it of the author will excuse the incompleteness of some of the chap... —thirteen of them are complete as far as they go; in two or three ... announced topics were not reached when the manuscript abruptly ... ed." Even in its partially unfinished state the work is a contribution ... great value to our political and constitutional history. It is the work ... ripe, clear, and singularly unprejudiced mind; a mind in which ... and details, almost of their own accord, fell into appropriate and ... ated order; a mind where the white light of reason and of truth ... ated all passion and irrational partisanship. Mr. Curtis was a con... tional lawyer of the first rank, and his work is the result of profound

legal learning, of unusual familiarity with great affairs, of conscientious diligence and unquestioned competency. It is not a chronological history. He discusses the great fundamental ideas and the formative and crucial events of our national life, arranging them in a topical order. Some of the topics discussed are, the nature of the Constitution—a history of opinion regarding it; the Constitution in operation and the first measures found necessary to its proper working; the power of amendment; the first revenue law, and economic and financial policies; extension of territory and nature of the Union; the question of slavery; causes and effects of the Civil War; reconstruction; negro suffrage; the presidential election of 1876; and the Electoral Commission. These are the great questions which have riven the nation into contending parties, and underlie all our political development; and it is profitable for instruction to have them treated by so acknowledged an authority. Not the least interesting feature of the book is the large number of public documents inserted. On pp. 47, 48 is the text of South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession. An Appendix of over three hundred pages contains such papers as these: Declaration of Independence; Articles of Confederation; the Constitution, with a comprehensive digest of judicial decisions interpreting its several sections; the text of the great slavery compromises; the tariff act of 1789 in full; the text of the provisional and final Constitutions of the Confederate States; the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, and the supplementary act of March 23; and various presidential proclamations. The work does not need our commendation. Its own intrinsic merit will cause it to live.

The Letters of Victor Hugo: To his Family, to Sainte-Beuve, and Others. Edited by PAUL MEURICE. 8vo, pp. 277. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $3.

There is no reason for extended notice of a very disappointing book. One wonders that such letters as many of these were counted worth the trouble of translation and publication. They diminish the fame of their author, and they vex the reader who comes to them with expectations inspired by and proportioned to the brilliant genius of Victor Hugo. However, as the letters of this volume come down only to 1845, our disappointment takes refuge in the hope that later periods may give us in the next volume letters more commensurate with the great Frenchman's fame. The letters to his father and mother, his wife and his children, are full of affection, expressed in a Frenchy way with great exuberance of language, incessant iteration, and kisses thick as autumn leaves in Vallombrosa. Those to Sainte-Beuve show a great and patient loyalty of heart in Victor Hugo, albeit he is hysterical at times, but give us vague glimpses of unpleasant chapters in the history of their friendship, which seems to have been nursed along with difficulty and sometimes under some heavy strain, Victor Hugo being nobly determined to save it if possible. It is a pity some of these letters did not see the light once for all in the kitchen fire, rather than for all time on the printed page. *Cui bono?* A peep at Hugo in his early years of struggle is in the following sentences. In 1830 he writes: "Born to fortune under the empire, both empire and fortune have failed

"At the age of twenty I found myself a married man, a father of a family, with no resource but my labor, and living from hand to mouth like a workman, while Ferdinand VII had sequestrated and was spending my property." Forced by poverty to be at his desk by five o'clock in the morning, he frequently breaks under the strain: "Hardly had you left me that wretched internal inflammation which you know I suffer from sometimes, ascends into my head, and settles in my eyes. So there I am, blind; shut up for whole days in my study, with blinds down, shutters fastened, eyes closed, unable to work or read or write." This he writes in 1828 to a friend in England about Westminster Abbey: "I am distressed at what you say about the *restorations* at Westminster. The English have a mania for combining the *fashionable* with the Gothic." Here are characteristic sentiments: "The greatest happiness on earth is to help a friend; the next greatest is to be helped by him." "Thinking of an absent friend is one of the most solemn and tranquillizing pleasures of life." Apropos of which we note in passing that the definition of "friend" which took the prize lately offered by a London paper is this: "The first person who comes in when the whole world has gone out." This is the way Victor Hugo in 1822 makes an important announcement to the Abbé De Lamennais: "I am about to be happy. I am going to be married. I wish you were in Paris to make the acquaintance of the angel who is about to convert all my dreams of virtue and bliss into reality. I have not ventured to speak to you before now of what absorbs my existence. I was afraid of shocking your lofty austerity by the avowal of an unconquerable passion, although a pure and innocent one. But now that everything conspires to bestow on me a happiness after my own heart I do not doubt all your tender feelings will be interested in an attachment as much as myself, born in early childhood and fastened by the first affliction of youth." Our last impression of the volume as we close it is better than our first, received from its earlier pages.

History of the German Struggle for Liberty. By POULTNEY BIGELOW, B.A. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 250, 263. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $5.

The author in his Preface says: "These pages go to the printer at a moment when Germany is celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the great war which culminated in a German empire, manhood suffrage, and a free parliament. These were the ideals of the patriots who roused the German nation against the tyranny of Napoleon, and for these their descendants cheerfully became rebels in the stormy days of 1848. It has been my purpose to tell in simple language the story of this struggle—a story addressed to people of English speech and tradition, who believe that the strength of government is in the vigor and virtue of the individual citizen." The history begins at the execution, by order of Napoleon, of John Palm, the bookseller. Then comes a rehearsal of the events which in twenty years destroyed the power of the army of Frederick the Great; then the story of the battle of Jena. The author exposes the utter incompetence of Frederick William III, explains the part Queen Luise played in rousing a national feeling in the Prussian people,

gives the history of the defense of Colberg and of the work of Gneisenau, Nettelbeck, Schill, and Scharnhorst in creating a new army out of the people, shows the effect on Germany of the revolt against Napoleon under Andreas Hofer, describes the first Prussian parliament and its work, explains the effect on the people of the Gymnasia founded by Jahn, and the first volume ends with the founding of the Iron Cross. The second volume brings the history down to the unsatisfactory peace of 1814, of which Gneisenau at once said: "This peace is no more than a truce. Nothing is settled except Napoleon. The *national* matter between Germany and France is not yet fought out, and we shall return once more upon the field of battle." Old Blücher also wrote a little later: "God knows if there is to be another quarrel soon again; but I don't like the looks of things. Our opportunities were not properly used in Paris; France is already doing a great deal of bragging; her wings should have been better trimmed." The war had to be fought over again, in part upon the field of Waterloo, and later in our time about the walls of Metz and Sedan, when the French received a lesson which would have satisfied even Blücher. William I, in 1871, received upon his head the well-earned imperial crown and realized for the German people their long-cherished dream of a great German empire. He, with his son, "Unser Fritz," known now as Frederick the Noble, "completed the work of Stein, of Blücher, of Scharnhorst, of Gneisenau, reaping at last what was sown in the sorrowful years between Jena and Waterloo." These volumes are fully illustrated and indexed, and issued in the style of perfect workmanship for which the name of Harper & Brothers is a guarantee.

Chapters from a Life. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 279. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author of twenty-five previous books, running through thirty years of authorship, adds this to her entertaining and ennobling list. A gifted and gracious woman, intellectually and religiously high-born, writes as one familiar with life's great problems, aware of the dignity and significance of existence, experienced in things deep and high. The daughter of Austin Phelps, the great Andover professor, whose published volumes are a unique treasure to ministers, she inherits genius and nobility of soul. The reader beginning this book will go through it to the end. It is her own life, with its relationships, experiences, and environment, that furnishes these chapters, which give inside views of Andover home-life and school-life, and tell of war time, and the fall of the Pemberton mill, and *Gates Ajar*, and Mrs. Stowe, and James T. Fields, and Longfellow, and Whittier, and Holmes, and Celia Thaxter, and Lucy Larcom, and Lydia Maria Child, and Phillips Brooks, and Edward R. Sill, and many other people and events and places. No home or heart could help being bettered by the presence in it of the writings of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Hardly any work of fiction to-day is having a larger sale than her book entitled *A Singular Life*, which she herself seems to value more than her others. The public not only acquits but thanks her for all that she tells about herself in these Chapters from a Life.

[illegible] China, and Other Stories. By JULIAN RALPH. 12mo, pp. 282. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $2.

The author, who had previously written eyewitness descriptions of our [illegible] West, our great South, the Canada borders, and the Chicago [illegible]'s Fair, now gives us life in China in his peculiarly picturesque [illegible] brilliant manner. One third of the book is occupied with an account [illegible] a trip in a house-boat on the great rivers and canals of Central China. [illegible] the rest of the volume the author has woven together his experiences [illegible] observations of characters and customs in a series of ingenious ro[illegible]. The story of "The Boss of Ling-foo" exhibits the rottenness [illegible] in the Chinese system of government. Many lifelike glimpses [illegible] the Flowery Kingdom are given, especially in the descriptions of the gar[illegible] of China, the captain of the house-boat, the cook on the house-boat, [illegible] girls, a kickaway boat, the cormorant fishermen, Chinese women, [illegible] curio shop, a mandarin's house-boat, and a mandarin's court. The [illegible] is finely and generously illustrated. The stories are entitled "Bamblossom Beebe's Adventures," "The Story of Miss Pi," "Little [illegible]'s Constancy," "The Love Letters of Superfine Gold."

[illegible] Landmarks of Jerusalem. By LAURENCE HUTTON. 12mo, pp. 74. New York: [illegible] & Brothers. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The well-known essayist and author, who has written in larger books of [illegible] literary landmarks of London and Edinburgh, renders a service to [illegible] in this thin little directory to the chief landmarks of Jerusalem. [illegible] purposely made small enough to go easily into one's pocket. The [illegible] when visiting Jerusalem, felt the want of a small book which [illegible] tell him on the spot exactly what he wanted to know, and he here [illegible] to supply that want for others. It is illustrated with photo[illegible] of the principal landmarks. The book begins thus: "Those who [illegible] to Jerusalem with faith are likely to have their faith strengthened: [illegible] who go to Jerusalem without faith are apt to bring something very [illegible] faith away. The Christian Messiah, to the ordinary mind the world [illegible], is an idea, a myth, a sentiment, or a religion. In Jerusalem he be[illegible] a reality."

MISCELLANEOUS.

[illegible] Company, and Other Sea People. By J. D. JERROLD KELLEY, Lieutenant-Com[illegible], U. S. N. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 222. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, [illegible], ornamental, $2.50.

"The Ship's Company," "The Squadron Cruise," "Midshipmen Old and [illegible]," "Superstitions of the Sailor," "The Basket of the Sea," "The [illegible] of the Game," "The Spirit of Libogen," and "Queer Pets of Sailor [illegible]"—these are the chapter headings under which much knowledge is [illegible] in a lifelike way of those who go down to the sea in ships. The book [illegible] richly illustrated with actual scenes of ship life on the great Atlantic [illegible], on yachts, and on men-of-war. This naval officer, writing of the [illegible] of Tahiti, refers as follows to the early missionaries and their [illegible]: "The first missionaries were, as a rule, men of humble origin,

who could handle the jackplane and the hammer more deftly than the intricacies of the moral law. It was a time when the new regions coming to man's knowledge were opening fields for an extension of the charity and humanity of the world's greatest religion. It was a season when many earnest but untrained men felt compelled to quit the guilds wherein they were adepts for the higher mission of teaching the heathen; to leave work in which they were skilled for more difficult labor to which they brought no other qualities than honest hearts, sound bodies, and great intentions. Men of this class, stirred to their hearts by the bidding of the gentle Master, were apt from biased thought and half-awakened perceptions to behold a mission, and perhaps deluded by their wordy gift of 'wagging a pow i' the pulpit' to believe themselves foreordained to convert the heathen. The fallow field was waiting, and often the missionary societies demanded little more than fixed religious principles, zeal, and a ready obedience. Burning with noble desire, these early missionaries sacrificed much for their work, and after trials and hardships—for ships were slow and voyages long—reached a land where everything was new and crude and amorphous. They found a race just startled from the dream that the arch spanning their horizon was the only world, that they were the only people, and that beyond them and theirs was nothing. This people, plastic for the molding, saw in the white man, with his superior intelligence as manifested in material things, a sort of demigod, linked to their island and its gods by scarce-remembered traditions and dimly shadowed in predictions which had come from all time with the softened angles and blurred faces folklore acquires in rolling toward us." After saying that intelligent men long resident in Polynesia differ in opinion as the amount of good accomplished under "the stern paternalism of the early missionary rule." Commander Kelley writes that it is certain that in many ways the natives were taught to lead better and purer lives; chastity was preached and modesty inculcated; marriage ties were made firmer and divorce more difficult; and in various directions the heathen mind was turned from customs sanctioned more by their ignorance and the example of their forefathers than by the rules of right and wrong. Sacrifices were abolished, polygamy was forbidden, and woman raised to a higher place in the domestic scale. The natives learned honesty, built better houses, attended to drainage, and gave up a slavish dependence upon multitudinous gods. These were some of the results of the labors of humble missionaries, visible even to the passing voyager, ashore for a few hours while his ship was at anchor. The book is informing and enlivening, full of a vivid variety, and issued in handsome form.

Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of the City of New York. (1816 to 1860.) By CHARLES H. HASWELL. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 581. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth ornamental, $3.

For those who would know about old New York, its buildings, its customs, its men, and its notable events, this book is said to be a very treasure house of interesting facts. It is not a history, but a book of brief contemporary comments, as of a citizen who kept a journal of the

... illuminated by various reminiscences. The author deplores the ... of civic pride shown by the inhabitants of the city of New York, remarking, by way of contrast, that "smaller cities of the New World have wisely cherished their inheritance from a fruitful past and communicated it to successive generations;" and he cites Boston as a city properly proud of its history, traditions, and influence, and cherishing them. He wishes to assist in the preservation of the history of his own dear city, in which through so long a life he dwelt in peace. We cannot quote, except a few lines about the administration of James Harper, who was mayor of New York city in 1844 and 1845: "Mayor Harper signalized his administration by active service in the improvement of Madison Square and in improving the organization of the Police Department. His administration partook of the purity of those of his early predecessors in the office. . . . The police officers were few in number, without effective organization, and ununiformed. Mr. Harper . . . proceeded to remedy this, and succeeded in effecting an organization that became mandatory to the present one. He also succeeded, despite opposition, in establishing a uniform for the members of the force."

Pioneers of Science in America. Reprinted from *Popular Science Monthly*, and edited by W. J. Youmans. Crown 8vo, pp. 500. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

During recent decades America has been developing scientists quite rapidly, and at the present time American science is beginning to stand on a par with that of any other country. It is hardly to be expected that our early years could have seen large scientific attainment or contributed much to the world's scientific knowledge. This would scarcely be looked for in a new nation, subduing a wild continent and settling its political status. In reading through this work one receives a very favorable impression of American science, and is perhaps surprised that this country has been able to accomplish so much in the fields of science. The book includes fifty honorable and goodly names. Not all of the fifty have attained a world-wide reputation, nor do we find among them men who, like Newton, have revolutionized scientific thought. But here are not a few names that may well make us proud of America. We find here Franklin, Audubon, Wilson, Silliman, Morse, Hitchcock, Dana, Torrey, Henry, Ericsson, Agassiz, and many others, and cannot but take pride in the fact that America has contributed so much to the scientific knowledge of the world. This list of fifty includes students in all departments of science. The sketches of their life and work are brief but interesting. One cannot do better than to go to the pages of this publication if he desires to learn of the activity of the American mind in the early decades of our history. Whoever enjoys the study of biography or takes an interest in America will find here many a fact of interest, and cannot fail to be much impressed with the intellectual vigor of American students. Our country has reason to be proud of her pioneers in science, and if her future shall show as large a proportionate array of men of world-wide attainments American science will hold rank with that of any other nation in the world.

Famous Givers and Their Gifts. By SARAH KNOWLES BOLTON. 12mo, pp. 332. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Mrs. Bolton is the author of a famous lot of books about poor boys and girls who became famous, *Famous American Authors*, *Famous American Statesmen*, *Famous Men of Science*, *Famous European Artists*, *Famous Types of Womanhood*, *Famous English Authors*, *Famous Voyagers*, and so on through nearly all the ranks of fame. This volume tells about "Stephen Girard and His College for Orphans;" "Andrew Carnegie and His Library;" "Charles Pratt and His Institute;" "Thomas Guy and His Hospital;" "Sophia Smith and Her College for Women;" "James Lick and His Telescope;" "Leland Stanford and His University;" "James Smithson and the Smithsonian Institute;" and the various notable charities and benefactions of John Lowell, Jr., Thomas Holloway, Captain Thomas Coram, Henry Shaw, Lenox, Astor, Newberry, Crerar, Reynolds, Frederick H. Rindge, A. J. Drexel, Philip D. Armour, Leonard Case, Asa Packer, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Baron De Hirsch, Isaac Rich, D. B. Fayerweather, Catharine L. Wolfe, Mary Elizabeth Garrett, John F. Slater, Daniel Hand, W. W. Corcoran, John D. Rockefeller, and others. We wonder that Peter Cooper is not in the list.

Talks on Writing English. By ARLO BATES. Crown 8vo, pp. 322. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These talks were given to advanced classes in English composition. The author endeavored to make them as practical as possible, putting into them the things which he thinks would have been helpful to him as a writer had they been taught him twenty years ago. The lectures are as entertaining as they are practical. They treat of "The Art of Writing," "Methods of Study," "Principles of Structure," "Details of Diction," "Principles of Quality," "Means and Effects," "Classification," "Exposition," "Argument," "Description," "Narration," "Character and Purpose," "Translation," "Criticism," "Style," and more besides. The book is critical, capable, and wise, valuable to young and even to more experienced writers, worthy of commendation to students and teachers of English composition.

Gray Days and Gold, in England and Scotland. By WILLIAM WINTER. Crown 8vo, pp. 323. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This is a new and revised edition, profusely and beautifully illustrated. The book "relates to the gray days of an American wanderer in the British Islands, and to the gold of thought and fancy that can be found there." The author hopes that his volume may contribute something to the refinement of civilization in America, and says: "The supreme need of this age in America is a practical conviction that progress does not consist in material prosperity but in spiritual advancement." Mr. Winter is a devotee of the beautiful in nature, literature, architecture, and art in general, as will be seen in these twenty-four chapters about "Classic Shrines of England," "Haunted Glens and Houses," "The Haunts of Moore," "The Land of Wordsworth," "Historic Nooks of Warwickshire," "Up and Down the Avon," "Into the Highlands," "High-

Beauties," "The Heart of Scotland," "The Land of Marmion," many other places. The book is finely reproduced in this edition. Advanced to open first to the pictures of Matthew Arnold and of All Saints ivy-covered church at Laleham, and of the grave in the churchyard where he sleeps with his children underneath the words, "There ariseth up a light for the righteous and joyful gladness for such as are upright in heart."

Katharine's Experiment. By FELICIA BUTTZ CLARK. 12mo, pp. 279. New York: Nelson & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

It is not strange that a woman born among books, living with piles of them around her "upstairs, and downstairs, and in my lady's chamber," seeing them talked about always as among the most important things in life, the daughter of Dr. Henry A. Buttz of Drew Seminary, at Madison, N. J., and the wife of Professor N. W. Clark, of our Italian Theological School, at Rome, should herself turn out to be a bookmaker; nor that she should know how to make a good one. It is the story of an American girl who goes to study music in Germany for a year on a prize she has won; a capital book for homes, especially for the girls in them. Its entertaining pages make for all that is pure and sweet and strong in character. One critic "regrets when it is all over that the young German baron doesn't go back to America with Katharine, or for her." How does the critic know he doesn't go? We incline to think he goes; he becomes a Christian and she marries him. Mrs. Clark's book, like some good sermons, stops just when everybody wants it to go on. The last thing she tells us is that as the train moved out of the Frankfort station there was in Katharine's mind a picture of a handsome, glowing face; in her hands a cluster of fragrant roses; and in her ears an echo of "*Auf wiedersehen.*" Yes, the baron's farewell was, "A pleasant summer to you! AUFWIEDERSEHEN!" We think his adieu had a purpose in it as well as a wish, and we advise the critic to write to Mrs. Clark and learn where the Baroness Katharine von Bernstein now resides.

Legends of the Virgin and Christ. By H. A. GUERBER. 12mo, pp. 277. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

The legends chosen are those most referred to in literature and art. Art galleries in all lands are full of pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Middle Age legends are the basis of many of those pictures. A knowledge of the legends is necessary to a comprehension of the artist's plan. The mother and her divine Babe have made for centuries a favorite theme for artists many and great; and still the sacred subject fascinates the men of palette and brush who are now alive and at work. The numerous illustrations which adorn the book are copies of pictures by such masters as Guido Reni, Raphael, Murillo, Van Dyck, Hoffman, Holman Hunt, Titian, Mignard, and Müller. The stories relate to the youth of the Virgin, the annunciation, the nativity, the flight, the sojourn in Egypt, boyhood of Christ, ministry of Christ, passion week, the crucifixion, Christ's death, burial, and resurrection, the descent into Hades, the Virgin's assumption and coronation, the mother and Son in art.

The book reminds one of Mrs. Jameson's writings on similar subjects; but Miss Guerber gives us the legends succinctly and gracefully.

Impressions and Experiences. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, pp. 283. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

This is the latest in book form from the author of *The Quality of Mercy, A Traveler from Altruria, The World of Chance, The Day of their Wedding, A Hazard of New Fortunes,* and near a score of other works. The essays number eight, and are on "The Country Printer;" "Police Report;" "I Talk of Dreams;" "An Eastside Ramble;" "Tribulations of a Cheerful Giver;" "The Closing of the Hotel;" "Glimpses of Central Park;" "New York Streets." To say that this book is by Howells is to describe it sufficiently to those familiar with his extraordinary ability to make the ordinary and the familiar extraordinarily interesting. It is the realism of everyday contemporary life.

The Mystery of Sleep. By JOHN BIGELOW. 12mo, pp. 133. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, deckel edges, gilt top, $1.50. (In a box.)

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1897.

ART. I.—THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN ITS RELATION TO THEOLOGY.

As we read the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles it seems to us strange that, when the Church was born, the first sermon needed to begin by repelling the charge that the assembled Christians were drunk with wine. Yet no discourse can be more closely logical than Peter's, which immediately followed. Scripture and reasoning are closely linked together to make a proof which no force of prejudice can break. While Peter preaches his rational faculties are in their highest exercise. While under the power of the Spirit his self-poise is not disturbed, and, though intensely earnest, he is perfectly himself. He affirms that the sign of the reign of the Messiah was to be the bestowal of the prophetic gift on all classes of mankind. The sons, the daughters, the young men, the old men, the bondmen and bondwomen should all alike receive the gift of God. Whatever we may define the gift of prophecy to be, it is for all men; whatever the gift of the Spirit may be, none are in the purpose of God excluded from its possession. Whatever else it may do, it brings man into direct fellowship with God. Interpreting Joel's prophecy by the effects which followed that Pentecostal day, we may say that the divine gift assured those who believed, of God's fatherhood, of their redemption in Christ, and of their fellowship in love with all who like themselves believed on him. "And day by day, continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and

singleness of heart, praising God, and having favor with all the people."

That this lovely vision of the scope and power of the Gospel has been clouded, over and over again, in the past ages of the Church, everyone who has read the Church's history well knows. Yet it comes back to us not only with its ancient beauty, but with something of its original quickening force. The Gospel which to so many is a dead letter becomes again a life. A new apprehension of the realness of Christianity possesses the minds of the bearers of its message. The two worlds, usually so far apart in our efforts to conceive them, come near together; they who call upon God have an assured conviction that he does hear prayer; the power of the unseen once more gains ascendency over the conscience; and, though the outer world may pass on as before, with the busy men in it, as busy men are always in it, yet it is controlled by another spirit. Men ask as never before, "Who is my neighbor? And what do I owe to him?" Life after a divine pattern is to thousands a hope, and to some a realization. The world feels that powerful influences have come into its life, and in a confused way tries to make clear to itself what they are. The ancient mockery, too, repeats itself, "These men are full of new wine." They are fools, idiots, madmen, but, as always, "Wisdom is justified of her children."

We cannot say that world-wide visitations of the power of the divine come to us often, but we will all agree that the evangelical revival which began in the last century, and of which we are the children, was one of these. But, though we are the children of that revival, it seems to us that we do not usually see the fact in its breadth or discover the full force of its effects. One of the reasons of our failure of discernment is the habit we Methodists have of appropriating the revival as our own, and of speaking and acting as if it were our own special possession. It is no more ours than the Spirit, its heavenly force, is ours. In fact, it is world-wide; and, if we are faithful to its lessons, its effects in the century to come may be as great as they have been in the century past. It may yet add to its work in philanthropy the reconstruction of theology, the reorganization of Church polity, and the entire method of contemplating Christianity itself. If so, it will be felt in all the-

logies, creeds, Churches, and social conditions of men. Let us, then, in order to prove this broad proposition, sketch the history and nature of the movement.

We will not tarry to dwell on its philanthropic history. This is "known and read of all men." The interest in the welfare of the poor which distinguishes our age; the revival of Christian missions; the abolition of the slave trade by England followed by the abolition of slavery in the English colonies, and at last followed by the abolition of slavery throughout the Christian world; the reforms of prison management and discipline; the efforts made everywhere to help the helpless, originated in or have been stimulated by the evangelical revival of which we speak. It has created a century unlike any other in history, and has given both new meaning and new emphasis to the term "humanity." For a time, under the appeals of Wilberforce and Hannah More, it changed for the better the manners of the nominal Christians among the titled and ruling classes of English society. On these facts we shall not dwell. Taken together they make a history of self-sacrifice and devotion to human welfare paralleled only by the missionary labors of the Middle Ages and the apostolic days. We prefer to dwell on features little noticed, and will select two: (1) It created a new conception of subjective Christianity; and (2) It established a new ground of conviction of the truth of Christianity. By both of these it increased the practical power of Christianity many fold.

1. It created a new conception of subjective Christianity. We emphasize the word "subjective," for the evangelical revival accepted cordially the objective truths of our faith. It was not a dogmatic revival. Nor did it in the precise sense create the first apprehension of the truths with which it busied itself. It did, however, create them anew for that age. They were the truths which Luther had found in the New Testament Scriptures, but which afterward had been wholly lost. The proclamation of these truths grated upon the ears of the men—the Christians—of the eighteenth century. Hunt tells us, in his *History of Religious Thought in England*, that the Holy Spirit was believed by some Church of England men to have been in the world in the apostolic age, but after that to have practically quitted it; others, that the Spirit dwells in the Bible as the source of inspiration; others, in the sacraments of the Church,

without explaining clearly in what mode. Warburton, the greatest scholar among the bishops, in his treatise on *The Doctrine of Grace*, maintained that miraculous gifts were necessary for the establishment of Christianity, "but that the operations of the Spirit ceased with the apostolic age." "Without the gift of tongues," he writes, "and the power to work miracles, the heathen would never have been converted. But, when the canon of Scripture was complete, the office of the Spirit was in part transferred to the rule of faith. It may not be possible to fix the time when the miraculous operations of the Spirit ceased; but to talk of the Spirit being in the world now, and miraculously changing men's hearts, is pure fanaticism." * It was, however, admitted that the Spirit occasionally assisted the faithful. But his constant abode and supreme illumination was in the Scriptures. Of the same purport is the conversation between John Wesley and Bishop Butler. "Sir," said the bishop, "what do you mean by faith?" "My lord," Wesley answered, "by justifying faith I mean a conviction wrought in a man by the Holy Ghost, that Christ hath loved him and given himself for him, and that through Christ his sins are forgiven." The bishop said that some good men might have that kind of faith, but not all Christians. "Mr. Wesley," said Butler, "making short of the matter, I once thought you and Mr. Whitefield well-meaning men, but I cannot think so now. Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelation and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing." †

If England held that day within her borders two better men than Joseph Butler and John Wesley we have never heard them named; and yet how far apart in their beliefs! Barrington, Bishop of Durham in that century, wrote a treatise on *The Teaching and Witness of the Holy Spirit*. He claims that the witness of the Spirit was given only for the purpose of miraculously establishing Christianity in its first age. In some sense he believes the Spirit to operate in every age, but he cannot tell how, and curtly dismisses this branch of his subject.‡ At this point the great divines of the English Church were agreed with the deists, for Bolingbroke considered it to be blasphemy to suppose that man partakes in the divine nature,

* Hunt, *History of Religious Thought in England*, vol. iii, p. 279.
† *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 289. ‡ Quoted by Overton, vol. i, p. 550.

that God breathes upon our spirits.* And so, for that matter, did the English bishops.

One need not go far to find the causes of this limited view of Christianity. It was the age of the rational. England had been convulsed by two political revolutions. Of these, the first, the great rebellion, had aimed at a more complete reformation in religion. It had ended in the overthrow of the monarchy and of the established Church. The fervid energy of the Puritan was not satisfied with less than the reconstitution of social society according to his ideal. His zeal was less the zeal of Paul than the zeal of Joshua. The restoration of the Stuarts had been followed by the futile attempts of one of them, James II, to bring in the Roman Catholic faith again. If Puritans overthrew the monarchy, Church of England men overthrew the dynasty and changed the succession to the crown. Thus, moving from Calvin almost to Rome, and from the edge of Rome to a middle position, the English people craved rest. The thought most present to them was the danger of strong emotion on any subject. The reasonableness of the Christian religion was the only aspect of it tolerated. To abjure enthusiasm was the duty of every man. And, under the limited view of the reasonableness of Christianity and of the danger of any claim of a direct communication between God and the human spirit, the English nation sank down into brutality. The pulpit became ineffective, and deists mocked the Gospel of Christ as being no better than their own.

Against this conception of Christianity as being coldly rational John Wesley proclaimed the truth of the day of Pentecost. Religion is a divine life in the human soul; man does have fellowship with God through the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit does renew man in the likeness of Christ, and attests the fact of the renewal by a divine witness. Man is not dependent on a priestly body for his access to Christ or his fellowship with Christ. He may go himself to God for the pardon of his sins, and may have the witness of that pardon within. For faith freely justifies and brings man into peace with God. This was the enthusiasm against which the age protested, but it was scriptural; it was a new type of subjective religion for the English-speaking world.

* Overton, vol. i, p. 552.

2. The evangelical revival which we here discuss established a new ground of conviction of the truth of Christianity. The age was the age of the evidence writers, and a mighty defense of Christianity they made. Lardner, Butler, Paley—what immortal names! But with all their labors England remained as irreligious as ever. Butler's confession of the state of the nation at the time of the publication of the *Analogy* has often been quoted: "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious." Observe his language, "discovered to be fictitious"—all confidence in the truth of Christianity gone. Here are the foremost men laboring with the resources of a great learning to convince, yet the English people were left just as they had been. The reasonableness of Christianity, the historical truth of Christianity, the harmony of Christianity with the constitution and course of nature, all shown, and yet no reform. How could there be reform? Paley had declared that the object of the advent of Christ was to give mankind a more convincing proof of immortality; for him this was the whole of the Christian religion. The most important faculties of our nature on its Godward side were left untouched.

Wesley boldly asserted that Christianity shines by its own light, and witnesses to its truth in the soul of everyone who believes. The effect of this proclamation was instantaneous. Says Overton: "The arguments both of deists and evidence-writers rapidly became obsolete, when it was felt that both one and the other had omitted from their reasonings faculties which might prove to be the most important of which human nature is capable, but which had been contemptuously given over to the speculations of so-called mystics and enthusiasts."* Lecky speaks of the theology of the time as "the cold, passionless theology of the eighteenth century"—a theology which regarded Christianity as an admirable auxiliary to the police force and a principle of decorum and cohesion in society, but which carefully banished from it all enthusiasm; veiled or attenuated all its mysteries; and virtually reduced it to an authoritative system of moral philosophy.† When Conyers Middle-

* Abbey and Overton, vol. i. p. 606.
† *Rationalism in Europe*, vol. i. p. 167.

... published his *Introductory Discourse*, he in fact unsettled the evidence of all Christian miracles. John Wesley perceived its bearing and opened his reply to Middleton thus: "In your late *Inquiry* you endeavor to prove, first, that there were no miracles wrought in the primitive Church; secondly, that all the primitive fathers were fools or knaves, and most of them both one and the other. And it is easy to observe the whole tenor of your argument tends to prove, thirdly, that no miracles were wrought by Christ or his apostles; and, fourthly, that those, too, were fools or knaves, or both." Here was a trying situation for the apologists for Christianity. Either the fathers of the postapostolic period were credulous simpletons, who believed all the stories of miracles wrought in their day, or they helped to maintain a pious fraud. In his reply to Middleton, Wesley brought forward what he conceived to be the convincing evidence of the truth of Christianity, namely, the witness which Christianity gives of itself in the soul of every one who trusts in Christ for redemption. He then adds:

> And this I conceive to be the strongest evidence of the truth of Christianity. I do not undervalue traditional evidence. Let it have its place and its due honor. It is highly serviceable in its kind and in its degree. And yet I cannot set it on a level with this.
>
> It is generally supposed that traditional evidence is weakened by length of time, as it must necessarily pass through so many hands, in a continued succession of ages. But no length of time can possibly affect the strength of this internal evidence. It is equally strong, equally new, through the course of seventeen hundred years. It passes now, even as it has done from the beginning, directly from God into the believing soul. . . .
>
> Traditional evidence is of an extremely complicated nature, necessarily including so many and so various considerations that only men of a strong and clear understanding can be sensible of its full force. On the contrary, how plain and simple is this! And how level to the lowest capacity! Is not this the sum, "One thing I know: I was blind, but now I see!" An argument so plain that a peasant, a woman, a child, may feel all its force.
>
> The traditional evidence of Christianity stands as it were a great way off, and, therefore, although it speaks loud and clear, yet makes a less lively impression. It gives us an account of what was transacted long ago, in far distant times as well as places; whereas, the inward evidence is intimately present to all persons, at all times, and in all places. "It is nigh thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, if thou believest in the Lord Jesus Christ." This, then, is the record, this is the evidence,

emphatically so called, "that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son."

If, then, it were possible (which I conceive it is not) to shake the traditional evidence of Christianity, still he that has the internal evidence (and every true believer hath the witness or evidence in himself) would stand firm and unshaken. Still he could say to those who were striking at the external evidence, "Beat on the sack of Anaxagoras." But you can no more hurt *my* evidence of Christianity than the tyrant could hurt the spirit of that wise man.

I have sometimes been almost inclined to believe that the wisdom of God has, in most later ages, permitted the external evidence of Christianity to be more or less clogged and encumbered for this very end, that men (of reflection especially) might not altogether rest there, but be constrained to look into themselves also, and attend to the light shining in their hearts.

Nay, it seems (if it be allowed for us to pry so far into the reasons of the divine dispensations) that, particularly in this age, God suffers all kinds of objections to be raised against the traditional evidence of Christianity, that men of understanding, though unwilling to give it up, yet, at the same time they defend this evidence, may not rest the whole strength of their cause thereon, but seek a deeper and firmer support for it.

Without this I cannot but doubt whether they can long maintain their cause; whether, if they do not obey the loud call of God, and lay far more stress than they have hitherto done on this internal evidence of Christianity, they will not, one after another, give up the external and (in heart at least) go over to those whom they are now contending with, so that, in a century or two, the people of England will be fairly divided into real deists and real Christians. And I apprehend this would be no loss at all, but rather an advantage to the Christian cause; nay, perhaps it would be the speediest, yea, the only effectual way of bringing all reasonable deists to be Christians.

May I be permitted to speak freely? May I, without offense, ask of you that are called Christians, what real loss would you sustain in giving up your present opinion, that the Christian system is of God? . . . Does not the main of your Christianity lie in your opinions? Decked with a few outward observances? For, as to morality, even honest heathen morality (O, let me utter a melancholy truth), many of those whom you style deists, there is reason to fear, have far more of it than you.

Go on, gentlemen, and prosper. Shame these nominal Christians out of that poor superstition which they call Christianity. Reason, rally, laugh them out of their dead, empty forms, void of spirit, of faith, of love. Convince them that such mean pageantry . . . is absolutely unworthy, you need not say of God, but even of any man that is endued with common understanding. Show them that, while they are endeavoring to please God thus, they are only beating the air. Know your time; press on; push your victories till you have conquered all that know not

...And then he, whom neither they nor you know now, shall rise ...d gird himself with strength, and go forth in his almighty love and ...ctly conquer you all together.*

Thus did John Wesley affirm that the Christianity of opin... is no Christianity at all, and that to constitute a man a ...ristian there must be faith in a personal Redeemer. "A ...ring of opinions," he told Middleton, "is no more Christian ...ith than a string of beads is Christian holiness." In declar...g the inward testimony for Christianity the most important ...r mankind generally, he laid a new foundation for Christian ...nfidence, or, to speak more accurately, relaid an old founda...on, and in so doing brought in a new era. The first effect, ...herefore, of the evangelical revival upon theology was to ter...minate the deistical controversy. Both sides agreed that the ...rongest evidence of the truth of Christianity was a genuine ...hristian, and as the revival produced examples, almost innu...merable, of men turned from the coarsest vices to purity of ...fe, the deists had to confess that the Christian was something ...ore than a republication of natural religion, and the evidence-...writers that they had missed an entire side of their subject. ...rom that time to this the evidences of Christianity have been ...andled in a different spirit. We need only refer, as one of ...many proofs, to the magnificent closing passage of Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, in which the internal evidence receives ...s due honor.

A great force is, at all times, likely to evoke a counter force, ...nd in this respect the evangelical revival has followed the ...precedents of history. At the close of the eighteenth century ...t seemed likely to take possession of all England. That it has ...ot done so is due to the counter movement known as the ...Tractarian revival. The objects of Tractarianism were: (1) To ...et up a barrier against the spread of political liberalism; (2) ...To revive priestly authority, and thereby to save English ...Church principles from being wholly undermined. In order to ...ee this reaction in clear light it is necessary to premise a few ...facts.

The evangelical revival was a revival within the Church of ...England. When John Wesley formed his societies he was still ...in the Establishment, though his followers did not necessarily

* *Works* of Wesley, vol. ix. pp. 63, 64.

so reckon themselves. Such as had been churchmen might, and usually did, remain churchmen; but many of the Methodists cared little for the Church because the Church had cared little for them. Wesley himself, though a lover of all men, was not specially fond of dissenters as such. He was all the time guilty of what was then considered a grave offense against ecclesiastical order; he entered into other men's parishes without the permission of rectors or curates. But he had fellow-workers, men of like spirit with himself, who remained in their parishes and preached the Gospel so dear to him. Fletcher of Madeley was a Church rector, and so were Grimshaw, Berridge, Perronet, Romaine; there grew up an evangelical company in the Church itself, composed of these and of such men as Newton, Venn, Thomas Scott, Simeon, the Milners, of such laymen as Wilberforce and the Thorntons, and of such ladies as Hannah More. By the end of the last, or the beginning of the present, century the evangelicals had become the dominant party in the Church. And they effected, as already stated, a change which, in the nature of the case, Methodists could not, a reformation of the manners of those members of polite society who claimed to be Christians.

The second fact to be premised is that the English reformation differed from the Continental in the reverence cherished by the English reformers for the early fathers and their theology. Luther cared for one father only, Augustine, and drew his doctrine mainly from Paul. Calvin had no more respect for the ancient fathers than for his own contemporaries, from whom he differed. But the English reformers drew doctrine from two sources, we should almost say equally, the New Testament and the patristic writings. Hence they affirmed (*a*) baptismal regeneration, (*b*) apostolic succession, and (*c*) the priestly character of the clergy. The old divines of the seventeenth century were steeped in patristic learning. But with the decline of the sense of the supernatural, which was characteristic of the eighteenth century, and with the increase of the disposition to exhibit Christianity as reasonable, the practice of appealing to the fathers fell into disuse. The patristic view of Christianity, which was one of intense faith, and the eighteenth century view were wholly alien the one from the other. But the reverence for patristic authority was not dead, it was only

sleeping. It was, as we see the history now, natural that this reverence should revive, and that when revived it should find its chief antagonist in evangelicalism.

It was quite supposable, therefore, that the distinctive position of the English Church—that of postapostolic Christianity—would be asserted; the occasion alone was required. Such an occasion in time was supplied. Evangelicalism removed the barriers which separated dissenters and churchmen. In fact, evangelicalism led to an increase of dissent. Says Overton, Henry Venn was at one time in the habit of attending a dissenting meeting. John Newton at first thought of joining a dissenting communion. William Wilberforce sometimes attended other places of worship than the Church. William Grimshaw actually built a Methodist chapel and a house for the preacher in his own parish, and within a stone's throw of the parish church. In short, the evangelicals, like the Methodists, regarded the Church of England simply as one out of many Protestant bodies, "and as this was the dissenting, not the Church, view, their principles obviously led to the increase of dissent." * The Church was in danger of losing the distinctive position which has separated it from other Protestant bodies. Evangelicalism was making all the real Christians of England one brotherhood.

For old-fashioned churchmen this prospect was intolerable. The occasion for revolt came in time, in the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and the Reform Bill of 1832. The Anglo-Catholic reaction, it must not be forgotten, was on one side political and on the other theological. For with its theology and its politics found in the dogma of apostolic succession a sufficient principle. This is much to say, and all that is here said must be thoroughly proved. The great leaders of the Tractarian movement have left the world, but some of them have before death traced its history, and others have provided materials for a record of their part in its progress. On its political side the Oxford movement was an effort to stem the progress of democracy; on its theological side it was an effort to stem the evangelical revival. Substantially it was Toryism in gown and surplice. Dean Church in his history says: "What is called the Oxford, or Tractarian, movement be-

* *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 154.

gan in a vigorous effort for the immediate defense of the Church against serious dangers arising from the violent and threatening temper of the days of the Reform Bill. The Church was really imperiled amid the crude, revolutionary projects of the Reform epoch."* This author also says of John Keble: "He was a strong Tory, and by conviction and religious temper a thorough high churchman." Of Froude the dean says: "The break-up of parties caused by the Roman Catholic emancipation was followed by the French and Belgian revolutions of 1830, and these changes gave a fresh stimulus to all the reforming parties in England—Whigs, Radicals, and liberal religionists. They stirred in him [Froude] the fiercest disgust and indignation, and as soon as the necessity of battle became evident to save the Church he threw himself into it with all his heart, and his attitude was thenceforth that of a determined and uncompromising combatant."† All this is confirmed by Newman's language in his *Apologia.*

On its theological side the Oxford movement was, as already said, a reaction against evangelicalism. No headway could be made against political liberalism without the force of a theological dogma. Mr. Newman confesses this in his article in the *British Critic* for 1839. "I have already said," he writes, "that though the object of the movement was to withstand the liberalism of the day I found and felt that this could not be done by negatives. It was necessary for me to have a positive basis. This took me to the great Anglican divines."‡ This dogma was the dogma of apostolic succession, with its consequences, a mediating priesthood and the conveyance of the grace of the Holy Spirit by such a priesthood in the sacraments. Evangelicalism had affirmed the priesthood of all believers, as against the priesthood of a class or distinct body in the Church. It told every penitent to go directly to God for an immediate pardon, and taught him to expect the divine assurance of forgiveness. Its theology necessarily set aside a mediating priest as necessary to the creation of fellowship between the sinner and God.

Evangelicalism and apostolic succession were and are incompatible with each other. Thus, the Preface to the first volume of the *Tracts for the Times*, published in 1834, says: "Meth-

* *The Oxford Movement*, p. 1. † *Ibid.*, p. 49. ‡ Dean Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 173.

...ism and popery are in different ways the refuge of those ... the Church stints of the gifts of grace; they are the ...ter-mothers of abandoned children." Church also says of ...ble that "he looked with great and intelligent dislike at the ...hing and the working of the more practical system, which, ...der the name of evangelical Christianity, was aspiring to ...minate religious opinion, and which, after combining some ... the most questionable features of Methodism and Calvinism, ...nounced with fierce intolerance everything that deviated from ... formula and watchwords." * And again: "Froude learned ...om him [Keble] to be anti-Erastian, anti-Methodistical, anti-...ntimental, and as strong in his hatred of the world, as con-...mptuous of popular approval, as any Methodist." † And so ...ac Williams reports Froude as saying to him: "Isaac, we ...st make a row in the world. Why should we not? Only ...sider what the peculiars, that is, the evangelicals, have done ...h a few half-truths to work upon. . . . We must have short ...cts and get people to preach on the apostolic succession and ... like." ‡ All this is abundantly confirmed in the life of ...Newman. He had been an evangelical, and had begun his work ... a clergyman of that school. "He had," says his biographer, ...Mozley, "been converted by it to a spiritual life, and so ... his experience bore witness to its truth. He ever felt grate-...l to the good clergyman who introduced them [evangelical ...inciples], and to the books, such as Scott's *Force of Truth*, ...veridge's *Private Thoughts*, and Doddridge's *Rise and Prog-...ss*, which insist upon them." § In his *Apologia* he says of ...mself: "The vital question was how men are to keep the ...hurch from being liberalized; the true principles of Church ...ship seemed so radically decayed, and there was such distrac-...n in the councils of the clergy. The Bishop of London of ... day had been for years engaged in diluting the high or-...doxy of the Church by the introduction of the evangelical ...dy into places of influence and trust. He had deeply of-...nded men who agreed with himself by an offhand saying to ... effect that belief in apostolical succession had gone out with ... nonjurors. I felt affection for my own Church, but not ...derness. I thought that, if liberalism once got footing within

* *Oxford Movement*, p. 24. † *Ibid.*, p. 32.
‡ *Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, pp. 63, 64.
§ Miss Mozley, *Life of Newman*, vol. i, p. 122.

her, it was sure of the victory in the event." * He was sailing on the Mediterranean in the summer of 1830. He says of his feelings: "It was the success of the liberal cause which fretted me inwardly. On my return, though forced to stop a day at Paris [it was just after the revolution of 1830], I kept indoors all the time, and all that I saw of that beautiful city was what I saw from the *diligence*." † And once more: "I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well-nigh faded away out of the land through the political changes of the last one hundred and fifty years, and it must be restored. No time was to be lost, for the Whigs had come to do their worst and the rescue might come too late." ‡

Still farther is our assertion—to wit, that the Oxford movement is a reaction against the evangelical revival—confirmed from the language of the *Tracts for the Times*. Tract 80, on "Reserve in the Communication of Religious Knowledge," has some remarkable statements. Thus, it says it is necessary "that we inquire more at length into that system which has claimed for itself the inmost sanctuary of religion, and at once predisposes men so strongly to be thoroughly opposed to all that we can urge. . . . The system of which I speak is characterized by these circumstances, an opinion that it is necessary to obtrude and bring forward prominently and explicitly the doctrine of the atonement. This one thing it puts in the place of all the principles held by the Church catholic, dropping all proportion of the faith. It disparages, comparatively, nay, in some cases has even blasphemed, the most blessed sacraments." § In the same manner "eloquent preaching and delivery" are criticised: "If people in general were now asked what was the most powerful means of advancing the cause of religion in the world, we should be told that it was eloquence of speech or preaching; and the excellency of speech, we know, consists in delivery; that is the first, the second, and the third requisite. Whereas, if we were to judge from Holy Scripture

* *Apologia*, pp. 79, 80. † *Ibid.*, p. 82. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 96.
§ *Tracts for the Times*, vol. v, p. 43.

what were the best means of promoting Christianity in the world, we would say, obedience; and if we were to be asked the second, we should say, obedience; and if we were to be asked the third, we should say, obedience. And it is evident that if the spirit of obedience exists simple and calm statement will go far. Not that we would be thought entirely to deprecate preaching as a means of doing good; it may be necessary in a weak and languishing state; but it is a characteristic of this system, as opposed to that of the Church, and we fear the unwise exaltation of an instrument which Scripture, to say the least, has never much recommended." *

It will be observed that in all these passages from the tracts the evangelicals are not named; but they are certainly meant. It is plain that the ground of objection to the evangelical revival here is that it destroys obedience to a divinely ordained clergy. It is assumed that if there be the spirit of obedience to a clergy coming to the people with the authority of an apostolical succession there will be no need of persuasiveness of speech: the authoritative word of the priest will suffice. Note, too, that the distinctive feature of the evangelical preaching—the laying of emphasis on the doctrine of atonement—is condemned as setting forth one part of Scripture at the expense of other parts. Our proposition, that the Oxford movement was such a reaction as we have described, is abundantly proved.

The success of the reaction has been, within the Church of England, complete. Evangelicalism in that Church has almost disappeared. While the power of the revival of the eighteenth century has been felt in other Protestant Churches, in this it has ceased to be felt as a power in any sense. In the Church which in the United States represents the English Church, the Protestant Episcopal, this reaction has been felt in the same way, but not to the same degree. Bishop McLaren, of Chicago, in the *Church Club Lectures*, gives as the three antagonists of the Church of England, heretofore and now, Lollardism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. The same divine conceives the ministry to be "*media*" through which the Holy Ghost "effectuates God's grace upon men's souls and bodies, and by which regenerated men may worship God and maintain visible communion with him and with all who are in him."

* *Tracts for the Times*, vol. v, p. 73, *ff.*

Space fails us for speaking of another result of the evangelical revival, which may be called a perversion of its fundamental principle, namely, the change of the inward witness to the truth of Christianity to the position of a judgeship over Scripture itself. To Schleiermacher is ascribed the creation of the phrase, "the Christian consciousness." Both he and Wesley took their lessons in the nature of subjective religion from the Moravians. What the one described as the Christian consciousness the other called the "witness of our own spirit" to the divine power of the Gospel. But the followers of the great German theologian have made the agreement of the contents of the canonical writings with the Christian consciousness the criterion of inspiration. Thereby they have reduced revealed truth to a state of uncertainty, for it must always be asked, "Whose consciousness must be taken as the test of truth?" The school of theology which, in our own country, represents this attitude of the mind toward the Scripture is well known; but the fact is not so well known that it owes its origin to the action of the evangelical revival. Wesley abode within the limits of the written word. "Let me be," he said, "a man of one book." All thoughts and opinions of men were brought by him to this one test: Do they agree with Scripture? If not, they are without authority. How much he safeguarded his people, by laying down this principle, is seen in the theological sobriety of Methodism amid all its manifestations of a burning enthusiasm.

Nor have we in this article left ourselves sufficient space wherein to describe adequately the agency of the evangelical movement in spreading the Arminian view of the salvability of all men. Wesley found Arminianism a dogma of the schools; he made it the burden of an energetic propagandism. His moral feeling decided for him between a particular and a universal redemption; and with all the energy of an aroused moral feeling he inveighed against particularism. "The moment," says Fairbairn, "the idea of equity was admitted to a place in the relations of God to man, the old, absolute unconditionalism became untenable."* Evangelicalism has made the old unconditionalism untenable, and has thereby become the leader of the theological progress of this century. It is the

* *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 171.

...ster of the call for theological reconstruction, and without ... view of the divine equity toward man theological recon...ction is impossible.

We could wish, too, for more space wherein to consider the ...ment of weakness in the evangelical revival; we must speak ...derly here, but even tenderness does not forbid the speak...g of the truth. That weakness is the smallness of its con...ations to theological and general literature. It has been a ...king, not a writing, force. Its philanthropic triumphs are ...balanced by like triumphs in the realm of thought. The ...h intellectual resources of the Puritans of the seventeenth ...ntury cannot be claimed for the evangelicals and Methodists ... the eighteenth. Indeed, some of the evangelical church...en depreciated culture. Even William Romaine, the scholar ...d preacher, asks: "Were dying sinners ever converted by ... spots on the moon? Was ever miser reclaimed from ava... by Jupiter's belt? Or did Saturn's ring ever make a lascivi... female chaste? The modern divinity brings you no nearer ... an 121,000,000 miles short of heaven." * The great awaken... has but one name in general literature, and that belongs to ... eighteenth century, the name of William Cowper. Hannah ... espoused the evangelical cause and made evangelicalism ...eptable to the great of England, but she is little read now. ...mon Overton says on this point, with entire truth: "The re...ivalists had other, and what they deemed more important, ...rk to do; but, as a matter of fact, the intellectual work had ... be done, and it was not they who did it. It is curious to ...serve how John Wesley felt this; for, in reference to the ...ks which he read, in his *Journal* there is hardly one allu... to any book that came from the Methodist or evangelical ...hool, but a great number to those written by old-fashioned ...urchmen." †

For ourselves, we consider the contemptuous tone adopted ...inst evangelicalism by critics as unjust; yet we must ...fess that what literature it has to show is scanty. But there ... still another reason for its scantiness and for its lack of power ... interest many. Evangelical books are the prolongation of ...angelical sermons. They aim, as the sermons do, at imme...ate, practical results. Yet how few volumes of readable

* Overton, *Evangelical Revival*, p. 66. † *Ibid.*, p. 122.

sermons has evangelicalism produced! When the growth in numbers is considered, the intellectual product of the nineteenth century is still less than that of the eighteenth. The university-trained men with whom Methodism originated gave it an outfit; they have had few successors. We still point to their works with a reverence and affection which speak well for our loyalty to them, but at the same time speak little for our intellectual originality. "Man liveth not by bread alone;" he lives not by the spoken word alone; the written word abideth. Life and literature are related to one another as root and flower. Ideas which touch the intellect and sensibilities must blossom in literary forms; but our blossoming seems to be slow. When we consider how many of the foremost young men of England have, after being trained in evangelicalism, rejected it, we are compelled to ask if one reason of the rejection be not its intellectual poverty. We have named some of these young men who were driven over to High Church principles by their Toryism; but Frederick W. Robertson was a Liberal, not a Tory; he remained liberal in politics, and was broad in theological ideas, but all the same evangelicalism lost him. It is well for us in the United States that Church history has come to us in the person of Neander, imbued with evangelical feeling, and showing how the theology of the heart and the profoundest learning can be combined together. We have in him all the wealth of German scholarship without its noxious elements. His writings and the writings of his American successors are a lesson to our young men. Evangelicalism is not necessarily shallow; neither will it, as Leslie Stephen declares it will, "die of inanition." A great work opens before us who are the heirs of this precious visitation, a work which may well employ our energies during the coming century.

George R Crooks

Art. II.—A NON-RESIDENT SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY.

The Curriculum.

[**For Matriculation.** Examination on *Elementary English Branches:* Grammar, Geography, etc.; *Literature:* English and American—Great Masters of Prose and Poetry in England and America; *Historical:* Biblical History, History of the English People, History of America, History of American Methodism; *Doctrinal and Denominational:* The Larger Catechism, Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Doctrinal Aspects of Christian Experience, Life of John Wesley, Wesley's Sermons, Volume I; *Social and Practical:* Social Aspects of Christianity, The Revival and the Pastor; *Written Sermon and Essay.*

First Year. *Academic:* Ancient and Mediæval History, Principles of Rhetoric; *Biblical:* 1. Introduction—Inspiration, Canon, Hebrew and Cognate Tongues, Hebrew Manuscripts, Ancient Versions, The Pentateuch, The Historical Books, The Poetical Books, The Prophetical Books; 2. *Exegesis*—Studies in the Four Gospels, The Study of the English New Testament, A Study in the Acts of the Apostles (William Arthur); *Systematic Theology:* Sources, Scientific Basis, Systemization, Theism, Theology, God, Trinity, Son of God, Holy Spirit, Creation, Providence, Anthropology, Primitive Man, Primitive Holiness, Sin, Wesleyan Theology as set forth in Wesley's Sermons and in his "Plain Account;" *Ecclesiastical:* Development of Ecclesiastical Authority in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Ecclesiastical Architecture; *Social and Homiletical:* Problem of Religious Progress, Theory and Practice of Extemporaneous Preaching; *Written Sermon and Essay.*

Second Year. *Academic:* Modern History, Logic; *Biblical:* 1. Introduction—The New Testament, The Greek Language at the Christian Epoch, New Testament Greek, Manuscripts, Ancient Versions and Editions, Canon, Genuineness, Contents of the Four Gospels, The Acts of the Apostles, The Pauline Epistles, The Catholic Epistles, The Apocalypse; 2. *Exegesis:* Studies in the Pauline Epistles, The Study of the English New Testament Continued; *Systematic Theology:* Christology, The Person of Christ, Divine Incarnation, Soteriology, Theories of the Atonement, The Salvation in Christ, The Arminian Treatment of Original Sin, Justification, Regeneration, Assurance, Sanctification, Eschatology, Inspiration, Angels; *Ecclesiastical*: The Church, The Sacraments, Christian Archæology, History of Methodism, The General Conference and the Episcopacy, The Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Digest of Methodist Law; *Practical and Aggressive Christian Life:* Missions and the Missionary Society, The Sunday School; *Written Sermon and Essay.*

Third Year. *Academic:* Elements of Psychology; *Christian Evidences:* "The Supernatural Book;" *Biblical:* 1. Hermeneutics: Introduction, Criticism, Exegesis, Qualifications of an Interpreter, History of Herme-

neutics, Methods of Interpretation, General Hermeneutics—Principles—Special—Hebrew Poetry, Figurative Language, Parables, Allegories, Proverbs, Types, Symbols, Prophecy, Apocalyptics, Quotations in Scripture, Discrepancies, Progress of Doctrine, Analogy of Faith, Doctrinal and Practical Use of Scriptures; 2. The Higher Criticism; 3. Bible Geography—Palestine; *Exegesis:* Studies in the Pentateuch; *Ecclesiastical:* Church History—The Early Church A. D. 30–768; Mediæval Church 768–1517; The Reformation 1517–1545; History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, The Historic Episcopate—Investigation of Anglican Orders, The Ordinal of Edward VI, High Church Anglicanism, Methodist Episcopal Orders; *Social and Practical Life:* Introduction to Political Economy, The Epworth League; *Written Sermon and Essay.*

Fourth Year. *Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology:* Definitions, The Church, Theology, Religion, Theological Schools, The University, Doubt and Belief, General Encyclopedia—Theology Considered as a Positive Science, Historical Outline of Theology, Special Theological Encyclopedia—Exegetical, Historical, Systematic, Practical Theology; *Exegesis:* Studies in Isaiah, The Life and Letters of St. Paul; *Evidences:* Butler's Analogy, Row's Christian Evidences, History of Rationalism; *Church History:* Modern Church in Europe 1558–1892, in the United States 1492–1892, Protestant Foreign Missions; *Homiletics:* Preparation and Delivery of Sermons; *Practical and Aggressive Christian Life:* Christian Ethics, The Call and Qualifications of Missionaries; *Written Sermon and Essay.*

Courses of study, in addition to the above, are provided for local and traveling preachers in the following languages: *German, Norwegian and Danish, Swedish, Italian, Spanish.*]

THE earliest preachers of the Gospel were not men from the schools, nor were they students of what in these days we call "science." They were oarsmen, netweavers, and fishermen, tax collectors, and men of the field. There was no real science to study in their time. Classic literature they might have had—the works of Homer, Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, and all the literary leaders of the best Greek civilization; but beyond a reference by Paul to one poet we find almost nothing in the New Testament to indicate even a slight knowledge of what we call the Greek Literature. The writers of the New Testament times, however, did have a literature, and they were well versed in it. It was in every respect better than the pagan best. It is our best to-day—the law and the prophets and the Psalms—full of sublime thoughts on the most important themes—the history of the race, the holiness and righteousness of the God of Israel, and the moral and spiritual possibilities of man. In

this the early apostles were trained from boyhood. Then, too, they had the greatest Teacher of the ages—greater far than Socrates and Plato, more simple, wiser, speaking with greater authority, and with a certain penetrating power which he only can have who knows that he deals with absolute truth. With such a Teacher the apostles enjoyed a course of training which was to serve them well in the building of the Church, the beginning of a new civilization, and the transformation of humanity.

These earliest ministers of Christ were makers of literature. They witnessed the most remarkable transactions of all history. It is of these they made record; and from these they received a measure of their inspiration. That which makes an author is not the fact or the mode of his writing. It is not merely the knowledge which he gets at second hand. It is the world of reality which he comes to know; and his power is largely from the reality itself about which he writes. Moses, Matthew, and the other evangelists wrote of events they witnessed. This gave them greater advantage than any endowment of what we call genius. The apostles were the pioneers of a new civilization which was destined to reach the ends of the earth and the end of the ages. They had a story to tell. They told it. Their story was a Gospel. Having it in hand and heart, they "persuaded men" and built up society on a new theory and with a new aim. Their literary work was a very small part of their lifework. They not only wrote—they wrought; and they wrought before they wrote. They knew their own old book, and they knew the new Man who interpreted it anew. They received the living Spirit which their ascended Lord gave at Pentecost. These men, because of the times in which they lived—new times, wonderful times, days of great deeds, the "days of the Son of man"—were builders of character, artists with magnificent ideals, workers with regenerative forces at their command, themselves possessors of a personal experience which lifted them far above the realms of doubt and clothed them with divine authority. They *knew*, and they were. They had resources, and they were able to adapt themselves to the age in which they lived.

Here we see the elements of power possessed by the first teachers of the Gospel. The processes by which they were

prepared hold the radical pedagogic elements. The greatest force in education is in the profound personal conviction of reality and the surrender of one's whole being to it. Scholarship does not make a man; nor does scholarship impress people. The scholar, to be of any use to men, must himself be a man, and must have the strength, the wisdom, the consistency, and the sympathy which belong to a true manhood. Schools cannot make men. Some of the most signal failures in the Christian ministry are men who have had "educational" advantage without stint or limit. The minister is sent to show forth, and not merely to write and talk about, the inner world of righteousness and love. The electrician sets forth God's wisdom through the wonders he is able to work by electricity; the astronomer, God's infinitude and power through the sweep of intelligent vision he is able to command; and the Christian minister must be able to show forth God's love and grace by the life that he is able to live. These first apostles were men who lived in a new horizon and were adjusted to it. They had ideas. These ideas were based on reality. Being impressed by irresistible fact, being possessed by new truth, being inflamed by love, they must be students. What they did have was the highest result of a thorough education. For such men as these to exist, under such conditions, was to be all the while seeing, developing, preparing, adapting, adjusting, accomplishing. These men, unlike the rabbis and leaders in the Jewish schools, had a vital knowledge of Old Testament history. They understood the old records from a new point of vision and from a new experience. They interpreted by power of spiritual insight the external and historic teachings of the book.

We do not wish unduly to exalt, or make sectarian boast of, the early leaders of Methodism in England and America; but no student of Church history can fail to see that under the spell of a new life, with a new experience, under a new commission, the Methodist preachers of one hundred and fifty years ago were not unlike the early apostles in their preparation, their power, and their effectiveness. After Wesley had completed his educational course, and had acquired his rare scholarship, he entered into the subjective life which for the first time prepared him to preach with power. Many of John Wesley's

adjutors and followers without his scholastic training also became powerful preachers. Being men who *were* and who *knew*, they were men of power. Of course they were students. Intellectual impulse that springs from spiritual experience has never been sufficiently emphasized. The early preachers of Methodism did not gain their power by being students, but because of power they became students. Sometimes, indeed, they may have shocked oversensitive ears by their rude vernacular, but they commanded respect by their freshness and originality; and by processes of out-of-school training many of them became scholars worthy of the name. To-day there are Methodist ministers who, in pursuance of the policy instituted in the last century and adopted by Mr. Wesley in the last century, without college and seminary training have become devout Christians, intelligent students, able preachers, and successful pastors.

The element of power is often the source of peril. The conditions of an age of necessity modify the standards of preparation for a given work in that age. The apostolic and early Methodistic method has been perverted, and there are young men in the ministry of the Church who have come from farm and shop with little or no knowledge of the English language as to its construction, its value as a vehicle of thought, and the enlarging and refining contents of its literature. Such men are neither readers nor thinkers. Under the pressure of a "revival," through an ambition to be ministers, and to be at once in the field "saving souls," they drop plow or plane and seek, by the shortest possible route, professional recognition. Because of what is called by a certain class of men "success in their work" the claims of the candidate are urged upon the Annual Conference, and through the old reiterations—"not by might, nor by power," "the glory of Methodism in the beginning," the importance of having "men consecrated to the work," and the like—these men are admitted on trial, and a little later by very much the same process become full members. Once in the Annual Conference they are in for life, to receive to the day of death something toward personal support not much, but often too much, in view of what they are, and of what they do, and of what they have failed to do. This low standard in the Conference results in the filling up by these "pastors" of official boards with men of their own com-

paratively low type, who as stewards, class leaders, and trustees degrade the church by their lack of taste, unworthy ideals, narrow prejudices, and parsimonious spirit. We cannot expect cultured men and women, nor even the schoolboys and schoolgirls of the day, to be interested in a church where boors pretend to preach and where such laymen as we have indicated have official place and control; where sensational devices are resorted to for filling up and building up the church; where sentimentality of a very weak sort is substituted for spirituality; and where ecclesiastical authority becomes a humiliating tyranny.

The most discouraging feature of this superficial process of introducing men into the Christian ministry is to be found in the demoralizing effect of superficial and sometimes fraudulent examinations. That Annual Conference committees should allow such superficiality is discouraging. But the Conference that consents to this careless process, even though inspired by personal sympathy, is guilty of complicity with crime. It not only dishonors the Church, but it degrades the individual who consents to it. The fact that the candidate can sit still and without the protest of even a manly blush allow his case to be "passed" by the Conference, is sufficient in itself to show that he has not moral fiber enough to constitute an ordinary teacher in ethics for a public school. Men to be ministers in our day must be educated men, holy men, of course, men with the vision of the Lord and the consciousness of his presence; yet they must be educated, in the school or out of the school, but self-educated. There is no other true education. The president of one of our oldest theological schools has issued a stirring appeal to the Church, asking a most important question and making a statement which should be repeated with emphasis to every young candidate for the ministry. He says:

> The present situation calls for serious thought. Our Conferences are crowded, and the doors thereof are besieged with applicants. Surely there is no lack of unskilled labor. Yet men of trained intelligence and ample knowledge are not too plenty. Why not urge and help young men who feel called to the ministry to an immediate education? Why should they wait until they lose the power of mental acquisition and then attempt the impossible? He learns most who learns earliest, and he learns best who acquires soonest the right and rapid mental movements. Therefore send our future ministers to school at once.

It is a fact that Methodist Episcopal ministers serve churches from ten to fifteen years longer than ministers of any other denomination. This is because of the peculiar economy of Methodism and its appointing power. Men too old for other churches, and who would not be chosen by committees or congregations, are appointed by bishops because of the theory and the law of the ministry in our Church. There is an evil side to this. All men are not equally sensitive. Many "good men" do not know their own limitations, or they are through self-interest blind to them. They must have a support, and some men are willing to accept support from a church even when they know that they cannot render such service as the church and community demand. There is a good side to this system of "appointment" and this continued use of old men. Men of experience are valuable as counselors and pastors. Many men are at their best after sixty years of age, as scholars, as members of society, as preachers, as administrators of law, and as sympathetic and expert overseers of the flock. With an incentive to continued freshness and study, old men who in other churches might be excused because of their age are still permitted to exercise their functions. If ministers would be studious and sprightly; if they would read widely, preach short, stirring, thoughtful sermons, be sweet in temper, be faithful in service, live near to God, and draw the people in the same direction by the power of personal fervor, lifting people rather than adjusting themselves to the same people on the lower levels; if they would cultivate a love for the Bible, for general literature, for science and art, age would be an advantage to them and to the churches they serve. But there are men who are eager to become traveling preachers and members of the Annual Conference who should serve all their days as local or lay preachers and as temporary "supplies" or as assistants. Conference membership should be the prerogative of men who are thoroughly qualified by preparation, whether in the school or out of it, for the varied functions of this holy profession. There is no earthly reason why every man who is qualified to exhort, to discharge the functions of an evangelist, or temporarily to look after the interests of a church should be made a full member of a Conference.

Far be it from us to assert that men are to be educated only

through the seminary, or through the college and seminary: but we must make a special plea for the training of candidates for the ministry in the college, whether they are to enjoy seminary opportunities or not. A man in these days who really has the elements in him to make the able minister can, if he will, secure both collegiate and professional training; but where he can have but one of these by all means let it be that of the college. There is an increased respect for college men in society. The college has become of late years more practical. Society has therefore come to respect the college as never before. The modern college sympathizes with the people at large, and its *curricula* embrace social, political, and practical topics which bear directly upon the well-being of the people. This sympathy between the college and the people is increasing, and for that reason it is highly important that ministers should come to the people from the college. Then there is a vague fear among certain classes of people that there is something in modern science which contradicts the teachings of Christianity. Every minister should, through college training, know just what science does teach; and he should know by personal acquaintance the men who as students and professors are foremost on the one hand in the denial, and on the other in the defense, of the faith. From this broad knowledge he should be able to discuss the harmony between true science and true religion. In view of the variety of the work which a minister must perform in a wisely organized and active church he should himself be familiar with the varied fields of thought, research, and activity in which the people to whom he ministers are becoming more and more interested. That he may inspire the youth of his congregations to pursue educational courses, and to protect them while pursuing these courses from the intervention of all dangerous doubt, he should himself be a college man in sympathy and by experience. Why should there not be in every church a class of "intending collegians," that young men, under wise and experienced pastoral supervision, may, in advance of their exposure, encounter and overcome the doubts and difficulties which await them?

There is also a type of manhood fostered by college training which the ministry needs for the sake of its greatest social influence. Why is it that in so many universities students in the

theological department are looked down upon, sometimes with concealed contempt, by the academic students? Making all due allowance for the prejudices which spring from what is called "the natural heart" against the spiritual kingdom and its representatives, there is too often something in the typical minister and in the "theologue" which repels strong, stalwart, masculine men in college and in society. The theological student is often a dependent, educated by charity. This itself is not at all a ground for his disparagement; but there are a few ministers who were once theological students supported in this way, by individuals or by societies, who up to this day have never paid even the interest on the loan by which they were able to take their theological course. What is still worse, they seem to have no conscience about it. They marry, they have children, they buy books, they ride bicycles, they take summer vacations, but seem to have no ethical sense which makes imperative the restoration of the funds by which they were educated for their profession. There is among a certain class of ministers and of candidates for the ministry a tone of servility which perhaps these processes of professional education promote; a readiness to accept gifts of money; the habit of soliciting discounts because of their office; and consequently the cultivation of the tramp spirit and habit among men whose office stands for the highest, most independent, most manly type of manhood. Life in the modern college tends to prevent this false and unfortunate estimate of the ministry.

The theological student who has never taken a college course is always at a disadvantage. The foundations of his culture have been neglected. He is all the while in danger of building on the sand. He is doubly in danger of overemphasizing certain branches or departments of truth. The man of limited education is, other things being equal, in greatest danger of being a crank and hobbyist. He sees in part the world of learning. He studies a little New Testament Greek, but he knows nothing about Greek as Greek. He studies Hebrew a little, but he knows nothing about the Semitic languages in general, their relations to history, and the underlying forces in the Semitic civilization which have affected the historic development of the world at large. Men thus hurried into the ministry too often marry in haste. They lack the power of

wise discrimination. Their wives, picked up in the immature years, are in many cases unqualified to fill the parsonage and help the pastor.

We plead, therefore, for a symmetrical training of the men who are to represent the Christian Church in this enlightened age, and who are to impress society with the nobility of Christian manhood. Let men wait before entering the ministry. There is plenty of time. Jesus at twelve years of age astonished the leaders in the temple. In our time, if we could, we would have made him a "boy preacher" and sent him through the land as a flaming herald. He, with divine wisdom, retired to Nazareth and remained in its quiet for eighteen years "subject" to his parents, a student of nature and of the Holy Scriptures, and waiting for the ripening of character which should prepare him at thirty years of age to go forth on his mission. The ministry of the age may learn wisdom from his example. It is true that young men say, "We cannot wait to secure an education before fulfilling our mission to save souls." Wise men well know that if they would "save souls," as the phrase goes, they will find no place with such opportunity for saving souls as the average college and theological seminary. To live a calm, strong, pure, unselfish, studious, godly life as a student among other students, and in the presence of professors, for a term of years, will save more souls in a true sense than all the superficial, sentimental, sensational devices too often adopted by men who lose sight of the divine preparation by which men are best fitted for their divine work.

Our Church provides, and has always provided, non-resident courses of study. Men of other denominations who are in the habit of speaking lightly concerning the standards of education in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the processes of preparation for that ministry, are surprised when they open the Discipline of the Church to find how full and varied is the *curriculum* which the Church has appointed. Let us confess that it has been handled too carelessly and superficially. We depend upon the study of books, rather than upon the mastery of subjects. There is too much "preparing for an examination," rather than the acquisition of knowledge and power to be used in ministerial service. But a brighter day is dawning. Helps are now being provided for our candidates. The "Itin-

...nists' Club" and other organizations for ministerial study and ...aminations have achieved large success. In almost every ...ference we discover marked improvement. One reads with ...ght the report of all the recent "Fall Examinations with ...tures and Discussions," in five sessions appointed and con...ted by the Board of Examiners of the New York East ...ference. "The Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology, ...xiliary to the Itinerant Club Movement," is the largest and ...ongest of the late expressions in behalf of ministerial edu...tion in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the Saint Louis ...ference the provision of "Memoranda of Examinations on ... Course of Study" indicates another forward step. Chau...qua has been for twenty-three years a non-resident school of ...ology, with lectures—theological, philosophical, and practi...l—*conversazioni*, and other devices for the benefit of the ...ristian ministry. It is a meeting place of ministers represent...g fifteen or twenty different schools of theological thought, ...d its "Ministerial Conferences," especially in the department ... practical theology, are always stimulating and broadening. ...e action of the last General Conference in providing for a ..."Board of Examiners" in each Annual Conference is already ...aring good fruit. The writer hopes we shall continue to mul...ply "Clubs," "Congresses," and "Ministerial Conferences" at ...mmer assemblies and elsewhere, through which our ministers, ...d and young, may be stimulated to greater diligence and be ...ided in their attempt to acquire more thorough scholarship. When shall we have two or three "Conference Study Sessions" ...n local colleges and other literary institutions under the care of ...e Church, to which especially our young ministers may go for ...rsonal and professional improvement? Will the time ever ...me when we shall have a "president, faculty, and correspond...ce bureau," manned by a body of competent professors who ...all prepare annual test papers, which, having been submitted ...y each Annual Conference to its candidates, shall again be ...ferred for final examination to this bureau, so that when a ...an is announced in an Annual Conference as having reached ..."the grade of eight," or "eight and a half," it will mean some...ing and everybody will know what it means? May we not ...ovide a traveling library of books in every Conference or ...strict for distribution, and two or three important meetings

—Conferences or Seminars—for summer work with judicious directors?

There are still greater possibilities in this non-resident feature of theological training. We know men who, lacking the advantages of formal collegiate instruction before entering the ministry, have set themselves at work systematically and persistently to turn life itself into a school. They have engaged private tutors in Greek or Hebrew, in literature, science, or theology, giving an hour a day to one of these studies. A wise young minister may so arrange his work as to make his pulpit, prayer meeting, teachers' meeting, normal class, the higher grades of the Epworth League, pastoral visitation, or casual or prearranged conversations contribute to his personal power as student, preacher, and pastor. Suppose, for example, that a man with strong will, intent upon achievement, should devote himself in one year to four great subjects, giving to these in turn two hours a day for four days in the week. In thirty weeks he will have spent on these four themes two hundred and forty hours. He prepares forty new sermons a year, giving an average of two hours a day for four days in the week for forty weeks. This adds three hundred and twenty hours a year. He gives two hours a week for forty weeks to exegetical studies adapted to the prayer meeting. These add eighty hours. Thus in biblical and theological study the active minister spends at least six hundred and forty hours a year. The devotion of this time to these subjects, with a view to public discourses, will have very much the effect of a student's work in preparation for the recitation hours. Let him add to this personal work carefully conducted conversations and debate with thoughtful men of the community—skeptics, believers, inquirers, busy people, and the "shut-in"—finding out "difficulties," "objections," "arguments," and what material must accumulate under such wisely ordered pastoral interviews for pulpit discussion! Then there is the actual work of pastoral visitation, with the constant desire and effort to learn the opinions, mental states, spiritual difficulties, social limitations, hindrances, and all the things which the pastor must know in order wisely to feed and to tend his flock. Let a man give five hours a week for forty weeks to this kind of pastoral work, and he has spent in addition to all the rest, two hundred hours a year

the wisest kind of study. This plan may be adopted by any undergraduate, he taking as his topic the subject-matter on which he is to be examined at the next Annual Conference. Having preached or lectured on every subject in his course, he will have little anxiety about his "examination" by the Conference Board. With the thoughtful reading of current news, periodic literature, topics of the day at the rate of ten hours a week for fifty weeks, the aggregate of all this prearranged and consistent study of men and books will show nearly fourteen hundred hours a year of professional study. And while it may seem impracticable for any man to order so many hours each day, it is a very easy thing for a man who has a minimum of will power to devote fourteen hundred hours a year to pastoral service, social studies, pulpit and other preparations—all of which are parts of his non-resident theological seminary. The student in the regular institution gives little more time than that.

The secret of a minister's power, however, must lie in his personal consciousness of oneness with God, and of the fact that he is a representative of the things of God and his kingdom. A minister must remember—and it must be very real to him—that in the most humble community and in the lowliest church he is the representative in that place of truth and righteousness, of progress, of reform, of all high ideals, of all that Jesus taught, of all that Jesus is; that in a sense he represents all Christian Churches and the Holy Catholic Church throughout the universe. His field may be a small one, but the realm he represents is boundless. He is a type of the best society—refined, courteous, pure in speech, a man of guarded life, a master of the art of discreet silence—a gentleman of the class to which Jesus belonged, who was, as Thomas Dekker sang:

> A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit,
> The first true gentleman that ever breathed.

The minister in the lowest sphere is the representative of the realm of spirit, of spiritual phenomena, of spiritual forces, of spiritual laws. This large consciousness must make him a student; it will inspire him, save him from littleness, impart to him personal dignity, give him large vision, kindle his imagination, strengthen his judgment, warm his sympathy, develop his

intellect, and beget within him a ceaseless, irresistible passion to know, to love, to be, and to do.

A man of this type can never find himself in a place "too small" for him. He will *be*, and his sermons will be the fruit of his personality. For the man is always the soul of his sermon. In the sermon his own ideals will appear, whether he purposely intends to set them forth or not. He may not often preach what are called "great sermons," but he will always be a "great preacher." It is one thing to preach a "great sermon;" it is entirely a different thing, a more radical and more important thing, to be a "great preacher."

When John on Patmos saw Christ standing with the seven stars in his right hand he fell to the earth in terror; but at once he felt the pressure of that right hand of Christ upon his head. Did the stars which the Son of man held form a coronet of glory about the apostle's brow? What a symbol is this of the relation which the divinely appointed minister and the churches sustain to each other! The burden of responsibility is a crown of glory. And it is a symbol, too, of the relation which the minister sustains to Christ. The hand that rested with divine authority upon the apostle's brow held firmly the stars which adorned it. O, Thou who holdest the seven stars in thy right hand, place upon our heads thy hand, that our strength and our glory may be not ours but thine!

John H. Vincent.

III.—PREACHING THE GOSPEL FOR A WITNESS.

From an early date in Church history there have been two views of the future triumph of Christianity. Both comprise the final victory of Christ on the earth, but by processes radically different. A majority of Christians hold that Christ set up his kingdom at his first coming; that, not later than Pentecost, he "opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers;" that, from his throne above, he administers it through the Holy Spirit, that the dispensation is the last era of Christianity on earth; that, through human agency, the Gospel like the leaven is to assimilate all human society, and like the mustard seed is to grow till it shall overshadow all other institutions; and that, in the fullness of time, Christ will descend on his judgment throne, raise the dead, both the just and the unjust, at the same time, and consign the two classes to changeless and eternal destinies, thus terminating the earthly history of mankind. All the great creeds, from the so-called apostolic creed down to the present time, assert that Christ will come, not to set up a visible kingdom on the earth, but "to judge the quick and the dead."

But the Millenarians, Premillenarians, or Chiliasts teach that the kingdom is to be established in the future by the King in visible human form reigning on the earth a thousand years, gloriously converting the Jews, as he did Saul of Tarsus, by the majesty of his glorious presence; and that through their preaching the Gentiles are to be discipled; that the Spirit is not intended to secure the ultimate triumph of the kingdom through preaching, which was never designed to convert the world, but only to be a witness to all nations, and is to take out of them a people for his name, a bride for the descending King. After the millennial age the prison of Satan will be opened and he will deceive the nations for a season, to be conquered at last by fire out of heaven. Then the rest of the dead will be raised—called the judgment of the wicked—and will be cast into the lake of fire.

These are the two theories. The latter, proceeding as it does on a false interpretation and impossible literalism inconsistent with the scriptural purpose and concomitants of Christ's second advent, we are constrained to reject for the following reasons:

1. We search in vain the entire New Testament for a text to prove that one sinner will be converted after Christ's second coming. Yet the Premillenarians are eager to hasten his coming because he will convert Jews and Gentiles in a wholesale way, totally unlike the slow and generally ineffective method of the Holy Ghost. Not only are proof-texts for conversions after the second coming of Christ absent, but there are numerous texts which contradict this doctrine, such as Matt. xiii, 37–43, containing the parable of the tares and the wheat. At the time of the harvest the tares are bound first and burned. In the parable of the dragnet (verses 47–50) the bad fishes are cast away. The foolish virgins (Matt. xxv, 1–13) are excluded from the marriage feast. The wicked servant (Luke xix, 22) at the return of his lord is not forgiven, but is condemned.

2. The adherents of this erroneous doctrine have no way of disposing of the superseded Paraclete, who undertook to convict the world of sin, and then to show them the Saviour and to induce them to believe in him, but failed. The Bible always speaks of his dispensation as "the last days." Dr. A. J. Gordon, in his *Ministry of the Spirit*, has a chapter entitled "The Ascent of the Spirit"—a phrase entirely foreign to the diction of the New Testament. How men are to be born of the Spirit in his absence does not appear.

3. The events coincident with Christ's second advent not only cannot be harmonized with premillennialism, but they plainly contradict it. (1) Instead of a thousand years between the resurrection of the just and that of the unjust, Jesus said, "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." In the same hour they all hear the same voice. See also Dan. xii, 2. Paul also, in Acts xxiv, 15, says, "There shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust"—one resurrection. (2) Instead of beginning his kingdom at his second advent, the Son delivers the completed kingdom to his Father at the resurrection of the dead, that is, at his second coming (1 Cor. xv, 24). (3) Instead of coming to fulfill the prophets, to convert the Jews, and to bring in the Gentiles, Peter, in Acts iii, 21, teaches that he will stay in heaven "until the times of restitution of all things,

at is, the fulfillment of all the Messianic prophecies. Says
yer: "Before such times set in Christ comes not from heaven.
continues until the moral corruption of the people of God
removed. Only such times are meant as shall *precede* the
rousia, and by the emergence of which it is *conditioned* that
Parousia shall ensue." (4) Instead of saving sinners, when
rist comes again he will condemn and punish them. (5) In
m. xi, 25, 26, the Gentiles in their totality are converted be-
re the Jews (Matt. xxv, 31–46; 2 Thess. i, 6–10). (6) In-
ad of the human race continuing on the earth in probation,
earth will be burned up and human history on this planet
ll have ended, the righteous being in heaven and the wicked
hell (1 Thess. iv, 17; 2 Peter iii, 10–12).

4. The only millennial text in the Bible is misunderstood. It
a vision of the souls of those martyrs who had been beheaded.
is not a vision of the descent of Christ, but of an angel with
chain. Nothing is said of Christ's bodily presence on the
rth and of the martyrs reigning there. From what precedes
infer that the scene is in heaven. According to Rev. iv, 10
Revised Version), all believers do now "reign upon the earth"
rough the presence of their invisible King.

5. Knowing that the successive dispensations of the patriarchs,
Israelites, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and the Paraclete
ve all been progressive, we cannot accept as a true climax a
pensation of inferior privileges. That is inferior which af-
ds lower conditions for spiritual development. Jesus said to
disciples, "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I
not away, the Comforter will not come unto you." The
irit's coming would be an upward step of progress. His
sence and work would be in an important sense superior to
bodily presence of their Master. Can Christ's return and
withdrawal of the Paraclete be other than a retrograde in
iritual privilege? Does not the dispensation of the Paraclete
ply to faith a stronger tonic? Said Jesus to Thomas, "Be-
se thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they
at have not seen, and yet have believed." We are now in a
better school of faith than we would be if we were gazing
the visible Christ enthroned on the earth. "Whom having
seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet
lieving, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

It is certainly true that as probationers we are now in the best possible condition for developing the Christian virtues. When probation has been ended and Christian character has been tested and approved we can without detriment or loss be introduced into new conditions, where we shall see his glorified humanity and walk with him in white. This will be a part of our reward. We cannot accept the idea of a visible Christ, enthroned among men in probation, as an advance in the discipline of life and a promotion in the school of faith. This world, as it is now, is a better place for the demonstration of loyalty to Christ than it would be if it were filled with the glory of his visible presence. Repentance and faith mean more now than they would then.

6. Chiliasm is not in sympathy with human progress. God, from his very perfection, is incapable of progress. Man, by his depravity, is disinclined to upward progress. But God and man yoked together can advance the interests of mankind from age to age. The rate of the forward movement may be greatly diminished by God's coworker. Hence, where men are selfish and wicked, God's great and beneficent purposes are thwarted or delayed. Yet it is an unspeakable blessing to man to be associated with God in drawing the car of progress. Christianity reveals man's golden age, not in the past, but in the future, to be attained by free agents acting in harmony with the divine will for the renovation of society through love and truth. This is man's highest honor and greatest stimulus to aspire after likeness to God—to be a coworker with God in the establishment of his kingdom through slowly rolling ages. But the Premillenarian would rob man of his ennobling share in this work. He would destroy the cooperation of effort by dissociating the workers, and by his doctrine of the establishment of Christ's kingdom through the sheer almightiness of God. Hence, this idea of a sudden miraculous setting up the visible throne of the Son of God alone, attended and helped, not by men, but by angels, despoils and belittles humanity, whose agency is discarded. Hence it is that the Chiliast has no place in his vocabulary for such words as progress, improvement, Christian civilization, and the elevation of the human race. This system gives men no chance, in the establishment of the kingdom and afterward, to be truly educated

rough Christian work developing a robust spiritual manhood sympathy with all that affects the welfare of the race. It courages all efforts to reform and elevate society by treating m as inevitable failures.

7. We cannot accept any doctrine which weakens the motives to immediate repentance. Premillennialism does this both Jews and Gentiles. Should a Jew be urged to immediate repentance and submission to Christ, because he is on to set up his throne at Jerusalem, he would reply: "I ll be bitterly persecuted by my Hebrew brother. But if I t till Jesus ascends the throne of David—when, as you say, Israelites, overawed by the majesty of their King, will receive him as their Messiah—I can become a Christian and cape persecution." The son of Abraham would be logical his reasoning. The Gentile, convicted of sin, will say to the eacher: "I would like to become a Christian to-day, but you y there are three foes standing in battle array before the rait gate—the world, the flesh, and the devil. If I wait a ar or two till, as you say, Jesus will come and shut up Satan thousand years, so that I shall not be exposed to his temptaons, and Christ in person will completely dominate the world, medying its evils, making society right, business life right, l governments right, then I will find the spiritual life very ich easier, since two of the three enemies will be removed, d I will have only the flesh to fight and conquer. I think I ll gain by waiting, especially in view of the fact that Christ's ork will be more effectual than that of the Spirit." No such gical sequence can follow the doctrine that Christ will come judge, not to save; that his advent will end probation, close e door of salvation, and fix eternal destinies.

8. Our last objection to this doctrine is that it is impossible harmonize it with the moral attributes of God. There can no theodicy on the basis of chiliasm. The premillenarian position can never be harmonized in vindication of God's odness: (1) From the birth of Christ the world has steadily teriorated. (2) He did not expect or intend that the Paraete, working through the Church, would arrest this downard progress. (3) He intended to supersede the Paraclete d human agency in the establishment of his kingdom, and to tablish it himself in his visible bodily presence, after the hope-

less world had sunken to the lowest point. (4) Before his second coming the purpose of preaching was for a witness to all nations, not to convert the world, but to take out of the Gentiles the elect, his bride.

If Christ saw the failure of his appointed agents from the beginning, before many scores or hundreds of wicked generations had gone to perdition who might have been converted and saved by his earlier coming, how can his long delay be consistent with his goodness? The Chiliast has no tolerable answer. All others can say that pessimism is not true. The world is slowly improving, as our submerged western continent slowly emerged from the sea, perhaps only an inch in a century; that redemption involving human cooperation can realize its blessed results only through the foreseen ages of human history. Hence it follows that redeeming love will encounter many failures because of the human agency which it must employ, till at last, after numberless tribulations and seeming defeats, the kingdom of Christ possesses the earth. In this divine program there is nothing that calls for a theodicy. The most wonderful part of it is the infinite patience of God with his weak and sometimes balky yokefellow, through so many generations. Since the world is growing worse and worse, and "its only hope is in the coming of earth's true King," it indisputably follows that "preaching the Gospel for a witness" is not designed to convert the pagan nations and lift them to the high altitudes of a Christian civilization. Such a result would spoil the argument for the speedy coming of "the true King," one sign of whose near advent is this very pessimism which the Chiliasts are perpetually bewailing, "the apostasy of the latter days." There is something morally wrong in that attitude of mind in which the hope of the world's evangelization by Christian missions is antagonistic to the hope of the immediate coming of the Head of the Church. With this deadlock of motives how can the preaching for a witness be done in sincerity and faith, in the converting power of the Holy Spirit? The logical attitude of the Premillenarian is either to abstain from all attempts to convert the heathen or to preach as others do, to save the pagan world, abandoning preaching for a witness an effort whose ultimate purpose is not the salvation of the greatest number of souls, but to hasten the coming of "the true King." Hence we

are not surprised to learn that quite a number of the Christian Alliance preachers for a witness have become disgusted with a work so unsatisfactory, and have resigned their commission and returned to their native land. It is something new in the annals of Christian missions to have consecrated men and women abandon their fields of labor because of their dissatisfaction with the purpose and method of their work. The purpose determines the superficial method—hastening from village to village, delivering a brief message half an hour in length, and moving on with the feeling that that village or city has had the Gospel preached as a witness. One woman writes that her husband has three hundred and fifty villages in India which they are to visit twice in a year, and then advance to another district. Another missionary says that he sometimes preached in eight villages in a day. The success of this kind of preaching is not in the number of souls translated out of darkness into the marvelous light, but in the number of hundreds of square miles of pagan territory traversed.

The contents of "the fourfold Gospel" now being preached for a witness are: (1) Justification, (2) sanctification, (3) divine healing on the basis of the atonement, (4) the near coming of the King to set up his kingdom. The first and second contain the essence of Christianity. The third and fourth are speculative theories, disputed by the vast majority of Christians and unworthy of any place higher than that of private opinion. To treat them as cardinal doctrines, as is done by associating them with the first and second, is misleading. To preach them with a "Thus saith the Lord," as veritable truths of revelation, is a grave mistake. Respecting the fourth we have already spoken. The third cannot be preached anywhere, especially in pagan lands, without evil consequences. When heathens are told that the healing of the sick and the pardon of sinners are included in the atonement, both resting on the same grounds and available on the same condition of faith; when they see the funeral procession come out of the missionary's house with the coffined body of one of its inmates; and when they see the preacher himself quitting his field and returning to his home beyond the sea because of ill health, they naturally infer, not only that the God of the Christians cannot heal the body, but also that he cannot pardon and purify the sinner.

Thus, the doctrine of "divine healing" becomes obstructive of saving faith in Jesus Christ, and leads some excellent Christians into delusions which damage their influence.

So strong a man as Dr. A. J. Gordon was so warped by his favorite themes, faith healing and the immediate manifestation of the Lord Jesus in the clouds, that he confidently expected to live till he should be caught up to meet him. He often exclaimed, "No winding sheet for me, nor house of sod."

In proof of the assertion that all Premillennialists sooner or later fall into despair respecting the success of the Gospel under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, we quote from the last Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the International Missionary Alliance:

> The year is closing amid the deepening shadows of the gathering night. Distress of nations with perplexity is convulsing human society in our own as well as other lands. Only three years more of the nineteenth century. Its latest chapters are being written in human blood and tears, and illustrated by spectacles of monstrous wickedness, cruelty, and crime that outshadow the horrible records of the French Revolution a hundred years ago. The policies and diplomacies of men have failed. In the zenith of its culture and its power the century stands helpless and aghast. *Its only hope is the coming of earth's true King, the blessed Son of God.*

We italicize the last sentence because it implies the total failure of Christianity to save our race through the preaching of love and truth as it is in Jesus, attended by the Holy Spirit. The great commission, with its promise of the invisible presence of Christ to the end of the world, is totally inadequate and must be supplemented by the bodily "coming of earth's true King." What a reflection is this on the wisdom of the Son of God, of whom Isaiah predicted, "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law;" and what a low valuation of his invisible presence, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world!"

The report continues thus: "But how shall we hasten his appearing? How but by praying and helping to prepare and complete the bride of the Lamb, and send the Gospel as a witness to the lost of the unevangelized nations that the end may come?" The phrase, "preaching the Gospel for a witness," is found only in Matt. xxiv, 14, in the description of the immi-

ent destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Hebrew commonwealth. All exegetes agree in this interpretation of the last part of this chapter, but they differ on the question of the point of transition from this judgment of the Jewish nation to the final judgment of the world. Some able scholars, such as John Lightfoot, Adam Clarke, and Moses Stuart, insist that the entire chapter applies to the impending doom of political Judaism, and that the transition to the day of general judgment is not found till we reach Matt. xxv, 31. Others place it at the close of Matt. xxiv, 28, and still others at verse 24. Even strong Premillennialists admit that preaching the Gospel for a witness—whatever this may mean—was to be before Jerusalem was destroyed. Thus write Bengel and Alford. The latter says: "The Gospel had been preached through the whole *orbis terrarum*, and every nation had received its testimony before the destruction of Jerusalem. (See Col. i, 6, 23; 2 Tim. iv, 17.) This was necessary, not only as regarded the Gentiles, but to give to God's people, the Jews, who were scattered among all these nations, the opportunity of receiving or rejecting the preaching of Christ." Since the primitive preaching of the Gospel consisted in narrating the facts in Christ's life and a repetition of his words the Gospel could not be preached to the Gentiles without incidentally criminating the Jews for rejecting their Messiah. Hence, says Adam Clarke, "God would have the iniquity of the Jews published everywhere, before the heavy strokes of his judgments should fall upon them; that all mankind, as it were, might be brought as witnesses against their cruelty and obstinacy in crucifying and rejecting the Lord Jesus." The "end" that should come, after preaching in all the world, is not the second coming of Christ nor the termination of human history on the earth, but the end of the Hebrew polity, the end of the Jewish "age" (Matt. xxiv, 3, Revised Version, margin). Says Bengel, "Before that end Peter, Paul, and others alluded to in verse 9 had concluded their apostolate." To found in the nineteenth century a missionary movement whose purpose and methods are determined by the words of Christ, which were local in their application and limited to the lifetime of the generation in which he lived (verse 34), seems to many thoughtful seekers for divine truth to be a very unwise and unpromising enterprise.

The phrase, "to complete the bride of the Lamb," has a very strange and unscriptural sound. We detect in it a distinct predestinarian note which grates on our ear. We understand the words, "to prepare the bride," as relating to her cleansing, that she may be presented to the Bridegroom "not having spot, or wrinkle." By the "completion" of the bride we understand, what some plainly express, the special call of the definite number of souls unconditionally elected to this honor before the foundation of the world. We still believe "there is no respect of persons with God." Hence, we are not laboring to "complete the bride" or Church, but to "prepare" her and to make her as perfect as possible.

It is not wonderful that large missionary contributions should be given to send missionaries to preach the Gospel for a witness when we consider:

1. That the givers are thoroughly consecrated and filled with the Holy Spirit, who enters and abides wherever there is an all-surrendering faith in Christ, whatever the theory of eschatology within the sphere of orthodoxy.

2. That a strong faith in the very near coming of Christ frequently produces large gifts, since the giver's future on earth is viewed as so short that half the deposit in the savings bank, or less, is regarded as sufficient. We observe that great pains are taken to keep before the mind the immediate descent of "the true King." We quote again from the last report:

> The greatest missionary society in the world is commencing a three years' enterprise to close the century with the boldest advance movement ever planned by missionary faith, hope, and love. Shall not we, the youngest of the missionary bands, join our older English sister by a similar enterprise in this western hemisphere, and signalize the blessings of the past . . . by some new endeavor of faith and love which may give the Gospel at least to all the unreached lands, and bring three years nearer the glorious return of our waiting King?

This constant presentation of a limited number of years before the second advent has characterized the movement from the beginning, when it was thought that the Gospel could be preached in all the world in a single decade and thus make it necessary for Christ to come. It seems there are only three years of the decade left. It requires quite a stretch of faith to grasp the idea that the Gospel may in this short period be

given to "all the unreached lands." But this natural impossibility is presented, apparently, with the utmost confidence, and by many is believed. This magnificent program strikes the imagination and calls forth munificent gifts.

3. Another consideration influential with some Christian philanthropists of a visionary cast of mind is the thought that after three years the nations, Jew and Gentile, are sure of being converted by Christ himself, in a supernatural way, after he has been crowned and enthroned at Jerusalem. To hasten the coming of this heavenly reaper to thrust his sickle into the ripe harvest of the earth, it is worth the while of the weary and discouraged human harvesters to make large contributions. Many a farmer has given a large sum of money to substitute a mowing machine for his scythe. The writers of the report cannot be reproached for their little faith. It closes thus with a conception large enough almost to take our breath away: "O, it would be glorious if the last days of the nineteenth century should report the evangelization of earth's last tribe and tongue! O, it would be glory itself if the first convention of the twentieth century should be at the feet of Jesus in the air, and amid the raptures of the advent morning and the millennial day!" It has been said that faith is contagious. If the audiences of the Christian Alliance missionary meetings are pervaded by the faith of their leaders the secret of their large contributions is divulged.

Why do not other missionary boards create a similar enthusiasm in liberal giving? It is because they cannot see any ground for asserting the premillennial coming of Christ. Hence they cannot focalize the gifts of their people upon the next three years. They must use such arguments as they find in the Bible, arguments which will be good a century or ten centuries hence, if there are still on the earth unevangelized souls. They fear the evil effects of preaching the immediate coming of Christ and of reading this doctrine into the Holy Scriptures. Some of them heard William Miller in 1843 confidently prove from the Bible in seven different ways that Christ would come as Judge of the world in the autumn of that year. They have a vivid memory of the painful reaction which followed, in the total eclipse of faith in the Holy Scriptures, from which some of his disciples never emerged. It is a theme on which a man

may easily become a fanatic, especially when associated with the tenet that all sickness is covered by the atonement as surely as all sin.

In view of this examination of premillennialism, which we have weighed and found wanting a basis in Scripture and in reason, we would advise all Christians to bestow their gifts for the world's evangelization upon their own denominational missions, which proceed upon methods tried and approved by experience and by that book styled by Gladstone "the impregnable Rock of God's Word."

Since Christ uttered the great commission, "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations," no man has been called to preach the Gospel for a witness, or for any other purpose. The kingdom of Christ is come, and the King is now, and will be, invisibly present with his heralds "alway, even unto the end of the world," having abolished forever the former distinction of places and made the whole world a temple for spiritual worship. There is now "one flock" (Revised Version) and "one shepherd," who has gathered "together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad," putting "no difference between the Jew and the Greek," having "broken down the middle wall of partition between us." That wall Christ will never rebuild. He takes no backward steps. We "who are Christ's are Abraham's seed, whose circumcision is that of the heart in the Holy Spirit." Our desired city is not the Jerusalem "which now is, and is in bondage with her children," but the free Jerusalem "which is above, . . . the mother of us all." Toward this heavenly city all believers in Christ are setting their faces, and on the tombstone of every one may Dean Alford's epitaph be appropriately chiseled, slightly improved. *Diversorium Viatoris Hierosolymam Novam Proficiscentis*—The Wayside Inn of a Traveler Journeying to the New Jerusalem.

Daniel Steele

Art. IV.—ANTE-AGAMEMNONA.

If one were sailing with Raleigh where a stream freshened far out the salt and surging sea he would wish to know whence the goodly water came. If he turned against its flow until his prow was stopped by some ledge athwart the stream, or by the tangled luxuriance of a tropical forest, his thought would not rest with the arrest of his voyage. The river need not be one "whose foam is amber and whose gravel gold," but from his enforced anchorage he might see it fling life and verdure over the savannas below. He might see as flotsam and jetsam on its current, drifting rich and rare from mysterious regions, choice products of men's skill and toil, whether ministering to common needs or to the higher sensibilities. Dull would he be who did not long to pass to the upper stretches of the stream and see under what cliffs and forests, by what fields and towns, this water had for long leagues been flowing.

With feeling like this one finds himself at Homer, barred from the beyond. "Ye may not enter," as carved on the Homeric pillars, provokes entrance rather than forbids it, and the heart leaps up to require that which is past, as if the past, like the present and the future, were in our appointed dominion. This feeling haunts one like an agony as he travels the Homeric lands. At the Heraion, where the kings swore fealty to Agamemnon, he wonders who were the kings before Agamemnon. At Mycenæ he swings the iron wicket beneath those lions that are the oldest sculpture in Europe and enters the solemn precinct of the bygone. At his right in that Agora, "making men illustrious," sat a hundred councilors; at his left were vaults for kingly treasures, and the massive walls looked down on marbles covering royal dust. Beyond are gray fields and the white-surfed, wine-hued sea. "Eternal summer gilds them yet." What manifold stir of life, what strong-armed energy, what speech and song, what "fair women and brave men" must once have filled this town! Musing there alone, one's dream, which is "not all a dream," takes a dim, historic form.

The unhistoric realm of Hellenic life is on its near side bounded by the Troica; on the far, by the coming of the Aryans into "Javan and the isles." Its breadth may be that of Ba-

laam's vision when, "in a trance with his eyes open," he looked down a thousand years and saw in the horizon the ships of Chittim and brought Greece into the sacred record. A long, long darkness, but under this far-floating gloom great work was done by unseen workers.

And first, the development of language. The mystery of speech was solved and simplified. The shaping of the shorthand of Tyrian merchants into the Greek alphabet was a deed skillful and beneficent. Still better was the modification of the language itself. Assuming Schleicher's Alt-Indien as the primitive Aryan speech, and the Sanskrit as the oldest branch, the type of the earliest Greek may easily be outlined. If one traces our English from Beowulf to Shakespeare through what struggles does he find it passing, under what complication of energies, what agonies of mutilation and assimilation! Its case system, its ugliness of compounding, where are they? How clear and simple in structure, how vigorous in movement, as it now proceeds in majestic march for the conquest of the world! This a thousand years did for the English, and the like was in a commensurate period done for the Greek. Compared with the Sanskrit, its stationary sister, or the Latin, older but unmanipulated, the Greek issues from demiurgic darkness into historic day, "a crystalline delight," complete in every linguistic quality, tuneful now as ever beneath its sapphire skies, fit for gods and godlike men.

In this unhistoric millennium the Greek, like his Aryan kinsmen, "knew not God;" but his was a lively growth in the apprehension of the divine. The powers of nature become persons. Thus Erem, "the greyhound," had in India been applied to the wind. "The greyhound of the gods," said one, when the clouds of the monsoon began tossing wildly in the sky, "is driving up their cows." This crude conception the Greeks refined into Hermes, Ἑρμείας, "young hound," a person lithe and graceful, the messenger of the gods, the gatherer of souls to Hades, the patron of pursuits calling for ingenuity, as art, trade, and literature, and gymnastics. Or, take Athena, *Ahana* (Sanskrit), "the dawn." In the freshness of the early world the dayspring was counted the most wondrous and affecting of all phenomena, but on the plains of India the beholder viewed it only as a phenomenon pure and simple. "The daughter of

... sky," divine indeed, is a very vague personality, "wearing ... brilliant garment." "She rises up, moving everyone, leader ... the days, gold-colored, lovely to behold." "Shine for us, ... who lengthenest our days, thou highborn dawn, give us ... far and wide!" Not unlike that might any poet of our ... write, in our usual rhetorical personification. Athena, ... from the unregistered Hellenic spaces, is no longer ... or a power of nature. She is a person sprung from ... mighty forehead of the morning sky; she calls the world ... life; she scatters the monsters of the dark; she gathers to ... those attributes, the sum of which made her the en... patroness of "Athens, the eye of Greece," fit resident ... the Parthenon, "the brightest gem Greece wore on all her ... ne." In like manner one might trace the other personages ... the Olympian and find each by transformation brought from ... thing rude, gross, and material to something refined, cul... and personal, and the air of Greece untainted by human ... rifices. This movement in historic times went on making ... theistic truth, and the interchangeable *θεοί* and *θεός* of Soc... are but thinly apart from the only true God. Thus, un... Greek thought was "a schoolmaster" leading toward ... ism. The traceable movement of idolatry is toward the ... se and clumsy. By what energy of conception was the ... ess here reversed and the natural made intellectual and ... itual? It was not one man's work; it was "one man's wit ... many men's wisdom," the thought of generations set to ... ech and music at last by one great master.

Or, we may look at the political outcome of these cloud-... apped centuries. In India one sees the primitive system of ... triarchal headship early degenerating into absolutism. The ... sses, even when arrived at some intellectual development, ... e that scared look in the face, that shrinking acquiescence in ... per, that to this day so marks oriental peoples. Not so in ... Hellenic sphere. There is a headship, but it is filled by a ... o whose qualities fit him for the place, who is first in war and ... peace alike. There is a senate of high-souled venerable men; ... re is an assembly where even Thersites, if he will but be ... er than impudent in his babbling, may, as of ancient right, ... ak his mind before kings and those who are in authority, ... even intimate "the exploded theory" that rulers derive their

just powers from the consent of the governed. The political instinct came to be a fixed law of life, and when history opens the man has already come to be a citizen, a character now for the first time found on earth. The man is completed in the state, as the Christian is completed in the Church. He is in it as a part of a living organism; to him life, society, and state are terms nearly interchangeable. This took a clearer form in the republics of historic times, but at the dawn of history the idea of citizenship is already fully developed; the compromise between freedom and authority, between will and law, is thoroughly understood and accepted, and each member of a community is habituated to be at the same time ἄρχων and ἀρχόμενος. It is not to be said that the Greek ideal of government was complete; it favored the strong and did little for the feeble. It was charged against the Homeric usages that they approved of the misuse of the poor; and evidently the value and the claims of simple human personality had not become well defined. The Jews, better than the Greeks, understood the rights of the helpless; but who would not choose the rudest Greek state before the despotism of Pharaoh or Nebuchadnezzar? The history of France shows how difficult it is, even with the modern heritage of ideas, to form a free and sovereign body of citizens. By what struggles of change, each doing its share, must Hellas have reached that condition of orderly political thought and usage by which each community became a state and the πόλις, the δῆμος, ruled not merely the conduct but the hopes, the affections of the individual. This conception of an interlacing political fabric, sufficient unto itself, grew unseen by historic eyes; but it was not, like the prophet's gourd, the hasty product of one hot night, nor did it perish by one sting of sharp hostility. It was the fertile breeder of many later constitutions, one feature of which we in fact sorely need today, that which declares the citizen not zealous of the public welfare to be not merely useless but positively harmful and traitorous.

Of art it would be strange if we did not find in this period some preliminary work already achieved. This was the time of joyous, exuberant youth, whose overflow of energy and passion finds its consummation in the typical young man, Achilles. All art originates in surplus—surplus of spirits, of leisure, and

resource. It is the soul rising above the pressure of necessity into free, spontaneous activity. Our first glimpse of this activity is—and most naturally—in the rhythmic movement of the dance and the rhythm of both time and tone in the utterance of the song. Hence came, in historic days, the drama and the poem. The useful arts, to a creature that enters the world unclad, unclad, and unarmed, who must devise his own appliances for food and shelter, demand the first attention. He must learn the digestion—"cooking within the body"—to supply the deficiencies of nature by previous cooking outside. His shortness of arm, his slowness of foot, his weakness of muscle must be supplemented by such devices as his brain suggests. But, in Hellas, the useful arts, when their products—as utensils, furniture, and the like—first appear, are already assuming the beautiful. Cups, cloths, and armor show that ornament has become decoration. The fine ideal is now ages before Plato is becoming dominant in the Hellenic mind, and with sovereign touch it begins to beautify things of common utility. Of all arts architecture alone remains disregarded. Nothing is traceable that shows promise or potency of its coming splendor. The house, the temple, was a shelter, and hardly more. But where did that millennial sun look down on any architecture made with hands? History shows art to be, like the century plant, slow of growth and then swiftly bursting into bloom, as in the fifth century before our era, or the fifteenth after it. In prehistoric Greece the growth was slow and the verdure ample, but beneath its shade the people gained the sure taste, the sense of proportion, the keen relish, the longing, and the aspiration that made possible the glory of their later achievements. The artistic character was assured.

Close akin to art is literature; for poetry is a fine art, and a Greek oration was no less so, "vital in every part" like the human body, and complete in symmetry and perspective. If by literature we mean intellectual products, formal, published, and permanent, our period has nothing to show. If by it we mean all intellectual products of a given people, we must pause and consider. The intellectual products of a generation, or the producing generation itself, are like the leaves of trees, mostly of swift decay. In our own day—this just gone year, this soon gone century—books, like the leaves in Vallombrosa,

have been strewn upon the sod, wind-drifting to decay, or stored in stately uselessness in vast libraries, to be lost in the atmospheric dust. They might cheerfully be given to the man of the bottomless, if only their flavor and essence might unembodied pass on to cheer and strengthen the next generation. This last was the fate of the pre-Homeric literature, and not an unhappy fate. Some exult over the cartouch of Menotoph and the unspeakable mummy of Rameses. *Forma mentis eterna.* If that survive we can spare the rest. There is reasonable presumption that Homer, like Chaucer, felt himself to be at the close, rather than at the beginning, of an era of literary productiveness. The lively Grecian, in a land of "song, dust, and sunshine," had not been of idle mind. Certain forms of intellectual activity now familiar and valuable our race had not yet reached, but the poet and the minstrel were already the teachers of the youth. The intellect was clearly and fearlessly devoted to the solving of life's problems; and the free discussion of affairs, of which one detects many a trace, led, as time went on, to that marvelous power, "the applause of listening senates to command." "To discern the deathless and ageless order of nature, whence it arose, the how, the why," never came into the range of their childlike aspirations; but, as surely as the boy is the father of the man, the later rule for the entrance upon philosophic attainment, "Know thyself," and the formula for its prosecution, "Let us follow the argument whithersoever it leads," are already felt, though not yet by long ages stated.

Forma mentis eterna. Life's chief product, after all, whether in the nation or the individual, is character. For this to each are given his seventy years, more or less, of changeful experience, of struggles in the stream of mortal tendency with or against the divine order of the world. For this communities and kingdoms rise, develop, clash, and fall. The individual withers, his works crumble, but his character endures and enters upon the world that is to come. At the close of our heavy mantled period the Greek character has assumed its defining features. "When should the education of a child begin?" asked a mother, addressing Oliver Wendell Holmes. "A hundred years before it is born," was the answer. A time still longer is needed to educate a nation. Mark how long and

...d was the training of the Hebrew people; and as a result, ... is their character, like their features, permanent. The ...al Englishman comes from a thousand stirring years of ...fe and change, of trade and conquest, of law and govern... The American, after three centuries, is still "on the ...;" and, though a Lincoln has already been achieved, we ...ch the formative process and wonder what the coming man ... be. Of how many generations "hasting stormfully across ... earth" was the product Odysseus, that complex man whose ...s reappear in Solon and Themistocles and Tricoupis? He ...s of the unrecorded life in preexistent Hellas, as a moun... park tells of geological vicissitudes. "O earth, what ...ges hast thou seen!" With restless desire for the widest ...wledge he saw the manners and cities of many men, and ...ed their minds. He bore hardship with fortitude un...inking, and devised relief with ingenuity unhesitating. He ... before other men the drift of an argument or the result of ...licy, and "his words, like wintry snowflakes," copious and ...ble, none can equal in persuasion. Complete in self-control, ... can suffer and be strong. His courage rises with the occa... He subjects every movement to the test of reason, and ... response of reason he bends his whole energy to execute. ... is no embodiment of goodness. The Greek character was ...man and had faults enough; its Odyssean versatility could ...ritly turn to treachery and falsehood. Odysseus may be a ...titious personage, yet the hand of the master would not have ...med him upon the wall but as a reality of his time, as real ... John of Gaunt in Shakespeare. This Greek character, with ... features good and ill, such as it emerged from "the days ...reof no man knew," so remained through the well-known ...ys thereafter. The Cephissus, already a full river, comes ... the sunlight from the marble heart of Pentelicus, to flow ...ough gardens, vineyards, and olive orchards. So the Greek ... issues from the deep natal gloom, and goes forth to en... the whole Hellenic life of later days. Nor has time ...ught serious change and decay. The character is still in ... old home and identifiable. The selfsame mold produces ... selfsame men, graceful, inquisitive, and eager, passionate ... versatile, capable of the ancient glory and of the ancient ...ame.

How easily we come to look upon the remoter past as uneventful, a flat surface, as in marine perspective the billows bounding and breaking near the horizon's verge look smooth. Those unseen Greeks lived as we live. Above them the sun shone out and the silent stars, and for them the seasons walked their splendid round. They ate, they drank, they planted, they builded, they married, they were given in marriage. They had hopes and fears and passions and pangs like ours. *Carent vates sacros.* Could we have of them a word, as the great Teacher's word of the antediluvians, or could one cut a section of their routine of life, as men have done at Pompeii, we might by the processes of comparative anatomy recover much. *Omnes una nocte tenentur.* We can but reason inductively upon a fascinating, an important, because a molding, period in which a people developed those traits that later gave them the lordship of the human mind. In Dante's words: "Here vision fails, but yet the will rolls onward like a wheel." If only, where our bark must stop, some cliff rose skyward from whose summit the far-away vision would satisfy!

> Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
> He stared at the Pacific, and all his men
> Looked at each other with a wild surmise,
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

A. B. Hyde

V.—THE GROWTH OF JESUS—PHYSICAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND SPIRITUAL.

In the Gospel according to St. Luke ii, 52, we read, Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώ-

I. In this passage there is clearly indicated the physical, intellectual, and spiritual growth of Jesus. Hence it may be inferred, without hesitation, that he was limited by the laws of time and space; and also that he was subject to the laws of human development, and that, therefore, he was in every respect a perfect man.

II. In the second chapter of St. Luke's gospel there are described, (1) the birth of Jesus and the circumstances connected therewith (verses 1–20); (2) his circumcision and presentation in the temple, together with the circumstances connected therewith (verses 21–40); (3) his first conscious visit to Jerusalem at the age of twelve years as a "son of the law"† (verses 41–52); (4) his consciousness of his duty to his heavenly Father (verse 49); (5) his subjection and obedience to his earthly parents (verse 51); and (6) his physical, intellectual, and spiritual growth and development, which is positively indicated as having begun to be recognized by himself and others at that period, and which continued from the time of his return from Jerusalem to Nazareth till the time of his first public appearance (chap. iii, 1–20).

III. During these eighteen years, that is, from his twelfth to his thirtieth year, Jesus accomplished a part of the work which his heavenly Father had given him to do (John xvii, 4). But it was a work pertaining principally to himself, and involving

* These are the words of the *Textus Receptus*, as, also, those of the text adopted by the revisers, but in Tischendorf's *Editio Octava Critica Maior* of the Greek New Testament, as also in his edition of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, the words ἐν τῇ are inserted before σοφίᾳ; in Westcott and Hort's edition of the Greek New Testament the verb προέκοπτε ends with the letter ν, followed by the article τῇ; in Tregelles's edition the verb ends with the letter ν, followed by the words ἡλικίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ; and in Tischendorf's edition of the *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* the verb terminates with the letter ν, and is followed by the article τῇ; and in the *Codex Alexandrinus* the verb ends with the letter ν. But these various readings make no change in the meaning of verse 52. They were no doubt accidentally made by copyists; and happily the differences between the various readings are for the most part so minute that they do not affect the substance of the teachings of our Lord or his Apostles and of the Evangelists. They are the results of the common risks of transcription and inadvertence to which all copyists were liable.

† Among the ancient Jews a boy at the age of twelve or thirteen years was called בַּר תּוֹרָה, Son of the Law.

three separate and distinct parts, the first being of a physical, the second of an intellectual, and the third of a spiritual, character.

IV. As to the physical part of his work, it is said, Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε ... ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. The verb προκόπτειν signifies, primarily, *to be forwarded, to advance, to thrive, to beat out* or *to stretch* by hammering (Liddell and Scott); that is, *to lengthen, to increase, to grow; to beat forward, to lengthen out* by hammering, *to advance, to increase* (Thayer); *to cut one's way forward, to advance, to prosper* (Jones); *strecken, ausdehnen* (*to stretch, to extend*), *zunehmen* (*to increase, to grow*, Rost); and it may, therefore, be rightly translated, "And Jesus increased, or grew, in stature." The substantive ἡλικία signifies both *stature* and *age*. Liddell and Scott, with Thayer, give *age* first; whereas John Jones's lexicon translates it *stature, size, age*. There can be no question that the word ἡλικία in our passage is to be taken in the same sense in which it must be understood in Luke xix. 3, where it can have no other meaning than *stature*. Increase in stature implies of necessity increase in age; but increase in age does not always imply increase in stature. Luke describes in chap. ii, 40 and 52, the physical, as well as the mental and spiritual, development of Jesus. This bodily growth through infancy and boyhood up to manhood was a part of the work his Father had given him to do (John xvii, 4); for it implied eating and drinking, indoor and out-of-door bodily exercise, probably the running of errands, work at the carpenter's trade, subjection to the orders of his parents, exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and unpleasant accidents, all of which presuppose also physical weariness and pain, hunger and thirst, and humiliation. For when it is said of him that it "became him ... to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings" (Heb. ii, 10), there can be no doubt that these sufferings, παθήματα, included physical pain; and to endure this pain and the things that produce it was a part of his work, to say nothing of his self-humiliation in voluntarily subjecting himself to the commands and reproofs * of his earthly parents (Luke ii, 4). His physical growth and development were, like those of any

* That Jesus considered his mother's question, "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us?" as a reproof appears evident from his answer, which possesses the character of a justification of his conduct in remaining behind in the temple for the purpose of learning what were his duties, not only to his earthly parents, but more especially to his heavenly Father.

...er infant and youth, normal and gradual. This is implied in ... words, "and Jesus increased in . . . stature" and "he went ...n with them and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto ...m" (verse 51). His physical growth was also of a twofold ...ture, active and passive—active in that he did during the ...teen years of his retirement what we have already men... ...ed, and passive in that he endured hunger and thirst, fatigue ... pain, even before his great fast immediately preceding his ...at temptation (Matt. iv, 1–11).

V. As to his intellectual growth our passage says, Καὶ Ἰησοῦς ...κοπτε (ἐν τῇ) σοφίᾳ; while in verse 40 it is also said, Τὸ δὲ ...ον . . . πληρούμενον σοφίας. Here the Evangelist does not less ...ctly describe the intellectual development of Jesus than ... has done his physical. The infancy and boyhood of Jesus ...re no mere pretense, as is clearly evident from what is said ... him in verses 40–52; for his divine-human personality passed, ... had to pass, through these states of physical weakness and ...tal inexperience or ignorance.* He appears here in the ...ple as a learner, as a student of the word of God, asking for ... receiving instruction, and comprehending the things com...nicated to him. He went through a regular process of in...ectual culture, sitting in the midst of Jewish teachers, not ...ching, but hearing and asking questions, thus actually learn...g from them, but also astonishing them by his understanding ...mprehension) and answers. "There is nothing premature, ...ced, or unbecoming his age, and yet a degree of wisdom and ... intensity of interest in religion is manifested which rises far ...ve a purely human youth."† We see here his intellectual ...wth and development to have been as real, as unchecked, as ...rnal, and as much effected by means as his physical. When ... apostle John says of the incarnate Logos that he was "full ... grace and truth," and when St. Luke says that the child Jesus ... "filled with wisdom," and that after his return to Nazareth ... "increased in wisdom," they mean to indicate thereby that ... ...s, during the various stages of his earthly life, came into ...ession of objective truth and of wisdom, that is, of knowl...ge and the capacity of making the best use of it, by the or...ry process of learning, by study and oral instruction and

* ...terzee, in his *Commentary on Luke*, rightly calls attention to the anti-Docetic ... of this whole narrative, for the reality of the human nature and personality of ... is apparent in it.

† Dr. Schaff, *Character of Jesus.*

experience, as well as by divine intuition. There is no unnatural exaggeration in the Evangelist's description of the boyhood of Jesus, but only the gradual acquisition of knowledge and the dawning upon his consciousness of his peculiar relation to his heavenly Father, together with a sense of duty to his earthly parents. His heart drew him to the temple—his (heavenly) Father's house—while the voice of filial duty called him back to Nazareth. Here we see the blossom of his inner life unfolding and ripening into the perfect fruit of obedience, shedding its fragrance around both in the temple at Jerusalem and in Galilee. His reply to his mother's question may be regarded as the program of his whole life, while his subjection to his earthly parents, his obedience, his self-denial and retirement in the privacy of the domestic circle, are an ever-present, perfect example for all children and youths to imitate. We see, then, that the two representations of Christ's intellectual status are not in conflict with each other, for St. Luke's statement refers to his boyhood and young manhood, during which he was a learner, while St. John's statement refers abstractly to his full manhood as he moved among men during his public ministry. If we contemplate these two statements together, may we not regard them, says Liddon, as "a special instance of that tender condescension by which our Lord willed to place himself in a relation of real sympathy with the various experiences of our finite existence?"

But, in whatever light we may view these two statements, one thing we must not lose sight of, namely, that, as we have already intimated, the intellectual development of Jesus was both normal and effected by the ordinary means. While he probably had no great scholastic advantages—such as regular and continued instruction from Jewish doctors, like Hillel, Gamaliel, or others; or from Alexandrian scholars, like Philo and others—yet he had the ordinary home training from a religious mother and foster-father, as well as that derived from attending the synagogue, where he heard the reading and exposition of the "Law and the Prophets," while in all probability he annually went up to Jerusalem to the "feast," where he saw and heard a good deal that intellectually benefited him, and thus learned much of the "business" or "the things" pertaining to his heavenly Father. In addition to all these things

. . no doubt, early practiced that intimate communion, by prayer . . d meditation, with his heavenly Father which, in itself, is one . . the highest means of intellectual culture, to say nothing of its . . ing the chief means of religious or spiritual growth. It was . . ring these eighteen years of retirement that he physically . . d intellectually grew and developed into perfect manhood, . . say here nothing of his moral or spiritual development. By . . strict observance of the laws of health, by living in a pure . . d healthy atmosphere, by being surrounded with the beauty . . d grandeur of natural scenery, and by hearing weekly the . . ding and exposition of the "Law and Prophets," he no . . ubt grew into an ideally perfect youth and manhood. Sin . . ached not his pure nature. As a child and youth he was . . norant of many things which he had to learn by the ordinary . . ocess of study and observation; for why, if during this . . riod he knew all things, did he ask questions in the temple . . d listen to the Jewish doctors expounding the Old Testament . . riptures? And if he was "in all points tempted like as we . . e," does this not imply that he had to undergo the laborious . . ocess of learning, like all other children and youths? True, . . s mind was early engrossed with his "Father's business;" . . d, this being the case, there can be no doubt but that under . . l the circumstances surrounding him, up to the time of his . . st public appearance, he had gained a fair knowledge of the . . d value and contents of the Old Testament Scriptures, so that . . hen, during his public ministry, he appealed to them he did . . with perfect inerrancy, knowing full well, both as a result . . study and by divine intuition, who in general were their . . d authors; thus furnishing us with the strongest possible . . idence in favor of both their authorship and authority. . . ience, we are warranted in maintaining that, when he made . . finite statements on these subjects, he was neither the victim . . r the propagator of serious errors, but the authoritative . . cher of truth. It is a dangerous thing for some "higher . . itics" to reject the testimony of Jesus Christ, even if he did . . t intend purposely to bear witness to the authorship and au- . . rity of the different books of the Old Testament.

The fair inference from the preceding observations is this, . . at, while Jesus, during his early boyhood and youth, did not . . ssess absolutely perfect knowledge—which would have been

incompatible with his human nature respecting both his intellect and will—he yet acquired, by the process of study, observation, and experience, as well as by divine intuition, a perfect knowledge of his "Father's business," and, being also morally or spiritually perfect, as we shall endeavor to show further on, he taught what was perfect truth, in perfect harmony with his saying, "I am . . . the truth." This view of the case, we humbly believe, does violence neither to his divine nor to his human nature, and it thus satisfies all the conditions of the problem, in so far at least as they are capable of being satisfied on earth. Besides, the example of Jesus as a learner should stimulate all his followers to faithfully use all available means for the elucidation and exposition of the word of God, so that their knowledge of their heavenly "Father's business" may constantly increase, that they may thus be enabled to attend to it more thoroughly and devotedly.

VI. Now, as to the moral or spiritual growth of Jesus, our passage says, *Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε . . . χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις*, while in verse 40 it is said of him, *Τὸ δὲ παιδίον ηὔξανε, καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο πνεύματι,* πληρούμενον σοφίας· καὶ χάρις Θεοῦ ἦν ἐπ' αὐτό.* Here we have a plain indication that the moral or spiritual growth and development of Jesus began very early. It is stated that soon after his presentation in the temple his parents were divinely directed to go to Egypt for his safety: but circumstances and events occurring that permitted them to return, they settled in Nazareth, where his threefold growth and development began under such influences and advantages as a mechanic's home in a provincial town in Palestine furnished, nearly nineteen hundred years ago. That such a home was not altogether devoid of intellectual and religious advantages and influences is evident from the fact that, even in his early boyhood, he is said to have "waxed strong in spirit," and to have been "filled with wisdom," and that the "grace of God was upon him" (verse 40).

The word *χάρις*, in New Testament Greek, signifies principally *favor*, *grace*, *kindness;* hence it is correctly trans-

* The word *πνεύματι* is omitted in the text of Lachmann, Alford, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Tregelles, Gebhardt, and Weymouth; it is also omitted in the *Codex Sinaiticus* and the *Codex Vaticanus;* but it occurs in the *Codex Alexandrinus* and in several of the later manuscripts. It seems to have been inserted from chap. i. 80, though it is probable that St. Luke applied this word to the boy Jesus as well as to the boy John (the Baptist); there is no reason why he should not have done so.

...d in the Authorized and Revised Versions as *favor* (verse ... Luther translates it as *Gnade*, or *grace;* but these two ... is really signify the same thing. Now, when it is said ... "Jesus increased . . . in favor with God and man," it is ...arly implied thereby that he was already in their favor, or ...at he possessed their favor at the time he returned from ...usalem to Nazareth, that is, at the age of twelve. How ...ld it have been otherwise? The fact of his having been ...und in the temple among the doctors, astonishing all that ...rd him by "his understanding and answers," presupposes ...ch a surprisingly advanced and mature mind, as well as win...ng and ingratiating manners on his part, as must have secured ... him the "favor" or good will, not only of his earthly ...rents and teachers, but also of all with whom he had come ...contact, and who had heard him; while his willingness and ...rnest desire to know and to do his "Father's business," at so ...rly an age, was particularly pleasing to Him who had sent ...m, because He saw, too, that the consciousness of the boy ...sus, both of his peculiar relation to Him as his real Father ...d of the work He had given him to do (John xvii, 4), had ...eady reached a comparatively high degree of development. ...is, therefore, no wonder that at that early age he enjoyed the ...favor" or "grace" both of his heavenly Father and of his ...rthly parents, teachers, and acquaintances in a high degree. ...om this we may also infer that the failings of ordinary child...od and boyhood were in him totally absent, and that his ...oral purity at that time corresponded with his intellectual ...dvancement and comparative maturity.

VII. Now, it is to be remembered that Jesus, even as a boy, ...s the "Logos incarnate;" that ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, "the Word ...ecame flesh," means that the Logos, the Word, became man, ...r the term σὰρξ here signifies human nature in its entirety, or ...n its original purity and wholeness.* He, and he alone, was ...e true ideal of humanity—a humanity that does not exclude ...adual physical, mental, and moral or spiritual development, ...ough it does exclude moral defilement or sin. Immaturity of ...dy, of mind, and of moral nature and consciousness in Jesus ...es not imply the least approach to sinful tendencies, much ...ss to actual sin-taint; hence, anything of this kind was totally

* This thought we shall elaborate more fully further on.

absent in his boyhood, and for that reason he already enjoyed the "favor" of his heavenly Father in a high degree.

Now, our passage says that from the time he returned with his parents to Nazareth, προέκοπτε—he increased, or grew—σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις—"in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man;" that is, his consciousness of divinity, his obedience, his self-denial, his speech (for he spoke as never man spake), all are here "present *in nuce*, soon to be manifested *in luce*" (Van Oosterzee). There was a constant and progressive development of his mind and heart, an increase of his knowledge of his heavenly "Father's business," and a constant intensification of his holy nature or being, as well as of his holy desire to do and to finish the work which his heavenly Father had given him to do. During all this time "the consciousness of his mission on earth was ripening, the things heard of the Father (John xv, 15) were continually imparted to him; the Spirit, which was not given by measure to him, was abiding more and more upon him, till the day when he was fully ripe for his official manifestation." * We cannot sufficiently appreciate the full meaning of the words of this passage; for only by endeavoring to do so can we think rightly of Christ. He had emptied himself of his glory; his infancy and childhood were, according to this passage, no mere pretense, but the divine personality was in him carried through these states of weakness and inexperience, and gathered round itself the ordinary accessions and experiences of the sons of men. And then, during all the subsequent eighteen mysterious years, we may, by the light of what is here revealed, view him advancing onward to that fullness of wisdom, and in that holy living, meditating and working, until he had earned the approval not only of his earthly parents and of the public in general, but also of his heavenly Father, which (approval) he pronounced of Jesus at the close of his retirement and the beginning of his public ministry in these words: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii, 17). "The growing up through infancy, childhood, youth, manhood, from grace to grace, holiness to holiness, in subjection, self-denial, and love, without one polluting touch of sin—this it was which consummated by the three years of active ministry, by the

* *Vid.* Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i, *sub* Luke ii, 52.

...ion and the cross, constituted 'the obedience of one' man, ... which many are made righteous." *

All this took place in perfect harmony with his nature and ...ng as the Logos incarnate. In that the Logos "became ...h" or "man," ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, he stepped, as it were, ...t of his divine mode of existence and entered into the ...man mode of existence; it was a voluntary self-limitation ... his part, without, however, his ceasing to be God; for ... changed only, for the time being, his mode of existence, not ... being, or essence, or nature. The immutability of the living ...d does not exclude a divine life-movement from within ...tward, nor from without inward, so long as it is in harmony ...th his divine being and nature.† The life-movement of the ...rnal Logos from within, that is, from his divine mode of ...istence, outward, that is, to his human mode of existence, ...d not change his being, or nature, or essence; but had he, in ...coming man, assumed human nature tainted with hereditary ...n—that would have been equivalent to changing his nature, ...hich was an impossibility for him to do without thereby ceas...g to be God. The Logos, in becoming man, did not cease to ... as really divine as he was before his incarnation; he only ...anged his mode of existence into that of a sinless—perfectly ...ly—man; and the threefold mode of his growth—the physi...l, the mental, and the moral or spiritual—was in perfect ...rmony with his incarnate being and nature as the perfect ...d-man. As such he lived the life of a perfect man on earth ...thout ceasing to be perfectly divine; for at his incarnation ... only "emptied himself" (ἐκένωσεν, Phil. ii, 7) of his divine ..."glory" which he had with the Father "before the world ..." (John xvii, 5); and thus he became "poor" for our ...es that we might be made "rich" through him (2 Cor. ...ii, 9); but he reassumed his divine glory, that is, his full di...ine attributes, at his ascension.

VIII. But it may be asked, "How, or in what sense, has the ...gos, the second person in the Holy Trinity, become man?" ...e are aware that we have here to deal with an unfathom...le mystery—one that transcends the natural reason of man; ...evertheless, it is our right and duty to "grow . . . in the

* *Vid.* Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i, *sub* Luke ii, 52.
† *Vid.* Ebrard, *Christliche Dogmatik*, second ed., vol. i, §§ 78–150.

knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Peter iii, 18), and this implies our duty to investigate his nature and being, his antemundane existence, and how and why he came as man into our world; hence, in attempting to answer, however inadequately, this important question, we are only doing our divinely enjoined duty.

1. When it is said in the Gospel of John i, 14, Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο—"and the Word was made," or rather became, "flesh"—we must first inquire into the meaning of the term σὰρξ, "flesh." It is evident that it does not mean merely the human body, as the opposite of soul and spirit, as if the Evangelist intended to say that the Logos had assumed or occupied the place of the human soul or spirit in the person of Jesus, or that he had enrobed himself with a human—a fleshly—body. Against this (Apollinarian) view the verb ἐγένετο, "became," is decisive; for in such a case it should be written, ἐλάβε σάρκα, that is, "he assumed flesh."* The New Testament Scriptures speak of Jesus only as a full, perfect, entire man (John viii, 40): hence, they declare that he possessed body, soul, and spirit. When Jesus says, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death" (Matt. xxvi, 38); or, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke xxiii, 46); or, when it is said of the child Jesus, "And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit" (Luke ii, 40); or, when he "sighed deeply in his spirit" (Mark viii, 12); or, when it is said of him, "In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit" (Luke x, 21), it is clearly indicated in these passages that he had a human soul and a human spirit; in other words, that he possessed a full and true human nature. The term "flesh" is used both in the Old and New Testament Scriptures to indicate the entire man, consisting of body, soul, and spirit (Deut. v, 26; 1 Cor. i, 20; Rom. iii, 20; Gal. ii, 16; Acts ii, 17; Matt. xxiv, 22). And certainly, the term "flesh," in John xvii, 2, can mean nothing else than man. From all these, and other similar passages, it may be unmistakably inferred that the term "flesh" signifies human nature in all its component parts, sin excepted, for sin is not an original element of human nature.

2. Now, if the term "flesh" signifies human nature in its

* *Vid.* Dr. W. Nast's forthcoming *Commentary* (German) *on the Gospel of St. John*, Excursus to chap. i.

riety, the question arises, when it is said, "The Word became flesh," was it human nature in its original purity and holiness before the fall, or in its corrupt and sinful quality after the fall? We reply: It is neither the one nor the other. The human nature of the Logos, after he had become man, was, indeed, untouched and unaffected by sin, but it was subject to the physical and mental wants and sufferings incident to, or in consequence of, the fall, as well as to the laws and limits of human development, and that in a manner in which it did not take place in the state of man before the fall; for it is said of him (Jesus) that it "behooved him to be made like unto his brethren" (Heb. ii, 17); to be made "perfect through sufferings" (ii, 10); and that he was "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" (iv, 15).*

Now, that the human nature of the incarnate Logos was not affected by, or tainted with, sin is expressly declared by the Apostle Paul, when he says that God sent his own Son "in the likeness of sinful flesh," or, more literally, "in the likeness of the flesh of sin" (Rom. viii, 3). If it were merely said, "God sent his own Son in the likeness of flesh," this expression of St. Paul would be in contradiction to that of St. John, "The Word was made [or became] flesh;" but the addition "of sin" (sinful), which he evidently emphasizes, indicates what the Apostle meant by the expression, "in the likeness of." Jesus possessed a likeness with "the flesh of sin," that is, with sinful human nature, because he "was made," or became, flesh;" was "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" (Heb. iv, 15). Sin is no part of what is implied in the idea of true manhood; for the first man proceeded, pure and unspotted, from the hands of his Creator. The reason why the human nature of Jesus Christ was free from the inherited or "original" sinfulness of all descendants of Adam is indicated by his supernatural conception, as narrated by Matthew and Luke, and evidently presupposed by St. John. He "became" true man in that he received a complete or perfect human nature, not so much by the process of natural generation or begetting as by the flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary, being impregnated and sanctified by the power of the Holy Spirit, which is clearly indicated by the angel in these words (Luke i,

* Vid. Nast's *Commentary on St. John*, Excursus to chap. i.

35): "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore, also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," or, "that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God," Revised Version.

IX. But we have now also to determine more definitely the real meaning of the word ἐγένετο, "was made," or "became" (John i, 14), and thus guard against its misinterpretation. In verse 6 it is said of John the Baptist, "There was a man" (ἐγένετο). John was nothing, that is, he had no preexistence before he was born of Elizabeth; but ὁ λόγος—the Word—was before he "was made," or "became," flesh by being born of the Virgin Mary. He was before Abraham; yea, before the world was (John xvii, 5). What the Word was before his incarnation, before the world was, that he cannot cease to be, because of his being of divine nature, of divine essence; but what he was not in actuality before his incarnation, that he became, namely, flesh, or man. The inscrutable mystery of godliness, testified to by the Holy Scripture as an historical fact, consists in this, that to one and the same person are ascribed true divinity and true manhood. Hence any interpretation of the word ἐγένετο, "became," that does not include and maintain the three ideas—true divinity, true manhood, and the union of these in the person of Jesus Christ—is inadmissible. This excludes Nestorianism on the one side and Socinianism on the other.

If, however, we hold fast to the doctrine that "the Word," that "was with God" and "was God," "became" true man in the person of Jesus Christ, we are not permitted to assume that the term ἐγένετο, "became," meant a change of the Logos into a man, that is, a change of his divine nature or essence into the nature or essence of a mere man; but we are so to understand that term that, while "the Logos" "became" true man, he at the same time remained true God. This may be explained thus:* The Logos in, or at, or during the time of his incarnation surrendered the use of his "divine glory," that is, of his divine attributes; yea, even to some extent at least, their possession; otherwise, why did he pray to his heavenly Father to be glorified "with the glory which" he had with him "before

* *Vid.* W. F. Gess, *Christ's Person and Work*, 3 vols.; also, Dr. W. Nast's forthcoming *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, in German, chap. i, and the seventh "Excursus" thereto.

world was?" (John xvii, 5.) This glory constituted his ... attributes, and it is clear that at the time he offered this ... he did not possess this glory or these divine attributes; ... had "emptied himself" of them (ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, Phil. ..., or had, as it were, laid them aside, or rather their use. ... even his divine self-consciousness lay dormant or inactive ...; he had to regain it by the gradual process of a purely ... development; for there was a time in his earthly history ... he did not know "of that day and that hour" (Mark xiii, ...; when the Father had to show him "all things that himself ..." (John v, 19, 20); when the Father hath "given to the ... to have life in himself" (verse 26), and hath also "given him ...ority" (verse 27); and when the Son could "do nothing of ...lf" (verse 19), though afterward "all power" was given ... him (Matt. xxviii, 18). All these passages indicate that ... surrendered, to a great extent, the exercise of his divine ...ibutes; that he voluntarily subjected himself, not only to a ...rdinate and obedient position to his Father, but also to the ... of human development, beginning as an embryo and as ...fant in his mother's arms, and proceeding gradually, like ...ther human beings, through all the stages of youth up to ... manhood. Now, as an infant and youth, he did not, and ... not, possess the divine attributes of omniscience, omni...ence, omnipotence, and the rest, in the sense in which he ...ssed them before his incarnation and after his ascension. ..., the Logos, after having entered into a human form of ...ence, limited by time and space, was, in so far as he had ...me man, not infinite; for infinitude would have been irrec...ilable with his existence as a true man; but what the ab...te Logos was before his incarnation was not included, in its ...t sense, in his humanity; nevertheless, he did not cease to ...true God, for he himself declared that he and the Father are ... (John xvii, 11, 22). Living as man in uninterrupted com...ion with his heavenly Father, he obtained thereby that ...er and control over nature and its laws and forces which ... originally intended man to have (Gen. i, 26–29); and in ...unction with the awakening consciousness of his divine ...re and power he exercised them only in so far as it was ...ssary for the demonstration and maintenance of his media... ... office; and he did it with a constant sense of his self-

assumed dependence, as the man Jesus Christ, upon his he... only Father. In becoming man, the eternal Logos voluntar... stepped out, as it were, of his divine mode of existence, a... entered into the human mode of existence, limited by time a... space, without, however, ceasing for himself as the Logos to b... eternal, in order that he might live, in the fullest sense of t... word, in our nature, a truly human life, and thus be able to ... "touched with the feelings of our infirmities," and even ... exposed to such temptations as we are, "yet without sin" (He... iv, 15); and hence he became true man without thereby ceasi... to be God. The true meaning of the word ἐγένετο, "was made," or "became," being thus apprehended or interpreted, the thre... essential ideas—true divinity, true humanity, and the union o... these in the person of Jesus Christ, which the Christian Churc... has believed in and held through all ages—are maintained t... the fullest extent.

X. This apprehension of the doctrine of the incarnation o... the Logos is in perfect harmony with other passages in the N... Testament Scriptures. The Apostle John, in his first epistl... calls the coming of Christ into the world a coming "in th... flesh" (iv, 2, 3). St. Paul uses the words, "God" (or th... Logos) "was manifest in the flesh" (1 Tim. iii, 16); and h... describes this manifestation more fully by saying, (1) that "when the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth hi... Son, made of a woman, made under the law" (Gal. iv, 4); (2) that he "who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men" (Phil. ii, 6, 7, Revised Version); and (3) that the "Lord Jesus Christ . . . though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor" (2 Cor. viii, 9). The New Testament knows of no division of the Son of God, while living on the earth, into two I's or Egos of whom the one was the Logos and the other the man Jesus Christ; but it declares very definitely that the I—the Ego—the "personal consciousness" of the Son of God on the earth was the same I—the same Ego—the same "personal consciousness" of the Son of God in heaven—"in the beginning," or "before the world was." Jesus himself never says anything about his relation to the Logos, but only about the relation he sustained to his heavenly Father, who had sent him into the world. "A...

Father hath appointed unto me;" "I speak that which I ... seen with my Father;" "I honor my Father;" "It is ... Father that honoreth me;" "I go to my Father;" "My ... is greater than I;" "As my Father hath sent me, even ... I you;" "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ... up where he was before?" "Glorify thou me with thine ... self with the glory which I had with thee before the world ..."—all these passages and many similar ones teach nothing ... or less than that He who from all eternity was with God ... is himself God, through an act of "self-emptying," or "self-... ciliation," entered into the sphere of time and space and ... ted himself to the limitations of human existence, human ... elopment, human life and thought and feeling and knowl-..., without thereby ceasing to be God, because he only ... ged the mode of his existence, not his nature or essence.

XI. But to this view of the case it has been objected that to ... me any kind of self-limitation on the part of the Son of ... is irreconcilable with the immutability of the divine Being. ... objection is groundless, because the immutability of God ... udes only such changes whereby the essence, or the nature, ... the will of God would be changed or come into conflict with ...lf, or with each other—an assumption or a possibility that ... the German philosophers would say, "unthinkable." But ... immutability of God excludes by no means a divine "life-...vement," either from within outward, or from without in-..., so long as it is in perfect harmony with his divine nature ... will. To deny the possibility of such "life-movements" ... the part of God would be equivalent to denying the living ... himself; for life is manifested by activity and motion. A ... without movement, outward and inward, would be, accord-... to Scripture, a vain, a dead God. Dr. A. Ebrard, in his *...matik*, truly says: "In the idea of God as the living One ... is also contained the idea of the possibility of a self-limi-... and of a self-mutation, but not of such a character as to ... himself. This is shown to us in the Trinity of the divine ... Just as the one God distinguishes himself, according to ... ternal Being, as Father, Son, and Spirit, so God the Son ... distinguish between his eternal and infinite existence and ... existence within the limits of time and space." * And it is

* Vgl. Ebrard, J. H. A., *Christliche Dogmatik*, second ed., vol. i, chap. iii, §§ 78-150.

also to be observed that the concepts of God and man are not contradictory to each other; for God created man in his image. The thought is by no means "unthinkable" or contrary to Scripture that God originally created man with specific relation to the incarnation of the Logos, in order that there might be an image or a type of a being in creation which he might later on fill with himself.

XII. If our interpretation of the phrase, "The Word was made [or became] flesh," be correct—that is, in accordance with the generally received rules of language—then it may be considered as an established fact that the Holy Scriptures teach that the eternal Logos became man without ceasing to be God. Our inability to reconcile these ideas furnishes no reason for rejecting or explaining away the mystery of the doctrine of the incarnation as something contradictory. We dare not say that the union of the soul and body is self-contradictory, because matter and spirit are opposite notions or things. To purely immaterial beings, like the angels, the existence of beings consisting of matter and spirit, the one being mortal, the other immortal, may appear as much a contradiction, and therefore an impossibility, as the union of the divine and the human in one person appears to us. And, if the union of body and soul in one person appears to us incomprehensible, how dare we, who understand the nature of God far less than angels do, say it is self-contradictory to maintain that the Logos became man and yet remained God? Where is the proof that "the Word," which "was in the beginning with God" and "was God," and through whom "all things were made," cannot have, alongside with his eternal and divine mode of existence, also a human mode of existence, subject to the limitations of time and space, as well as to the laws of human development? Upon those who deny the truth of this wonderful doctrine rests the burden of furnishing proofs to the contrary, and we challenge them to furnish them.

XIII. One remark more in conclusion. "God was manifest in the flesh" and "the Word was made [became] flesh" are expressions indicating two acts on his part—the "unclothing" and the "reclothing" of himself*—the unclothing of himself from his divine form or mode of existence, and the reclothing

Vid. Godet's *Biblical Studies*, p. 138.

of himself with his human form of existence. His incarnation became a permanent and free act on his part from the moment he became conscious who he was. All his acts of obedience and of love, even his death, were an absolute self-sacrifice for the redemption of mankind. "All the fullness of the Godhead" dwelleth in him bodily. This fullness of the Godhead was the altar upon which his humanity was sacrified, and which gave it eternal efficacy. From the heights of heaven to which the crucified but risen God-man had ascended he poured upon his infant Church that miracle of the divine Spirit and sanctification which he had first consummated in himself, and thus prepared them—and if we, too, receive that miracle of the divine Spirit and sanctification into our entire being, will prepare us—for that exaltation and position of glory which he himself now occupies. He, as the God-man, as the ideal and highest type of being, wants to make us representatives of it here; and though we, who are true believers, are already the sons of God, "it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him: for we shall see him as he is" (1 John iii, 2). O, glorious destiny! Though our way may lead us through a Gethsemane and a Golgotha, it will end on Mount Olivet and in an ascension into the mansions of bliss and glory prepared for us by the God-man, Jesus Christ.

M. J. Cramer.

Art. VI.—SIGNIFICANCE OF SAN JACINTO.*

God is in human affairs more than we think. The episodes of our American history furnish many illustrations of the fact. Our Declaration of Independence, as we now see, was an epochal event, touching in its remoter results all human affairs. In the light of evolution San Jacinto will come to be regarded as one of the great factors in our American development. As a man passes on in life he attains a point from which he easily sees the turning point of his career. Contemplated thus, the battle of San Jacinto must even now be looked upon as one of the greatest turning points of our national development. It brought to us an area larger than that of the original Union, and the prestige it added to the country cannot be computed.

The preludes of this battle make up a stirring and romantic train of events. In 1824 Mexico, having thrown off her foreign Spanish yoke, as Cuba is now endeavoring to do, adopted a federal constitution similar to that of the United States. Before this event took place many adventurous Americans had been in northern and eastern Texas and had seen the land. They were pleased with its loveliness. Its skies were like the glorious skies of Italy, and its prairies spread out to form an Eden on the grandest scale. Traffic had already been opened by traders at Natchez, on the Mississippi. The advantages of this were soon seen, and a tide of immigration set in. In the first decade of the present century there was an American military expedition—of a voluntary character—which went forth to help Mexico in her revolt from Spain. They went as far as San Antonio, five hundred miles west of the Mississippi. By the passing and repassing that was thus established eastern Texas soon became well known in American circles. Following this train of events a most sagacious and farseeing man, Moses Austin, appears upon the scene. He concluded a treaty

* The author of this article has had the advantage of going over the ground he describes while tarrying as an invalid in Harrisburg, Tex., in 1886 and ministering to the little church there. He also made a careful examination of the site of the battle, resting under the historic grown oak where General Houston slept the night before the battle. He also occupied the same room in the old hotel at Harrisburg in which Santa Anna was held a prisoner. Under such influences he was led to give the history of this stirring episode a new and thorough examination. He thinks the United States should secure these grounds and dedicate them to freedom, and adorn them with a monument to one of her greatest men, General Sam Houston.—Editor.

with the governor of the province by which he secured the right of settling three hundred American families in the country. He soon died, but his son immediately took his place, a man equally wise, and secured another contract to settle another colony of three hundred nearer the Gulf. This settlement was made on the Brazos in 1821. Austin rode twelve hundred miles horseback to the city of Mexico to secure this additional grant, after the independence of Mexico had been secured. The colony increased with great rapidity. After achieving her independence Mexico held out large inducements to citizens of the United States to settle in the Texan province, promising the same rights which she extended to her own citizens. This gave a new impetus to immigration. Settlements sprang up on the fertile plains and great river bottoms, and towns and cities began to appear in the wilderness. News of Austin's success and of these overtures of Mexico reached our Northern States, and won many an adventurous spirit. Additional colonies were formed, who pressed their way to the newly discovered Eden. To the American citizen of to-day it is almost impossible to picture the stirring scenes of this episode.

In all human things action and reaction seem to be a law as certain as the ebb and flow of the tides. The influx of life from the United States excited the jealousy of Mexico. She feared that these immigrants were animated with the ideas of liberty and love for the institutions of their native land, and that their power might soon become so great as to imperil her northern frontier. Accordingly she forbade all further immigration. She also established military posts in the settlements of the colonies, where severest cruelties were practiced upon the population she had invited into her borders. In the meantime the Mexican government, with its new federal constitution, had been overthrown by Santa Anna, who became dictator and then emperor. In the midst of these rapidly transpiring events the colonists, who were far removed from the scenes of strife, remained quiet and peaceable, and adhered to the government established in 1824, under the auspices of which they had come into the country. But Mexico, under Santa Anna, made her policy more stringent. Armed vessels appeared and blockaded the ports of the Gulf, while Santa Anna, with eight thousand troops, appeared in the interior at

San Antonio. Against this pompous and ferocious leader the Texan Americans, without strength or troops or money resources, and far from home, were left to contend as best they could for the rights which the constitution of 1824 guaranteed them. The Mexican army was commanded to arrest the state authorities and to disarm the inhabitants, allowing only one gun to every five hundred of the colonists. They were also to reduce the province to unconditional surrender. But their arms were their private property, brought with them to the country, their only means of defense against the savages around them, and their only resource for procuring game. The demand was therefore resisted with the characteristic pluck of the American. Hostilities commenced at once, and for two months the struggle was swift, terrific, and of vast importance, not only to the struggling colonies, but to the United States.

At this juncture, and as if providentially, a new character appears upon the scene, whose deeds were to add one more name to the list of Americans that have achieved immortal fame. General Sam Houston, says Mr. Blaine, had a history as romantic as an ancient crusader. He was a native of Virginia, a representative in Congress from Tennessee, and governor of that State before he was thirty-five. He was the intimate and trusted friend of Jackson. Having resigned the governorship on account of domestic trouble, he fled from civilized life, joined the Indians of the Western plains, roved with them for years, adopted their habits, and was made the chief of a tribe. Returning to associate with white men, he emigrated to Texas. He was yet in the morning of life and in the full vigor of manhood. He had watched the struggle in Texas from the beginning. He left his wigwam, and was soon found at the seat of the Austin colony. He pressed on thence to San Antonio, gaining in his journey of five hundred miles a full idea of the situation of affairs, and forming a good judgment of the soil and resources of the country. "This great land," he wrote to Jackson, "will soon be in the hands of England or America." After taking well his reckonings he espoused the cause of the struggling colonies, and they espoused him and made him their commander.

The two great characters now in the drama are Santa Anna and General Houston. The scene is two hundred and fifty

miles of territory, mostly plains and prairies, stretching eastward from San Antonio toward the Gulf and the city of New Orleans, two hundred and fifty miles still farther to the eastward. The first onset was made in an attempt to capture from the colonists a little four-pounder. One of the Mexican generals marched seventy miles east of San Antonio to capture this weapon, which they knew would be effective if once turned on them. He marched back again without his gun; but blood was shed, and a point was gained in that the Mexican had fired the first shot. The general was pursued back to his headquarters, and for the first time in her history San Antonio was invested by American Texan soldiery. There were only eight hundred of them, but they were cheered by the news that others were coming and by the further news that Goliad had been captured. Austin was in command, and Houston soon joined him. While these things were transpiring a provisional government had been created and Mexicans asked to unite with the colonists on the basis of the constitution of 1824. Houston was active in bringing all this about. He was still clothed in the costume of the Indian, which led Jackson to exclaim, "Thank God, there is one man in Texas that was made by the Almighty, and not by the tailor!" It was a critical moment. Money and friends were both to be raised, and right quickly. While grave deliberations were going on among the leaders a skirmish ensued, in which one hundred of them sustained themselves in a gallant action against five hundred Mexicans. Then one brave spirit proposed to lead an attack upon the place, and it was done. The Alimo surrendered. It was afterward found that only one hundred and seventy-five Americans were in the fray, while eleven hundred Mexicans folded their arms and marched out of the citadel. Afterward this brave but insignificant band, commanded by Captain Travis, an intrepid spirit, were left to hold the fort. Houston saw clearly that the Alimo could not be held by such a force, and ordered Travis to blow it up and fall back on Gonzales, where he might form a line of defense. On his way out Houston had left a few United States regulars at Goliad, who had to depend wholly on cattle for sustenance. We shall hear of these further on. Houston in the meantime had become the subject of jealousy and treachery. But events are moving too rapidly for effective

work on such a line. A declaration of independence is made and Houston is again proclaimed commander.

While the assembly was in session news came that the little band in the Alimo was surrounded by an overwhelming force. Travis, with his few men, was scant of provisions, and seventy-five miles from the settlements, and the intervening space was swept by Mexican cavalry. His fate was sealed. Far better would it have been if he had blown up the Alimo. Houston left the convention and started to his relief. Travis had sent word that he would fire signal guns at every sunrise, and for some days the noise of these resounded over the plains. But, on his first morning out, Houston put his ear to the ground. It was ominous that not the faintest sound could be heard. "The Alimo," he said, "is fallen." He afterward learned that it had fallen while he was addressing the assembly. He immediately dispatched back to the convention to declare Texas a part of Louisiana, according to the treaty of 1803, thus placing the defense of the country on more impregnable ground than ever—a declaration that would speak at the same moment to the United States and Mexico. He then pushed on to Gonzales, where he found three hundred and twenty-four men in destitution and unarmed. They were quickly equipped, but a wandering Mexican told how the Alimo had fallen, and how all were put to death, except a woman and child, and their bodies heaped on piles of wood and burned to ashes. What was now to be done? Seeing the situation, and knowing that Santa Anna would rapidly move forward to make things as decisive and brief as possible, Houston again manifested his wisdom in ordering Colonel Fannin to evacuate Goliad, blow up the fortress, and fall back as rapidly as possible. There was a singular rashness and fatality attending the disobedience of orders by Houston's commandery. Fannin was really led into temptation. He had a fine supply of arms just from the United States, five hundred brave men, and a big throb of ambition in his own breast. Why should he not stand his ground? So he replied that he had named the place Fort Defiance, and would defend it at all hazards. But he knew not that his five hundred must withstand the onsets of thousands of infuriated and barbarous men. His whole force met the fate of the Alimo.

Houston was henceforth the commander of a forlorn hope.

His action was prompt and strategic. He most solemnly avowed that the man who brought the news of this last disaster was an incendiary, sent into his camp on purpose to produce a panic. He ordered him to be arrested and shot the next morning. But from private converse with the man he knew that the calamity had befallen Goliad. His purpose was, however, gained, and his men were quieted. With the manner of an experienced general he struck his camp, making long and speedy marches before his pursuers. Things now hung trembling in the balance. If, in that retreat, a battle had by any means been forced, Texan liberty would have been overthrown, and the beautiful civilization we now see in that territory would never have appeared. A battle did at one time almost come to pass. The enemy were once actually in sight. Houston had only five hundred men. He still maintained a masterly retreat, Santa Anna still advancing. Houston now gained an advantage and was much encouraged by learning the enemy's plan. Santa Anna was advancing in three divisions, himself in the middle. Houston believed he could manage them one at a time until reinforcements could reach him. Selecting a good position, accessible to supplies, he sent daily dispatches so indorsed as to make the impression that he had twenty-five hundred men, knowing help would not come if the real situation was known. At a critical juncture a foolish negro at the crossing of the Colorado took the ferry to the west side, enabling Santa Anna to cross, when otherwise he would have been detained for weeks before he could have got over the swollen river. But, as a good providence would have it, after crossing he strangely took his course up the river instead of pushing straight forward, Houston thus enjoying the advantage of a little needed repose. It is a blot upon his contemporaries and professed co-managers that Houston received no reinforcements. Envyings and seditions held command. All the real bravery there was at this time among Texan Americans was in Sam Houston's little band. Alas,

> Unless above himself he can
> Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!

While wandering around Santa Anna heard that the Texan convention was in session at Harrisburg, only seventy miles away. Thither he turned his march. Hearing of this, Hous-

ton sent forth an order for all the patriots of the land to meet him there also. The rains and roads were great impediments. Men at night slept on the wet ground. After toilsome efforts, not afterward surpassed by the soldiers of Grant or of Lee, they arrived near the town, when they learned that Santa Anna was in advance of them, and that he had burned the town. From messengers it was learned that Santa Anna was there in person and in command, and that in Mexico he had been proclaimed emperor.

The interest in this strange contest—one of the most singular episodes of American history—was here at its highest point. The struggle had now raged for three months, all the mishaps falling to Houston. The colonies are cowed in craven fear, and public men are full of distrust, envy, or cowardice; not a corporal's guard appears as reinforcements; the clouds are rainy, the earth muddy, the capitol in ashes; the enemy is of overwhelming force, spreading devastation in his march; Houston's men are worn out and hungry, with not a single victory to give prestige to their arms. But the like of this band has not before been seen. Houston resolves to give battle without reinforcements! He called his colonels and asked if three days' rations were on hand. Answered in the affirmative, he said, "Be ready; we will find the enemy." The bayou that flows by Harrisburg, fifty yards wide and twenty feet deep, was crossed with great caution and anxiety, as the enemy might encounter them in the act. When crossed, Houston knew the enemy was near. The troops were immediately formed in line, and were addressed by the general. He gave them as the battle cry, "Remember the Alimo!" The rains had ceased and a brilliant sun was shining. The little army is seen marching as an army is seldom seen, without bugle blast or floating banner or thrilling fife or pealing drum—seven hundred only, but with the mien of an army with banners. They soon halt and nestle in a clump of trees to escape observation. In the early morning they make a forced march to within five miles of the spot where the encounter was to take place—Houston cautiously picking his ground. Here they slept for an hour and were aroused by Houston himself with the tap of the drum. A hasty meal is prepared, when lo, the scouts fly in and report that Santa Anna is advancing, coming from New

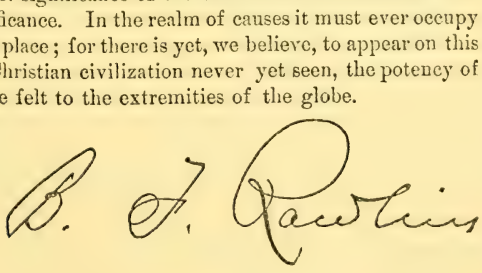
Washington, on Galveston Bay, which makes the San Jacinto Bay, into which runs the San Jacinto River. Santa Anna had doubtless been to New Washington in quest of his prey. He was now aiming to recross the San Jacinto River, to find his prey and ravage the settlements and to butcher all Americans on Texas soil. Houston discerned his aim and saw how fatal it would be if executed. His men had hardly sat down to their meal when the cry, "To arms!" was heard, and forming in line they moved rapidly to thwart the purpose of the foe. The movement was successful. The new boats on which Santa Anna had crossed were brought to the Houston side of the river, and were towed up the bayou to a point where Houston at last chose his position in a copse of trees, at a bend of the San Jacinto, which completely concealed him with his artillery on the brow of the hill. Here they were ready for the last conflict. They again attempt to eat a hasty meal, but the bugles are heard and the columns of Santa Anna are rapidly advancing. The doughty general undoubtedly intended to surprise the Texan army, whom he regarded as insignificant, and swoop them up in a moment. Never since the first clangor of arms was heard was a powerful and pompous warrior more mistaken. He himself is surprised by a volley from guns in ambush. He opens his twelve-pounders, but Houston's "twin sisters," sent from Cincinnati, drive them back to shelter. This is really the first and the last sally of the impending conflict. Houston's only hope now was his ability to fix the time of the conflict, having been fortunate in selecting the place. His disparity in numbers must be compensated by skill in every movement. At the close of the day Santa Anna was observed to retire some distance to a swell in the prairie and to intrench himself. Houston turned to his men and said, "To-morrow I will conquer, slaughter, and put to flight the whole Mexican army, and it shall not cost me a dozen of my brave men." In view of the result his words were winged with prophetic fire.

The morrow came. The night before the intrepid general rested under an old oak tree, festooned with Spanish moss, a coil of artillery rope being his pillow. The Alimo and Goliad are in his dreams. He remembers, too, how the officers of government had proved treacherous, how he had looked for reinforcements in vain, and how envious men had attempted to

discomfit him. His men, too, he knows are weary, half armed, half fed, half clad, while the foe crouched near by is ready to leap upon him with a tiger's fierceness. The picket guards of that foe are more in number than all his camp. Unless the arm of Omnipotence helps all is lost! Behold him, "before the last sound awakens him to glory." He sleeps calmly. Only the shining sun, bursting full in his face, awakens him—a sun that was to be the sun of Austerlitz to another conquering man. His first inquiry is for axes. He orders a fearless man to conceal these where at a moment's notice they can be found. Upon the heels of this the startling cry is heard, "Reinforcements of the enemy." "No," said Houston; "they are the same you saw yesterday; they have again appeared in sight to create alarm; it is a Mexican trick." He orders two trusty men to take the axes and cut down the bridge, the Mexicans' hope, and fly back like eagles if they would not be too late for the day. Houston had resolved to make the attack at three o'clock. It would seem the extreme of rashness to move out of a secure position to attack an enemy of vastly superior force on open ground. At the appointed time his forces move out, until they are within three hundred yards of the enemy's breastworks. The "twin sisters" commence a deadly fire. As they charged, "The Alimo! the Alimo!" resounded above the clash of battle. At the supreme moment one of the axmen returned upon his muddy horse and shouted, "The bridge is cut down; fight for your lives. Remember the Alimo!" As if with more than mortal power they rushed upon the foe, Houston in front, whose horse seemed to have the courage of his master. The Mexicans fired a volley, but it was too high. The Texans reserved their response, and chose every one his man. At length they turned their rifles into war clubs and beat down their foes with the tiger's fury. A hand-to-hand conflict ensues along the whole line of breastworks. Throwing away their rifles, they drew their pistols. Firing these, with no time to reload, they hurled them at the heads of their foes, drew their bowie knives, and literally cut their way through ranks of human flesh. Everywhere there were slaughter and dismay. At a moment when it was thought all was over and the victory complete five hundred Mexicans dashed toward the Texan infantry. Houston shouted, "Come on, my brave men,

your general leads you!" It is said machinery itself could not have fired guns with greater precision than did the Texans in this charge. All the five hundred Mexicans fell but thirty-two. Thus the enemy was defeated at every point. When the rout commenced the Mexicans turned their steps toward the bridge. The Texans hotly pursued. The Mexicans, seeing the bridge gone, plunged over the banks, and the San Jacinto was literally choked with their dead bodies. So great was the fury of his men and so dreadful was the carnage, that Houston himself rode over the field on his dying horse, in his own bleeding wounds, and besought his men to cease from further destruction.

Thus the star of a new State arose, never to set again. Historians tell us there have been at least fifteen decisive battles on which human destiny has turned, from Marathon to Waterloo. Must not San Jacinto be added to the illustrious list? One of the great results of this remarkable triumph of arms is seen in the widening of the area of civilization in our own country, and in a direction in which it needed to be widened. Another result is seen in the immediate religious significance that belongs to it. Texas is much larger than all New England; is as large as a dozen Indianas or Georgias. It was the most beautiful part of all Mexico, but it was dominated by Roman Catholicism in its most debased forms. Now all the region is under the dominion of Protestant Churches, and Protestant schools, and all the forces of Protestant civilization. This adds immense force to the Protestantism of the whole country. Indeed, the chief significance of the battle of San Jacinto is its religious significance. In the realm of causes it must ever occupy a prominent place; for there is yet, we believe, to appear on this continent a Christian civilization never yet seen, the potency of which will be felt to the extremities of the globe.



Art. VII.—PROFESSOR HUXLEY'S INCONSISTENCY.

An article entitled "Agnosticism," written by Professor Huxley, appeared a few years ago in the *Nineteenth Century*. The object of the article was to enlighten several speakers at a Church Congress, who had attacked agnosticism, as they would attack and expose any other form of disbelief, and had declared its advocates to be infidels, though unwilling through cowardice to assume their proper names. This gave offense to Professor Huxley, and he immediately proceeded to define and vindicate agnosticism, and show how agnostics, according to their scientific methods, are bound to reject all miracles recorded in the gospels as being wrought by Jesus Christ, and also to discard all historic accounts therein which declare the existence and actions of evil spirits in the unseen world. The article referred to awakens regret that a mind so gifted was a mind so perverted, a reason so strong was a reason so warped, knowledge so extensive was knowledge so misapplied, and above all that a soul so well and so religiously instructed in youth, according to his own confession, became a soul so completely stranded on the shallow reefs of agnosticism. Agnosticism is a new word, of which Professor Huxley claimed to be the author. It is derived from the Greek, and means, not knowing. Webster defines it, "That doctrine which, professing ignorance, neither asserts nor denies." As applied to God, angels, evil spirits, the soul, heaven and hell, it knows nothing. It does not claim even to know but that all these things, belonging to the unseen world according to Christian belief, may exist. It believes nothing and denies nothing except upon demonstration. It claims to have no creed, but to leave the questions under consideration open and unsettled. From such professions we are authorized to expect that agnostics would be a most modest and unassuming class of men. Unhappily they are the reverse.

Professor Huxley held up to special ridicule what he called "the story of the Gadarenes," talked glibly of "pig owners" and "transferable devils," and then declared his utter disbelief in the "Gadarene story," the story of unclean spirits coming out of men at the command of Christ and passing into swine. With almost the same breath he utters these words: "I declare

plainly as I can that I am unable to show cause why these miserable devils should not exist." Is not this inconsistent? He "cannot show cause" why they should not exist, why not the Gospel declaration that they do exist, and the account some of their doings? If the professor cannot disprove their power and activity by scientific methods, why should he as a scientist say anything on the subject? All he can say consistently, according to his own definition of agnosticism, is that the Gospels tell a story about unclean spirits, and Christ's power over them, which he can neither verify nor disprove by the scientific method. Professing to neither affirm nor deny about such matters, he proceeds with a most vigorous denial; professing ignorance, he pronounces judgment. This is his inconsistency. But the professor no doubt would tell us that he is obliged to disbelieve the "whole Gadarene story" because it defies probability; as he puts it, "contravenes probability." This brings up the whole question of the existence of spirits, both finite and infinite, and all cognate topics. When Professor Huxley therefore introduces the subject of spirits, unclean or otherwise, into this discussion he passes beyond the domain of science as commonly understood and turns theologian and metaphysician. In proclaiming his disbelief he formulates crude dogma and is deep in theology. If this be not so, where is the line that divides science from religion and theology? Professor Huxley affirms, "I do not hesitate to declare my utter disbelief in the existence of unclean spirits." Now I, with thousands of others, do not hesitate to declare that I positively believe in the existence of spirits, both clean and unclean. God, angels, and pure men are clean spirits; the devil, demons, and bad men are unclean spirits. Here then we meet both as scientists and theologians with our respective creeds. I say we meet as scientists, for Christians do not admit that religion is unscientific. It may be superscientific in some of its outreachings, but never unscientific. Science is from the Latin word *scientia*, and signifies knowledge. A knowledge of religion, theoretical and experimental, is as really scientific as a knowledge of astronomy. When a man knows God through Christ, knows his sins to be forgiven, and his affections, tastes, and habits to be so purified and exalted that he becomes a new creature, such knowledge is in a true sense scientific.

Let us examine the ground on which Professor Huxley discards the whole Gadarene story. He says it "contravenes probability;" and this is the only reason he assigns. As for ourselves, we are quite willing to rest the whole case on probability. Is it probable that spirits exist and have access to men and animals? We say yes; Professor Huxley says no; both of us are shut up to balancing probabilities. Certain factss support the professor's disbelief: 1. These spirits are unseen and unheard, and excluding the Scriptures and mythology they have no history and no character. 2. They perform no recognizable actions apart from men and animals. 3. If they exist there is no scientific proof that they have access to both men and animals, and are capable of passing from one to the other. So much in aid of the professor's "utter disbelief." On the other hand, there are strong probabilities aside from the Scriptures that both good and evil spirits exist and have access to men and animals.

The first presumptive evidence is the universal *belief* in good and evil spirits. In all ages and by all peoples this belief has been held. Nor has it been confined to the weak and ignorant classes. Sages, philosophers, and metaphysicians have proclaimed the doctrine. Greek philosophy, Neoplatonism, and Christianity alike are full of the subject. Francesco Guicciardini, a philosopher of the fifteenth century, affirmed the existence of "aerial spirits" who held familiar converse with men. Ficino and Savonarola, erudite men who lived just preceding the Reformation, and indeed like a John the Baptist introduced it, held the same view, and taught that our soul is a microcosm of all creation and in contact with all other souls. Sprenger and Hopkins, both learned men, believed in demoniacal possessions. And we condemn our forefathers who hung the Salem witches, not because evil men are not possessed by "unclean spirits," but because the courts have no jurisdiction over devils. How shall we account for this almost universal belief? Professor Huxley ascribes it to universal superstition. But how came this universal superstition to exist? There is but one answer. Belief in good and evil spirits is instinctive in rational beings. The crudities of this belief are all we can attribute to superstition or to paganism, for it is equally prevalent in civilized and savage countries. In Christian lands belief

evil spirits is the common conviction, rationalized and separated from untruth and fiction by the Gospel.

Another presumptive evidence is the fact that men commit *inhuman crimes;* that is, crimes far in excess of what is natural to mankind. Many crimes, even heinous crimes, together with all sorts of ordinary evil deeds, we may concede, are usual to bad men; and we can only account for them on the principle of our common degeneracy. But some deeds are so atrocious that by common consent we pronounce them inhuman, fiendish, fiendish. How shall we explain this except on the principle that human nature may be demonized? Take the case of the Whitechapel murders, perpetrated in Professor Huxley's own city, and over which he and the world shuddered. How could a man born of woman, and with human blood in his veins, gloat upon murder night after night and then revel in the practice of the most wanton and infernal indignities and abuse of the dead, unless he were entirely possessed of the devil and his whole nature had become thoroughly demonized? Similar atrocities occur in every land, and they so exceed all that we think human nature capable of that we can find but one solution, namely, "they are led captive by the devil at his will."

Consider another fact. Multitudes, countless multitudes, of our fellows give evidence of being completely under the control of some mysterious malignant force. It is periodical with some, with others perpetual. They seem inflamed for a time beyond control, or pushed on to self-disgrace and self-destruction constantly, contrary to all reason and motive. We cannot trace this bent to self-degradation or its kindred vice, to malicious disposition to injure others, or to habit, for it begins before habit is formed. It is rather the cause than the consequence of habit. Nor can we ascribe it to heredity, for many of these vicious spirits and debauched characters are of the best blood in the land. How then shall we unravel this difficulty, except by supposing that, being peculiarly susceptible to temptation and specially liable to such attacks, through poverty, or riches, or associations, or appetites they have yielded themselves up to the foul suggestions of "unclean spirits" until these spirits have gained the mastery over them. It may then prove a serious fact that the evil deeds of men in many cases are instigated and aggravated by "unclean spirits."

But can these spirits pass from men to animals? Why not? If they exist they are spirits, and spirit is capable of motion. If they have ingress to intellect, why may they not have to instinct? If men may be prompted by them to do mischief, why not animals as well? And does not the periodicity of viciousness in animals, known to all observing men, create a presumption that they may be possessed and instigated by "unclean spirits?" The contrary, I am sure, cannot be proved by the scientific method.

Again, may we not found a strong probability of the existence of unclean spirits on the ground occupied by believers of every grade, and to some extent by unbelievers and skeptics? All men believe in God and the immateriality of the soul except atheists and materialists. Professor Huxley was not an atheist, and did not like to be called an infidel, at least, not a cowardly one. Very well, we all believe in God and the soul. But God and the soul are spirit, and the human spirit we know to be in its fallen state unclean. We also know that fallen human souls can and do commune with other souls and corrupt them. Now we have only to suppose that other fallen spirits exist, and have like ingress into the human mind, to make credible the proposition under consideration, which Professor Huxley so "utterly disbelieves," to wit, the existence and activity of unclean spirits in the realm of mind and instinct. Turning our attention within, do we not find evidence amounting to probability at least that evil spirits exist and beset us? It is a common experience that the mind feels itself to be at times under a stress of strange and extraordinary bias to wrong. How shall we account for this? Professor Huxley would "inclose all the phenomena of so-called possessions," as he says, within the "domain of pathology." That is, he would ascribe them, as do our doctors, to some form of disease, as dyspepsia, torpid liver, nervous prostration, or to some mental defect, as excessive irascibility, hypochondria, or a morbid condition of the brain. But can any principle of pathology explain these sudden and awful temptations to crime when they occur more frequently in health than in sickness? Where is the man, however holy, who has not at times felt himself solicited to evil, though not overcome by it, through some strange malignant force? And where is the Christian who has not realized this power to be withdrawn and utterly discomfited by prayer and faith?

Take one other view of the subject. A free and responsible being must be tested; otherwise there would be no virtue in obedience, and no possibility of reward. Enticement to sin by a wicked spirit has the effect of proving Christian fidelity. This does not involve the necessity of unclean spirits, for other methods of trial could be used, and often are. But pure spirits having voluntarily fallen, and having a capacity and inclination to hold intercourse with other free and fallen spirits, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Christians redeemed and constantly helped by grace are allowed, as Job and Paul were, to be tried by the influence of "unclean spirits." We cannot deny the existence of evil spirits and their accessibility to men and animals without rejecting the entire Gospel narrative; and such rejection is infidelity.*

* The most important and weighty book on the subject of evil spirits issued in recent times is *Demon Possession*, by John Livingston Nevius (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company). It contains the author's record of personal observation and study of many strange manifestations in China during his life as a missionary.—ED.

A Lowrey

Art. VIII.—LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE TRIAL OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

The trial of Jesus Christ is the most important legal event, because of his personality, to be found in the records of jurisprudence. If we view him as a mere man there is nothing to give to that trial a place more prominent than to many others. As a peasant carpenter, without wealth, position, or influential friends, his condemnation and death could have had no appreciable effect upon his country or its destinies, much less upon other countries, later history, or the destiny of the race. Yet, because he was more than a mere man, more of human hope, fear, and love are connected with his trial; more inspiration to righteous living, more advancement in the highest civilization, and more elevation of character come from it than from all other trials.

History is full of the records of the trials of great personages, in some of which virtue triumphed, though in many more the ermine of the judge was debased to the vilest ends, the innocent perishing, while criminals administered the law. There was the trial of Socrates, the wise man of Athens, who was unjustly put to death; of the Maid of Orleans, who became a victim to empty forms of justice at the hands of wily politicians and base ecclesiastics; of the so-called heretics, who perished by the action of the courts of the Inquisition in Spain and in the Netherlands; of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who fell victims to the rage of men driven to madness by ages of oppression and drunken with the thrills of a freedom which had degenerated into a license that regarded neither justice nor law. These instances and thousands more show us that judicial history is almost as much a record of crime as that of war. Machiavelli's teachings were practiced ages before he was born, and in the high places of the nations the forms and processes of justice have too often been a mockery.

Yet there has never been a time when justice and righteousness, and individual right as it inheres in them, have not been recognized in the jurisprudence of the world. The instinctive sense of equity has not only existed in unwritten opinion among the masses, but has been formulated into legal enactment as

found in the common law and the constitutions of states, always favoring the rights of the individual and the protection of virtue. So much has this been so that, in destroying the innocent, vice has always claimed to do it in the name of virtue; and in trampling upon the rights of the individual the plea has ever been the public good. Our own constitutional guarantee that no one shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law," Hallam tells us, comes down to us from our Saxon ancestors, who received it from their sires, the barbarians of the German forests and Vikings of the North Sea, who inherited all its essentials from the migratory hordes of humanity which poured from time to time over the Ural Mountains from the densely populated districts of Central Asia, and dwelt beyond the hyperborean North, before Greece was in her glory or Rome had reached out beyond her seven hills. The code of Justinian, the product of the highest Roman civilization and learning, is not clearer in its recognition of these fundamental principles than the unwritten codes of the Goths, Vandals, and Huns. Everyone knows how sacredly the rights of the individual are guarded among us; so much so that it often seems as though the personal violator of law has the advantage over the state, and that society suffers injury, rather than that criminals receive justice.

Of all ancient peoples the Jews came nearest to ourselves in the recognition of these principles. Michaelis says that the Jewish state as instituted by Moses, while a theocracy, was on its human side in the strictest sense a democracy. Individual rights were most sacredly guarded, and Jewish jurisprudence, growing up through long centuries of application and under different forms of government, never lost this essential characteristic. The following description of the forms and processes of a Jewish criminal arraignment will show how in every part of Christ's trial justice was trampled under foot, that the Jewish high priests and Pharisees might put him to death:

On the day of trial the executive officers of justice caused the accused person to make his appearance. At the feet of the elders were placed men who under the name of auditors, or candidates, followed regularly the sittings of the council. The papers in the case were read, and the witnesses were called in succession. The president added this exhortation to each of them: "It is not conjecture, or whatever public rumor has

brought to thee, that we ask of thee. Consider that a great responsibility rests upon thee; that we are not occupied with an affair like a case of pecuniary interest, in which the injury may be repaired. If thou causest the condemnation of a person unjustly accused his blood and the blood of all the posterity of him of whom thou shalt have deprived the world will fall upon thee. God will demand of thee an account, as he demanded of Cain an account of the blood of Abel. Speak!"

A woman could not be a witness, because she would not have the courage to give the first blow to the condemned person; nor could a child that is irresponsible; nor a slave; nor a man of bad character; nor one whose infirmities prevented the full enjoyment of his physical and moral faculties. The simple confession of an individual against himself, or the declaration of a prophet, however renowned, could not decide a condemnation. . . . The witnesses were to attest to the identity of the party, and to depose to the month, day, hour, and circumstances of the crime. After an examination of the proofs the judges who believed the party innocent stated their reasons. Those who believed him guilty spoke afterward, and with greatest moderation. If one of the auditors or candidates was intrusted by the accused with his defense, or if he wished in his own name to present any elucidations in favor of his innocence, he was admitted to the seat from which he addressed the judges and the people. But this liberty was not granted to him if he was in favor of condemning. Lastly, when the accused person himself wished to speak, they gave the most profound attention. When the discussion was finished one of the judges recapitulated the case. They removed all the spectators. The scribes took down the votes of the judges. One of them noted those who were in favor of the accused, and the other those who condemned him. Eleven votes out of twenty-three were sufficient to acquit, but it required thirteen to convict. If any of the judges stated that they were not sufficiently informed there were added two more elders, and two others in succession, until they formed a council of sixty-two, which was the number of the grand council. If a majority of votes acquitted the accused he was discharged instantly; if he was to be punished the judges postponed pronouncing sentence till the third day. During the intermediate day they could not be occupied with anything but the cause, and they abstained from eating freely, or from wine, liquor, and everything which might render their minds less capable of reflection.

On the morning of the third day they returned to the judgment seat. Each judge who had not changed his opinion said, "I continue of the same opinion and condemn." Anyone who at first condemned might at this sitting acquit, but he who had once acquitted was not allowed to condemn. If a majority condemned two magistrates immediately accompanied the condemned person to the place of punishment. The elders did not descend from their seats. They placed at the entrance of the judgment hall an officer of justice, with a small flag in his hand. A second officer on horseback followed the prisoner, and constantly

kept looking back to the place of departure. During this interval if any person came to announce to the elders any new evidence favorable to the prisoner the first officer waved his flag and the second one, as soon as he perceived it, brought back the prisoner. If the prisoner declared to the magistrates that he recollected some reasons which had escaped him they brought him before the judges no less than five times. If no incident occurred the procession advanced slowly, preceded by a herald, who in a loud voice addressed the people thus: "This man (giving his name and surname) is led to punishment for such a crime; the witnesses who have sworn against him are such and such persons; if anyone has evidence to give in his favor let him come forth quickly."*

This quotation assures us that in the letter of the Jewish law the rights of the individual were most sacredly guarded; yet the trial of our Saviour shows how every principle of that law was violated by those who were determined at all hazards to put him to death.

But a review of the incidents leading up to the trial of Christ is necessary to the full understanding of the mockery of justice which followed. Jesus, like Socrates, was the victim of the envy of bad men who had been rebuked and confounded by his teachings; like Socrates, his death had been determined by his enemies; like him, also, he refused to use any arts to secure his acquittal; like the philosopher, he had lived to instruct mankind and exalt virtue and goodness; and, far above the Greek sage, he had been preeminently good. As with Joan of Arc, the inspiration of his life was to do the Father's will; as in her case, bribery was used to seize him; and, like her, he was tried and condemned by an ecclesiastical and political tribunal of perjured hypocrites. As with the French king and queen, the rabble, influenced by their leaders, were turned against him and clamored for the blood of one of whose innocence or guilt they knew nothing. And, like his own followers who perished by the Spanish Inquisition, Christ was abused and tortured while a prisoner and uncondemned. There is something in the nature of vice which cannot endure superior virtue. If it cannot corrupt or tarnish it, it will seek to destroy its possessor. Vice always hates the light which reveals its deformity. Holiness alongside of vice is the angel alongside of the fiend, and the fiend appears more fiend-like because of the contrast.

* This description is taken from Greenleaf's *Trial of Christ*, who quotes it from Du Pin, a celebrated French jurist, who in turn gets it from Salvator, a Spanish Jewish jurist of very great research and learning.

While our world is as it is, virtue must always suffer because of the world's envious hate. The world puts its saviours to death! The Inquisition devours the religious reformer; the stake consumes Huss, Jerome, Ridley, and Savonarola; the dragoons of Charles hunt the Covenanters from their caverns; the pope condemns Galileo; Socrates drinks the hemlock; and the Jews and Pilate nail Jesus to the cross.

The superior virtue and purity of Jesus, if there had been nothing else, would have been sufficient to array the chief priests against him. But he had also unmasked their hypocrisy. His words, like arrows, entered every joint of their armor and left them writhing in pain. So enraged were they that they said, "Thou hast a devil," and, taking up stones, would have stoned him had they not feared the people. Jesus was popular. His spotless life, works of mercy, and words of kindness had endeared him to the people. They looked upon him as a prophet, and their national pride rejoiced in the restoration of the long-lost spirit of prophecy. They called him "Rabbi," hung upon his words, and thronged about him in multitudes. The instincts of their unreasoning natures adored him as a hero and loved him as a friend. This affection was fickle, as all affection is which has not its basis in the convictions of the understanding; but it was, for the time being, sincere. Being held at bay by this fear, the chief priests and Pharisees were, nevertheless, waiting an opportunity to gratify their hate. Having determined upon his death, in order to accomplish it they must render him unpopular and destroy his influence over the people. To do this they set a political and then a religious snare to entrap him. First they sought to involve him in the dispute between the Pharisees and Herodians about the tribute money paid to the Roman government. The theory of the Pharisees was that God had ordained for the Jewish people a theocratic form of government and had commanded them that, if they ever had a human king, he must be one of their own race and in no case a foreigner. This theory was shared by the common people, and hence their loathing of a publican, or Roman tax-collector. The Herodians were that part of the Jewish people who were devoted to the royal house of Herod, an Idumean who rose to his royal place and prerogatives by his own cunning and the help of the

Romans. One has said: "The pure Jews were grieved to see cruel and avaricious rulers placed over their native land, theatres and Grecian gayeties introduced contrary to Jewish manners, the Roman eagles displayed upon the military standards, the tower of Antonia so refitted as to command the temple by Roman arms, and the high priests so often and so capriciously removed by the Roman rulers."

The plot was adroitly laid. If Christ should answer the question, "Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not?" in the affirmative it would commit him to the Herodians and array the people against him. If he answered in the negative the Herodians would accuse him of treason to Rome. In one case he would become an easy prey, in the other he would probably be arrested, and they would be rid of him. But Jesus confounded them by asking for a penny and inquiring whose image and superscription it bore. It was a Jewish maxim that "he who coins the money rules the land." The penny was evidence of Cæsar's authority. They were under that authority, and they dare not deny it, or they would be branded with treason. Therefore, said he, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." Of this answer the Herodians cannot complain, nor the Pharisees, for it is their own confession put in shape. Failing in this, they spread the ecclesiastical, or religious, snare. The Sadducees were materialists, and denied a future life. The Pharisees, with the masses of the people, believed in the resurrection and immortality. The Sadducees were few in number, but rich and powerful and of great influence with the government. The Pharisees were numerous, and powerful because of numerical strength. If Christ denied a future life the people would be his enemies. If he contended for it the Sadducees might be angered against him and be induced to destroy him. But, as in the other case, his reply vanquished the Sadducees without irritating them, and by its profound argument for a life beyond the grave made the people his faster friends. Failing in these two attempts to entrap Jesus, the chief priests, scribes, and elders of the people assembled at the palace of Caiaphas, the high priest, two days before the passover, and "consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him." Judas, knowing their desires, went to them, and they gave him thirty pieces of silver

to betray Christ unto them. Here is the court which is to judge the prisoner, when arrested, bribing a man to betray him into their hands. This done, they awaited their opportunity. It soon came. Jesus in the upper room had eaten the passover with his disciples, had delivered that memorable discourse recorded by St. John, and had retired to Gethsemane with his disciples, Judas having gone out from the supper to inform the council of his intentions. It is the hour of midnight. Jerusalem lies wrapped in slumbers, while peaceful innocence revels in dreams. The moonbeams bathe the almost deserted streets in splendors, glimmer upon the temple's turrets, and fall in patches of silvery light among the shadows of Gethsemane. Like the stillness which precedes the tempest, all is in strange contrast with the wild storm of cruelty and hate that will beat on the morrow along the crowded thoroughfares of the city of David, as the multitude inflamed with passion shall cry out, "Crucify him! crucify him!" Soon the tramp of many feet is heard along the silent walks of Gethsemane. It is the police of the high priests coming to arrest Jesus. There has been no warrant issued. They are not officers of the law, but kidnappers and abductors. If the Roman guards of the tower of Antonia were present, as Lange supposes, they were there upon the misrepresentations of the chief priests and without legal authority to arrest. And if there had been a warrant of arrest, and had full police powers been possessed by that motley throng of servants and soldiers with swords and staves, the proceeding was, nevertheless, in violation of Jewish law. For, according to that law, prisoners could not be arrested at night, nor tried at night, nor during the feast of the passover.

Immediately upon seizing Jesus they bound him, pinioning his hands behind his back, and led him away surrounded by his abductors to the house of Annas, which was probably near by. Here he underwent a preliminary examination without anything being elicited against him, and Annas then sent him bound to Caiaphas, in whose presence the council was already assembled. This council, or Sanhedrin, was the court which tried Jesus, and which should have tried him had he been legally their prisoner according to the mode of procedure already given, but which they violated in every particular. This council in the time of our Saviour was composed of seventy,

or perhaps seventy-one, members. Among them were "the chief priests, or heads of the twenty-four classes into which the priesthood was divided; the elders, men of age and experience, who were held in reverence for wisdom; and the scribes, who had made the law a special study. The high priest and those who had held the office were members *ex officio*. The officers of this court were the president, often, if not always, the high priest; the vice president, who was called the father of the hall of judgment; and two secretaries," * who recorded the votes as before mentioned. Their legal place of meeting was the chamber called Gazith, in the temple. The members sat in the form of a semicircle, in front of the president and vice president. The jurisdiction of the court extended to all ecclesiastical offenses, especially to idolatry, blasphemy, and religious imposture. Its proceedings, as we have hitherto seen, were conducted, if in accord with the law, in great strictness. It could not try a capital offense in the night nor during the feast of the passover; nor could it pronounce sentence until after one day's adjournment after the trial had occurred and the votes of condemnation were given. Under the Roman authority it had no power to inflict the death penalty. This council which arraigned Christ was, therefore, not in its legal place of meeting. It was assembled at the house of Caiaphas, instead of the room Gazith. It also assembled at night to try a capital case, and that, too, during the feast of the passover. Before this council thus unlawfully assembled Jesus is brought, to be tried for violating the law. The judge assumed the rôle of a prosecutor and interrogated him in reference to his doctrine and disciples. Jesus answered him, "I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said." How noble, and yet how full of rebuke, this reply! We have the spectacle of a judge trying to entangle a prisoner and cause him to convict himself, that he may pronounce sentence upon him without the evidence of witnesses—a judge who sat in his seat to see that the prisoner's rights were protected, as well as the rights of the public, and who was bound to reckon him inno-

*Eddy, *Immanuel.*

cent until he was proven guilty. But on Christ's reply an officer present struck the prisoner a blow, saying, "Answerest thou the high priest so?" The prisoner is beaten at the bar of justice, and his person is assailed with no rebuke from the court—a prisoner as yet untried and uncondemned!

Now occurs a strange scene. A court with a prisoner before it itself seeks for witnesses to condemn him; and, after summoning many who contradict each other, they find "two false witnesses," who wrest words spoken upon another subject to convict him of blasphemy upon the technical point of speaking against the temple. Seeing himself defeated in his purpose, the high priest determines upon a bold measure. He will make the prisoner convict himself of blasphemy. He will put him upon his oath. What matters it that this is directly contrary to the law? The whole court, he knows, is with him, and he is safe. So, rising up, he said, "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." Jesus as plainly answers, "Thou hast said." Then the high priest rose and rent his *simlah*, or upper garment, not his priestly robe. This rent was made according to prescribed forms; it was to be done gracefully and was to be from four to six inches in length. The habit, of great antiquity and at first an unpremeditated act, was now a prescribed ceremony. It was customary to make the rent without rising, but Caiaphas arose and hurriedly concluded the matter, giving his decision before the vote was taken. Pleading vehemently against the prisoner, he said, "What further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy." And they all said, as they had all intended to say, "He is guilty of death." In all history there has been but one other judge who can compare with Caiaphas in brutality, and that one was the notorious Jeffreys, chief justice of England. Brothers are they in hate, cruelty, and shame. Both were hypocrites; both were brutes; though the exterior of the high priest might seem more polished than that of the chief justice. Both were murderers, and both are inheritors of everlasting infamy.

Sentence being pronounced, the council retired. It was perhaps two o'clock in the morning. The prisoner, for whom the law required kindly treatment, was turned over to the guards to be abused. They blindfolded him; they spat upon him;

[illegible]y dealt cruel blows upon his person. Tauntingly they said, [illegible]e reeled under these blows, bruised and bleeding, his arms [illegible]d pinioned, "Prophesy unto us, thou Christ, Who is he that [illegible]e thee?" Thus scorned, buffeted, beaten, in the unbridled [illegible]sual of these lawless guards, the hours passed away until [illegible]haps six o'clock in the morning. The Sanhedrin, knowing [illegible]t this meeting, trial, and sentence had all been illegal, then [illegible]mbled in the room Gazith to go over the mock procedure [illegible]n, thus hoping to give a show of legality to their action. [illegible] bruised by his buffetings, Jesus was led from the house of [illegible]nas and Caiaphas to the temple. It was early morning. Be[illegible]l Olivet blushed the red glow of the coming day, Geth[illegible]ane still lying in the shadows. The full moon, now dimmed [illegible] the morning light, was sinking out of sight in the distant [illegible]st. From booth and tent and house the thronging multi[illegible]es, who have come up to the feast of the passover, emerged. [illegible]e noise of the city gradually increased to an unceasing roar [illegible] the tides of life poured along the streets upon this first day of [illegible] feast. With steady tread moved on the guards, their pris[illegible]r in their midst, until they reached the temple's gates; and, [illegible]ng through them, Jesus stood again in the presence of the [illegible]ncil. Again the question was propounded, "Art thou the [illegible]hrist?" But now his answer was full of dignified rebuke, as [illegible] unmasked their hypocrisy: "If I tell you, ye will not be[illegible]ve: and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me [illegible]. Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of [illegible] power of God." It was as much as if he had said, "Your [illegible]terrogations are all asked, not to satisfy you as to my guilt or [illegible]nocence, but to bring about my death. You have prejudged [illegible]y case. You have determined to destroy me, but be assured [illegible]t hereafter I shall be the judge and you the prisoners at my [illegible]r. My judicial functions will be exercised in a world to [illegible]hich yours will not extend." "Art thou then the Son of [illegible]d?" they again asked of Jesus. He answered, "Ye say [illegible]at I am." And they all with one accord said, "What need [illegible]e any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his [illegible]n mouth."

This farce finished, they could go no farther. They were a [illegible]nquered people, and the Roman government, as an evidence [illegible]f its supremacy, had reserved to itself the right to inflict capi-

tal punishment. This right was lodged in the governor of the province, but could be delegated to a subordinate Roman officer, who, in this case, was Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea. Bound and bruised, and his body sore from the strokes of the rods, Jesus was therefore led away to Pilate. The procession of the Sanhedrin passed from the council chamber, across the temple mountain, in a northerly direction, toward the palace of the governor, which stood at its base. It was still early. The sun's rays burnished the temple's turrets in glory. The tower of Antonia stood grim and frowning, displaying the Roman standards. The city was alive with activity. On every hand stood the architecture of Herod the Great. The priests were probably clothed in their priestly robes, the Roman soldiers in their armor, and the temple guards in the insignia of their office. It was an imposing procession, with Jesus bound and walking in the midst.

Having brought Jesus to Pilate, they do not hesitate to bring in an entirely new charge. Pilate asked, "What accusation bring ye against this man?" They answered, "If he were not a malefactor we would not have delivered him up unto thee," hoping that Pilate would pronounce sentence without further inquiry. But he refused, knowing that it was "not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him." Seeing that Pilate would not become their tool, they said, "We found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a king." This charge demanded inquiry, as it affected the Roman government. The judgment hall was opened for the trial, but the Sanhedrin would not enter it. They had been ceremonially cleansed for the feast. The hall was polluted by the presence of Gentiles. With hearts filled with murder and mouths with lies, with souls black as perdition, they shrank from a ceremonial pollution! Pilate permitted them to remain outside, and took Jesus into the judgment hall. "Art thou the King of the Jews?" he asked. Jesus answered, "Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?" Pilate answered, "Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done?"

Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence." "Art thou a king then?" said Pilate. Jesus answered, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice." Pilate contemptuously answered, "What is truth?" And when he had said this, leaving Jesus in the judgment hall, he went out unto the council and pronounced the decision, "I find in him no fault at all." This ought to have been a final decision. According to Roman law it did acquit Jesus, and had he been in Rome he would have been liberated, and the power of the empire would have protected him in his liberty. But in his trial and condemnation Roman, as well as Jewish, law was set at defiance. The Jews answered Pilate's decision fiercely, "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place." When Pilate heard of Galilee he thought he saw a way out of the difficulty, inquired if the man were a Galilean, and, learning that he was, sent him to Herod, the tetrarch, who had at that time come up to Jerusalem to the feast.

The procession was again formed, and marched up the temple mount along the way it had come, past the temple adorned for the festal occasion, to the palace of Herod. Jesus had traveled this same way in the morning, when he had been led from the palace of Caiaphas to the temple, and now, weary and full of pain, he traveled it again. Arriving at the palace of Herod, the king was pleased to see Jesus. He had heard of him, and had desired for a long time to see him. There were two reasons for this desire. One was curiosity; he hoped to see him perform some miracle. The other reason grew out of a troubled conscience. Herod did not know but that Christ might be John the Baptist risen from the dead. If it was not so, in his conscience, aroused by superstitious fears, would be tormented. But to all Herod's questions Jesus answered nothing. He knew that this perfidious and blood-stained prince could not be reached by the voice of truth, and that his condemnation would be pronounced by another." Annoyed by Jesus's silence, which the king considered obstinacy, Herod arrayed

him in a gorgeous robe—probably the white robe of victory—and mocked him, submitting him to cruel taunts, insults, and blows. Arrayed in these mock robes, Christ was led again to Pilate, a spectacle to melt a heart of stone. Pilate resolved to save him if possible. At the feast it was customary to release a prisoner. Barabbas, a seditioner and robber, was in his keeping. He will give the people the choice between this outlaw and Jesus, and certainly they will choose Jesus rather than Barabbas. With this in view Pilate said to them, "Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people; and, behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him: no, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him." But the council was determined upon his death, and, finding that their false accusation had failed, they changed the ground of their complaint and said, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." Pilate answered ironically, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law." Their proud spirits chafe, but they reply, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Pilate, upon this new charge, examined Jesus again, but elicited nothing, and brought him forth, saying, "I find in him no fault at all;" and, sitting upon his judgment throne in front of the hall, he cried, "Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus?" They cried, "Barabbas!" Pilate answered, "What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ?" They cried out, "Crucify him! crucify him!" "I will chastise him," said Pilate, "and let him go." Again the cry of the bloodthirsty council, now a wild mob, drowned his expostulations. Pilate resolved to appeal to them in another way. Washing his hands before them, he said, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it." Then broke forth the cry, awful in its imprecation, fearful in its assumed consequences—the cry which, as one has said, "makes the nations shudder ever since"—"His blood be on us, and on our children!" Pilate then released Barabbas and gave sentence that Jesus should be crucified.

It was customary that persons when sentenced to the cross should be scourged. This scourging was so severe that men

often died under it. The scourge was made of twisted thongs of leather, and in the thongs and upon the ends were fastened pieces of bone, iron, and balls of lead. Those who were to be scourged were tied to a pillar in a stooping posture, so that the skin of the back should be stretched tight and fully exposed to the fearful lashes. Jesus was led away into the Pretorium to be thus scourged. Being thus bound and stripped, in the hands of the Roman soldiers, there fell upon him, already sore and bruised, the thongs of their dreadful whip. The skin and flesh are cut and mangled into a bleeding mass. A crown of thorns is also put upon his brow. It wreathes his head with leaves of green without, but into the forehead pierce the thorns until streams of blood flow down his face. A purple robe is thrown over his mangled body, and a reed is forced into his hand as a scepter. They bow the knee, and cry, "Hail, King of the Jews!" They strike him with fierce blows upon the head, driving the thorns deeper still into the torn flesh. Exhausted, mangled, covered with blood, he is brought forth, and Pilate made another appeal in his behalf, saying, "Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him;" and, pointing to Jesus, he cried, "Behold the man!" The Jews cried out, "Crucify him! crucify him!" Pilate answered indignantly, "Take ye him, and crucify him: for I find no fault in him." They replied, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." Pilate now knows that he must crucify Jesus or defend himself before the Roman emperor, aware that the high priests and Pharisees would never rest until they had wrought his undoing. Again he sits down in the judgment seat, Jesus standing near him. He is filled with rage, and in taunting tones, pointing to the thorn-crowned, mangled victim near him, he cries, "Behold your King!" "Away with him! crucify him!" they answer. "Shall I crucify your King?" mocks Pilate. "We have no king but Cæsar," they answer. Then Pilate delivers him to be crucified, and writes this inscription above his head, "This is the King of the Jews." They say, "Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am the King of the Jews." And Pilate replied, "What I have written I have written."

The mockery of justice, save the execution itself, was over. On Golgotha's brow the workmen were preparing the cross.

Along the streets, as a lamb among lions, goes the mangled Nazarene, his cross upon his shoulders, sinking from exhaustion beneath it. He will die yonder between two thieves, but nature will sympathize with him in darkened scene and rending rocks.

> Three crosses in this noonday night uplifted,
> Three human figures that in mortal pain
> Gleam white against the supernatural darkness:
> Two thieves, that writhe in torture, and between them
> The Suffering Messiah, the Son of Joseph,
> Ay, the Messiah Triumphant, Son of David!
> A crown of thorns on that dishonored head!
> Those hands that healed the sick now pierced with nails,
> Those feet that wandered homeless through the world
> Now crossed and bleeding, and at rest forever!
> And the three faithful Maries, overwhelmed
> By this great sorrow, kneeling, praying, weeping!
> O Joseph Caiaphas, thou great high priest,
> How wilt thou answer for this deed of blood?*

Jesus perished, but not lawfully. He was condemned long before his arrest. His steps were dogged by informers, minions of the chief priests. A bribe was given for his betrayal. He was illegally arrested at night and brought before a court assembled at an unlawful time in an unlawful place. He was charged with blasphemy and unlawfully convicted, unlawfully sentenced before a day's consideration of the case, unlawfully abused while a prisoner. Charged before the Roman governor with a new offense, and then acquitted by him, he was finally condemned under the force of threats. The highest outrage upon justice the world has ever witnessed was perpetrated upon the world's Redeemer. A martyr to truth, he trod the path which all who, like him, are irreconcilable enemies to wrong in power must tread, save only as his death has broken the power and cast out the spirit of sin from human hearts. This is what it has been doing, and is doing, and will continue to do, until justice and righteousness shall everywhere prevail and the ermine of the court represents purity like his own.

* Longfellow, *The Divine Tragedy.*

W. N. McElroy

ART. IX.—THE RECOVERED APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

THE *Apology* of Aristides for the Christians, stated both by Eusebius and Jerome to have been addressed to the emperor Hadrian, and lost for many centuries, was discovered by the distinguished paleontologist, Professor J. Rendel Harris, in a volume of Syriac extracts at the Convent of St. Catharine upon Mount Sinai, in the spring of 1889. While Professor Harris's English translation of the Syriac text of the *Apology* was passing through the press, J. A. Robinson, of Christ's Church, Cambridge, was allowed to read the proof sheets of the version. "Shortly afterward," says he, "as I was turning over Latin passionals at Vienna, in a fruitless search for a lost manuscript of the *Passion of St. Perpetua*, I happened to be reading portions of the Latin version of the life of Barlaam and Josaphat, and presently I stumbled across words which recalled the manner and the thought of Aristides."

Soon after this he read the Greek text itself of the *Apology* in the third * volume of the works of John of Damascus, a theologian who flourished about the middle of the eighth century. The story of Barlaam and Josaphat, as found in the Greek, is about as follows: An oriental prince by the name of Abenner persecutes the Christians. He has a son named Josaphat (the Greek is Ἰωάσαφ), whom he endeavors by all means to prevent from becoming a Christian. A monk by the name of Barlaam converts him to Christianity. The king Abenner is greatly enraged, and a plan is contrived by which the prince is to be shaken in his Christian faith. An old man, Nachor, is to permeate Barlaam and make a lame defense of Christianity, which the rhetoricians will easily refute. Old Nachor—as the author of the story remarks—came like Balaam of old to curse, but bestowed a blessing. He begins to speak, and, like Balaam's ass, he spoke that which he had not purposed to speak, and said to the king, "I, O king, by the providence of God, came into the world." These words are the beginning of the *Apology* of Aristides, upon the finishing of which the king's orators and

* This is the ninety-sixth volume of Migne's edition of the fathers. The text of Aristides covers about eight and a half columns in the Greek of this volume.

worshipers stood dumb. As a consequence, both king and people were converted. This Greek text makes only about two thirds of the Syriac translation of the *Apology*, and it is quite certain that parts of the original Greek *Apology* were abridged or omitted; but in some instances the Syriac may be an enlargement of the Greek.

This is confirmed by the Armenian fragments of the *Apology*, which correspond well with the Syriac, but are longer than the Greek, and manifestly were not translated from the Syriac. There are two Armenian fragments, one in the Venice edition, the other in the Edschmiazin manuscript, each containing about two octavo pages of the same matter of the *Apology*. All these documents, namely, the Syriac version of the *Apology* with an English translation; the two Armenian fragments, the one in Latin, and the other in English, with dissertations by J. Rendel Harris, A.M.; and the Greek text with critical remarks, by J. Armitage Robinson, A.M., were published in a volume making about one hundred and fifty pages, at the University Press, Cambridge, in 1891.

We may now consider the age, character, and nature of the *Apology* itself. The earliest statement respecting it is found in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius.* As the *Apology* of Quadratus and that of Aristides are closely associated, we will first give the testimony of Eusebius respecting the former:

> Trajan having held the government for twenty entire years, lacking six months, Ælius Hadrian receives the sovereignty. This one Quadratus having addressed delivers a discourse, having prepared a defense for our religion, because, indeed, some wicked persons were trying to annoy our people. The work is still extant among many of the brethren, and, indeed, also with us, from which it is possible to see both the mind of the man and his apostolic orthodoxy. Furthermore, the same man shows his antiquity by those things which in his own words he relates: "The works of our Saviour were always present, for they were real. Those who were healed, those who were raised from the dead, were seen not only when healed, or raised, but were always present, not only when Christ was upon the earth, but after his departure. They were present for a long time, so that some of them have come down to our own times." Such a character, then, was this man. And Aristides, a faithful man, zealous for our religion, like Quadratus, having addressed Hadrian, has left an *Apology* for the faith. This man's writing is preserved to the present among most men.

* Lib. iv, cap. 3, written about A. D. 325.

Jerome, in his book on *Illustrious Men*, states: "Aristides, an Athenian, a most eloquent philosopher, a disciple of Christ, wearing his former philosopher's garb, presented to the emperor Hadrian, at the same time as Quadratus, a volume containing the reason for our doctrine that is an *Apology* for the Christians." Jerome, speaking of Quadratus, says that when Hadrian had spent the winter in Athens and was visiting Paneas the apologist presented his book in defense of Christianity to the emperor. In Jerome's translation of the *Chronicles* of Eusebius, under the year A. D. 125, we find it stated that "Hadrian was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries and gave many gifts to the Athenians," and that "Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, and Aristides, an Athenian, our philosopher, composed and presented to Hadrian books in defense of the Christian religion." That Hadrian was at Athens about this time is unquestioned. Merivale remarks: "The chronologists at least assure us that he was at Athens in the year 125, on his way, as we are informed by Spartan, to the East." * Speaking of Hadrian's journey through Greece and his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, Neander writes that the enemies of Christianity thought it a favorable time to begin the persecution of the Christians. "The two learned Christians, Quadratus and Aristides, were hence induced to present, each of them, to the emperor an apology in behalf of their companions in the faith." † Following these apologies and the representation to Hadrian, by the proconsul of Asia, of the disorderly attacks made upon the Christians by the populace, the emperor sends his edict in their favor to Minucius Fundanus, the succeeding proconsul. That the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides were presented to Hadrian on his visit to Athens, and that he afterward sent an edict in favor of the Christians to Minucius Fundanus, is not questioned by those great but cautious historians, Gieseler,‡ Neander, and Merivale.§

We have carefully considered the facts respecting the time of the composition of the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, because Professor Harris, in his dissertation on the latter

* *History of the Romans Under the Empire*, vol. vii, p. 353.
† *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. i, p. 101.
‡ *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, pp. 125, 145.
§ *History of the Romans Under the Empire*, vol. vii, p. 369.

Apology, questions the fact of the presentation of these two compositions to Hadrian on his visit to Athens. First of all he says: "Much doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of the rescript of the emperor Minucius Fundanus." This sounds strange to us, for it is found in Justin Martyr's *First Apology*, and is referred to by Melito, Bishop of Sardis (about A. D. 170), in an apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius. Besides, it bears internal marks of genuineness. "In the second place," remarks Professor Harris, "there is a suspicious resemblance between Quadratus the apologist and another Quadratus who was Bishop of Athens in the reign of Antoninus Pius, succeeding to Publius, whom Jerome affirms to have been martyred." The ground for this statement is the following reference in Eusebius to the Epistle of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (about A. D. 170), addressed to the Athenians:

> The epistle, stimulating to faith and to the life which is in accordance with the Gospel, reproves the Athenians, who had neglected it, and who had nearly apostatized from the doctrine (truth), since it happened that their presiding officer, Publius, suffered martyrdom in the persecutions in those times. He makes mention of Quadratus, who was appointed their bishop after the martyrdom of Publius, bearing witness that through his zeal (the members of the Church) were (again) collected and experienced a revival of their faith. He shows, besides these things, that Dionysius the Areopagite, who was brought over to the faith by the apostle Paul, according to what is shown in the Acts, was the first who had managed the episcopacy of the diocese of the Athenians.*

This last passage shows clearly that Dionysius of Corinth is not speaking simply of the affairs of the Athenian Christians in his own age, but from the beginning of their Church; and thus there is no proof that Quadratus, the Bishop of Athens, lived in the age of Dionysius or in that of Antoninus Pius. But why could there not have been two bishops in Athens named Quadratus, separated by an interval of thirty or forty years? There have been two presidents of the United States named Adams; two apostles were named James. In the Methodist Episcopal Church we have had two bishops, separated by about thirty years, whose names will look suspiciously alike in Church history, Andrew and Andrews. It is clear from the very words of Quadratus that he lived very near the apostolic age, and there is nothing to indicate that Eusebius has made

* Lib. iv, cap. 23.

any mistake respecting the age of the apologist. But, after all, we think it most probable that the apologist and the bishop were the same person.

Let us now consider the date of the *Apology* of Aristides, so far as it can be determined from internal evidence. The Greek text of the *Apology* contains no superscription, for the simple reason that in the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, in which it is found, it is spoken to King Abenner, and there is no place for a superscription. The Syriac translation, however, has the following superscription: "The Apology which Aristides the philosopher made before Hadrian the king, concerning the worship of God. Omnipotent Cæsar Titus Hadrian Antoninus, August and Merciful, from Marcianus Aristides, Philosopher of the Athenians." These two sentences are contradictory, and both could not have stood at the head of the original Greek *Apology*. Professor Harris thinks the second sentence, ascribing the *Apology* to Antoninus Pius, the true one, and finds a guarantee for this in the name, Marcianus Aristides. But the expression is bungling, and the Syriac for "august" and "merciful" have points indicating that these adjectives are plural and qualify both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Or, did the Syriac translator from the Greek think that Hadrian was an abridgment for Titus Hadrian Antoninus? As for Marcianus Aristides, we do not know that the apologist ever had that long name. But if he had it is singular that neither Eusebius nor Jerome ever calls him by it. But the two Armenian fragments of the *Apology*, the Venetian and that from the Edschmiazin manuscript, evidently copied from independent manuscripts, have the address to Hadrian. The former has the following superscription: "Imperatori Cæsari Hadriano. Aristides Philosophus Atheniensis." The latter has: "To the Autocratic Cæsar Adrianos from Aristides, Athenian Philosopher." These two independent Armenian texts, substantially the same, certainly outweigh the single contradictory Syriac superscription. The shorter superscriptions are generally more likely to be the original ones.

There is no account of Antoninus Pius ever having visited Greece or Asia, and that Athens was the residence of the author of the *Apology* is entirely in harmony with the statement of the writer: "This one [Christ] had twelve disciples,

who, after his ascension to heaven, went forth into the provinces of the world and taught the majesty of that one [Christ], just as one of them traveled over our regions preaching the doctrine of the truth." * Was not this Paul who preached at Athens and in other parts of Greece? It is not at all certain that Aristides wrote any superscription to his *Apology*, since he presented it in person, as it seems, to Hadrian. But no doubt the original, at least copies of it, soon received a superscription, which must have been read by Eusebius, who possessed the work. How, then, could he have made such a blunder in his *Ecclesiastical History* respecting the emperor to whom it was delivered? Furthermore, in his *Chronicles* he gives the very year in which it was delivered. In the time of Jerome, as we have seen, it was found with literary men; and Jerome adds to his testimony concerning the date that Aristides was a very eloquent man, and wore the philosopher's garb after he became a Christian. Professor Harris acknowledges that the *Apology* bears internal evidence of belonging to a very early period of the Church. J. Armitage Robinson, the discoverer and editor of the Greek text, relies upon the statement of Eusebius that the *Apology* was delivered to Hadrian.

We shall next proceed to give an account of the contents of the *Apology* of Aristides; and, first, we shall quote the introductory paragraphs of the Syriac translation, as it is fuller than the Greek:

I, O king, by the grace of God, came into this world; and, having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and beheld the sun and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another, and I understood that He that moveth them is God, who is hidden in them, and concealed from them; and this is well known, that that which moveth is more powerful than that which is moved. And that I should investigate concerning this Mover of all as to how he exists—for this is evident to me, for he is incomprehensible in his nature—and that I should dispute concerning the steadfastness of his government, so as to comprehend it fully, is not profitable for me; for no one is able perfectly to comprehend it. But I say concerning the Mover of the world that he is God of all, who made all for the sake of man; and it is evident to me that this is expedient, that one should fear God, and not grieve man.

Now, I say that God is not begotten, not made; a constant nature, with-

* Sec. xv, Greek text.

out beginning and without end; immortal, complete, and incomprehensible; and in saying that he is complete I mean this, that there is no deficiency in him, and he stands in need of naught, but everything stands in need of him; and, in saying that he is without beginning I mean this, that everything which has a beginning has also an end, and that which has an end is dissoluble. He has no name, for everything that has a name is associated with the created; he has no likeness nor composition of members, for he who possesses this is associated with things fashioned. He is not male, nor is he female. The heavens do not contain him, but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in him. Adversary he has none, for there is none that is more powerful than he; anger and wrath he possesses not, for there is nothing that can stand against him. Error and forgetfulness are not in his nature, for he is altogether wisdom and understanding, and in him consists all that consists. He asks no sacrifice and no libation, nor any of the things that are visible; he asks not anything from anyone, but all ask from him.

The Greek text of the *Apology*, which we shall now follow, is plain and easy, and in this respect is quite different from the apologies of Justin Martyr. Aristides statest hat there are three classes of men in this world—those who are worshipers of "those who among you are called gods," the Jews, and the Christians. Of the idolaters he makes three classes—Chaldeans, Greeks, and Egyptians. The Chaldeans, says he, not knowing God, went astray after the elements, and began to worship the creature more than him who created them.* He represents them as making figures of the earth and sea, sun and moon, and of the rest of the elements or luminaries, which they shut up in their temples, worship, and call gods, safely keeping them so that they may not be stolen by robbers. Aristides next proceeds to show the king that the elements cannot be gods. "Those," says he, "who believe the heaven to be God are deceived. For we see that it is turned around and moved by necessity, and consists of many parts. Wherefore, it is called *cosmos* [universe]. But *cosmos* is a contrivance of some artificer. That which is contrived has a beginning and end." He next affirms that those who believe that the earth, water, and fire, the blast of the winds, the sun, moon, and man are divinities are deceived; and he gives in each instance the reason that they cannot be divine beings.

He next takes up the polytheism of the Greeks, and affirms that the Greeks, calling themselves wise, became greater fools

* Based on Rom. 1, 25.

than the Chaldeans in the objects of their worship. He shows the absurdities of their theological views while giving sketches of their divinities and their abominable vices and crimes. After describing the character and the acts of the divinities of the Greeks, Aristides declares: "All these things, and many such, and far more base and wicked, the Greeks have introduced, O king, concerning their gods, which it is neither lawful to speak of, nor at all to remember; whence men, taking occasion from their gods, have committed all lawlessness, impurity, and impiety, defiling earth and air with their terrible deeds." After this Aristides discusses the religion of the Egyptians, and brands them as being more stupid and foolish than the Greeks, and as having erred worse than all other nations. After some further general reflections on the religions of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and the impossibility of the heathen divinities rendering any assistance to man, he thus expresses himself most forcibly and logically concerning the gods of Greece, from a moral standpoint:

How is it that the wise and learned men of the Greeks, having enacted laws, are condemned by their own laws? For, if the laws are just, their gods are altogether unjust, having committed unlawful things, namely, murders, poisonings, adulteries, thefts, and sodomies. If they rightly did these things the laws then are unjust, having been made against the gods. But now the laws are good and just, approving the things that are good and forbidding those that are bad. The acts of their gods are unlawful; therefore their gods are transgressors of the laws, and all those are worthy of death and impious who introduce such gods. If the histories concerning them are mythical, they are nothing but tales only; but, if they are real, no longer are they gods who have done and suffered these things. But if they are allegorical, they are myths and nothing else.

Aristides next speaks of the Jews and of Moses as their lawgiver, of their idolatries, and of their slaying the prophets and the just men sent to them. He continues:

In the next place, when it pleased the Son of God to come upon the earth, having behaved toward him like drunken men, they delivered him up to Pilate, the governor of the Romans, and they condemned him to the cross, having no respect for his benevolent acts and the countless wonders which he performed among them; and they perished through their own transgression. For also now they worship God Almighty only, but not according to knowledge.* For they deny the Christ, the Son of God, and

* The exact language of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, chap. x, 2, which Aristides doubtless had read.

are nearly like the Gentiles, even if they seem in some degree to approach the truth from which they have far removed themselves.

The Christians derive their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ. This Son of God Most High is acknowledged in the Holy Spirit, having descended from heaven for the salvation of men; and having been born of a holy Virgin, without seed and purely, he assumed flesh and appeared unto men that he may recall them from the error of polytheism; and having finished his wonderful dispensation, through the cross he tasted death through his own will, according to the great dispensation.* After three days he returned to live and ascended into (the) heavens, the glory of whose coming it is possible to learn from that which is called among them (the Christians) the holy evangelical writing, O king, if you will read it. This one had twelve disciples, who, after his ascension to heaven (heavens), went forth into the provinces of the world and taught his majesty just as one of them traveled over our regions, preaching the doctrine of truth, whence those who still adhere to (Greek, "serve") the righteousness of their preaching are called Christians.

And these are they who beyond all the nations of the earth have found the truth; for they know God, the Creator and Maker of all things, in (his) only begotten† Son and (the) Holy Spirit, and another God except this they do not worship. They have the commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ himself engraved on their hearts, and these they keep, expecting a resurrection of the dead and (the) life of the future world. They do not commit adultery, they do not commit fornication, they do not bear false witness, they do not covet the property of others, they honor father and mother, they love their neighbors, they judge justly; whatever things they do not wish to be done to them they do not do to another; those who injure them they entreat, and make them friends to themselves. They are zealous to do good to their enemies, they are meek and kind, they refrain from all unlawful intercourse and from all uncleanness. They do not neglect a widow, do not grieve an orphan. The one who has supplies abundantly the one who has not. If they see a stranger, they bring him under their roof and rejoice over him as over a true brother; for they do not call themselves brothers according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. They are ready to give up their lives for the sake of Christ; for his commandments they steadfastly keep, living holily and justly as the Lord commanded them, giving thanks to him always in (for) all food and drink and for the rest of good things. Truly, then, this is the way of truth which leads those who travel it into the everlasting kingdom, which has been promised by Christ in the life to come; and in order that you may know, O king, that I do not say these things of myself, if you look into the writings of the Christians you will find that I am saying nothing outside of the truth.

* This seems to refer to Heb. ii, 9. To "taste death" is found in Matt. xvi, 18; Mark ix, 1; Luke ix, 27; John viii, 52. It is not classical Greek, but Aramaic. Aristides no doubt derived it from the New Testament.

† From the writings of John, who alone calls Christ the "only begotten Son."

The whole Greek *Apology* makes only ten pages, octavo size. From the extracts which we have given we see that at Athens, about A. D. 125, the Christians had a history of Christ which they called the "holy evangelical writing;" and it is manifest from our extracts that the great outline of Christ's history and teaching was the same as that contained in our gospels. In the last extract in which the writings of the Christians are mentioned it is not likely that anything, certainly very little, is included that lies outside of our present canon. In reference to the "holy evangelical writing" in the Greek text the parallel passage in the Syriac translation has: "This is taught from that Gospel which a little while ago was spoken among them as being preached; wherein if ye will also read, ye will comprehend the power that is upon it." The passage respecting a written Gospel is wanting in the two Armenian fragments, in the parallel place. The *Apology* thus gives us another valuable testimony to the Gospel of Christ and to the moral excellence and holiness of the early Christians.

Henry M. Harman

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

The best book we know of on the subjects of which it treats is Dr. J. M. Buckley's *Faith Healing, Christian Science, and Kindred Phenomena*, published by the Century Company, New York, for $1.25. Ministers who are troubled with the presence of these delusions in the communities around them will do well to read Dr. Buckley's book.

How many of our subscribers like the Review mailed with leaves uncut, as now; and how many would prefer to have us cut the leaves? In favor of our cutting them is the saving of time, labor, and patience to our readers; against it, chiefly, is the fact that those who have the volumes of the *Review* bound for preservation find the margin left on the pages after the second trimming, necessary in binding, to be narrower than is desirable for appearance' sake. *We now request of each subscriber a statement of his preference on a postal card addressed to the editor, in order that we may learn on which side sentiment preponderates.*

Desiring to afford the utmost possible opportunities to our contributors and to furnish variety to our readers, we dislike to publish fewer than nine contributed articles in a number, and would rather print more than less. In this issue we have suppressed ourselves in the editorial departments in order to make room for contributed articles, to which more space than usual is given; but even so, and to our much greater regret, we were obliged to practice upon several of the nine articles an abridgment similar to that which we inflicted on ourselves.

Two things require reiteration. First: It is not proper to write, "The *Methodist Review* says," when the matter quoted is by a contributor in the *Review*. We print many things from our contributors with which we do not agree. Any other course would limit the range of the *Review* to the personal views of the editor, an impoverishing and unwarrantable thing for a

periodical belonging to the whole Church and to all varieties of mind and opinion therein.

Second: No manuscript should ever be rolled. No one, whatever his relation to it, whether speaker or editor or typesetter or proof reader, ever had a moment's comfort in a rolled manuscript.

Lofty aspiration and strenuous endeavor were the ideal of Lady Augusta Stanley for herself and for all whom she loved. In the week of her fatal illness she used her last strength to inspire and stimulate her husband, the Dean of Westminster. "Work on, work on," she said; "go to the very bottom of things and leave work that shall be imperishable." Speaking of a volume he was then writing, she said with great emphasis, "Make it—*perfect.*"

ARBITRATION—CHRIST JUDGING AMONG THE NATIONS.

One unique feature, differentiating the nineteenth century from its predecessors, is the prevalent substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international controversies. The marvel is that this simple and effective method of redressing grievances was not adopted long ago. It is reasonable, and befits the moral nature of man. It is equitable, for its awards are on the merits of the case, and are not affected by the weight of artillery, number of bayonets, or money resources of the contestants. It is cheap, in comparison with the insanely wasteful expenditures of warfare. From 1793 to 1877 the cost of war, civil and foreign, of the principal nations of the earth is estimated by Mulhall at £3,047,000,000, or $15,000,000,000 in round numbers, and the lives of 4,470,000 men. In January, 1893, the total number of soldiers under the colors of nineteen European governments was 3,789,449, and of sailors, 297,962; of both, 4,087,411. The annual cost to the subjects of these governments is $6.24 per capita, or $31.20 per family of five persons. If to this be added the annual interest on national debts, piled up chiefly by former wars, the frightful aggregate for each person is $13, and for each family $65.

The cost of our great civil war is computed by the New York *Sun* at $8,425,185,017. This stupendous amount exceeds by $3,250,000,000 the total census valuation of real and personal estate in the eleven seceding commonwealths at the time. Commenting on this exhibit, the Memphis *Appeal-Avalanche* truthfully

remarked: "One thing is very evident from all this, and that is that war doesn't pay. It is entirely too expensive a luxury, and leaves behind it passions and contentions which years upon years can hardly erase. The figures are an unanswerable argument for peace." It is a moral duty to prevent the suffering which comes from needless waste and destruction of property as well as that from loss of life and limb. When excited "jingoes" advocate our interference in Cuba, which would involve us in war with Spain, the sober sense of the American people begins to count the cost of such a conflict. If it were only one fourth as much as our civil war cost the North, there would be 200,000 men killed and as many more crippled for life; an immediate cash outlay of $4170,000,000; a loss by depreciation of currency of $300,000,000; by destruction of property, $100,000,000; by derangement of trade and industry, $5,000,000,000: a probable total of not less than $7,000,000,000. The entire value of the island of Cuba, reckoning it at twenty times its maximum annual revenue, is only $100,000,000, which is not one seventeenth of the expense which war with Spain would entail on the United States alone, without taking account of the interest on bonds which would be issued or of the pensions extending through subsequent generations, and saying nothing of Spain's losses.

The world grows slowly wiser through painful experiences. Suffering, from the effects of excessive militancy, and also from humiliating defeat, suggested arbitration as a means that should be tried for the adjustment of differences before resort to hostilities. Growing consciousness of responsibility to God added force to the suggestion; while the idea of the sacredness of human life, bought with the price of the Redeemer's blood, modified the thoughts and mellowed the hearts of men. The progress of righteous wisdom is further seen in the adoption of equitable arbitration by members of commercial and financial exchanges.

By the Jay Treaty, so fiercely denounced as a surrender to Great Britain, the principle of arbitration was first applied to international differences. It left the demarcation of our northeastern boundary to three commissioners, whose work, when finished, was approved by intelligent patriots. The Treaty of Ghent, signed prior to Jackson's victory at New Orleans in 1815, referred the title to Passamaquoddy Bay to arbitrators, who were unanimous in their award. Arbitration is now the national usage. Professor Moore, of Columbia College, New York, states that the United States government at different times has entered into

forty-seven agreements for international arbitration, has appointed a representative as arbitrator seven times, and has erected thirteen tribunals under its own laws to decide the mooted validity of international claims. Sometimes it has rejoiced in favorable award; at others been disappointed by contrary decision. More than any other people has the American nation established the right to rejoice in the beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers." The peace she has sought has been peace with righteousness, and therefore peace with honor. Where her own feelings and interests were specially implicated she has risen to the altitude of Christian forbearance and magnanimity, deliberately preferring the arbitrament of right reason to that of the sword. General Ulysses S. Grant, one of her simplest and greatest representatives, voiced her sentiments in the memorable words: "Though I have been trained as a soldier, and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found to prevent the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court, recognized by all nations, will settle international differences, instead of keeping large standing armies, as they do in Europe."

Retributive justice was satisfied by the award of arbitrators at Geneva, as was distributive justice by that of the tribunal on the Fisheries question. The Behring Sea vexation, and the misunderstanding about Alaskan boundaries, will be amicably removed in like manner. Christian good sense has found an honorable way for all parties out of the Venezuela-Guiana imbroglio. Whether recognized by international law or not, the conscientious conviction of the American people is that they are responsible for the safety of all governments, throughout the length and breadth of this continent, against all great international wrongs, and particularly against any that may be attempted by European powers. Our logic may not be clear to our friends across the sea, but the protective purpose is firm. The outcome of arbitration may not be infallibly just, but nothing of reputation or prestige is forfeited by the voluntary submission of international differences to wise, impartial settlement; on the contrary, each participant rises in dignity, in self-respect, and in the esteem of mankind.

What is in the future only God can know. Canada, British Honduras, and Guiana may be portions of the British empire for long years to come. None but their inhabitants have the moral right to change their political relations. In any event a treaty,

to constitute a permanent court, to which all matters at issue between the United States and Great Britain should be referred for settlement, is worthy of closest consideration. Such a tribunal would be to the kindred nations what the Supreme Court of the United States is to the several States. The proposition is eminently practicable. The keenest and most erudite of legists and jurists have recommended and now advocate it. Sir George Clarke, the governor of Malta, suggested it publicly in 1894; Edward Everett Hale urged it at the Lake Mohonk Peace Conference in 1895, and the American Bar Association applauded it when recommended by Mr. Justice Brewer. A plan of such permanent court is said to have been definitely formulated by Sir Frederick Pollock in England, and by Mr. Justice Harlan in this country. The General Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, signed at Washington on January 11, 1897, by their respective plenipotentiaries, and submitted for ratification by the governments of the two nations, is a step in the right direction. By the terms of this treaty all questions in difference between them which have not been adjusted by diplomatic negotiation, all pecuniary claims not exceeding £100,000 and not involving decision of unsettled territorial claims, would be referred to an arbitral tribunal of distinguished jurists, one from each country, the two choosing an umpire. Pecuniary claims exceeding £100,000 in amount and questions of right, under treaty or otherwise, would be similarly referred. If not unanimous, the decisions would be reviewed by a tribunal of five members, a majority award to be final. Boundary disputes and cases involving national honor to be decided by the majority of a tribunal consisting of three American and three British judges, without any umpire. In the two first commissions the umpire to be appointed by the King of Sweden and Norway, whenever the tribunal may fail to agree in the choice of one. This treaty to remain in force for five years, and as much longer as both parties may wish, being terminable at the end of twelve months' notice by either.

Some such treaty is needed and should be adopted; its principles and provisions are worthy to have the dignity and force of international law. No congratulations upon such outcome could be too jubilant. It strengthens faith in the millennium—the ultimate possibilities of the race. It is the pioneer of "the parliament of man—the federation of the world."

The ratification of such a treaty might not constitute "a full

offensive and defensive Anglo-American alliance," nor anything like it, as against other people, but it would bind each to seek its own proper ends by methods of equity and righteousness.

Any agreement that purposes to substitute cultured brain for bullying brawn, sweet reasonableness for furious passion, and Christian equity for brutal might, ought, when brought to its best possible form, to be ratified promptly by the governments concerned therein.

Christian faith looks beyond the erection of such a tribunal to one of more imposing character, whose influence shall extend over a world-wide area. Its construction is not only possible, but imperatively called for by human necessities. Its decisions might be enforced, not only by public opinion, but, if demanded, by the general police force of the nations. War between the two great English-speaking peoples should be a moral impossibility. All wars within the limits of civilization should cease forever, and navies and armies be employed only in protecting that civilization against the incursions of barbarians and the diabolically lustful and murderous atrocities of the Moslems. What has been accomplished within the present century, as comprehensively detailed by the New York Chamber of Commerce, is in itself a prophecy of such a supreme judicial court of Christendom. Since A. D. 1800 "about eighty cases of international disputes have been settled by arbitration. In the last twenty years these cases have occurred at the rate of two or three a year. In every case the difficulty has been settled for all time," and with the more or less contented concurrence of the parties thereto. "Our country has settled more than forty of these difficulties. We have been literally the 'peace nation of the world.' Great Britain has settled about a dozen in the same period, and all the nations of Europe have had from one to seven cases. All of the South American republics, except two, and two of the Central American republics have done the same." Great Britain and America are in the van of the nations submitting to the supreme arbitrament of the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom all judgment is committed by the Father. Now is the hour for imparting better system, force, and extension to their work. The "Permanent Parliamentary Committee in Favor of Arbitration and Peace," consisting of over fourteen hundred members in Europe, is another good omen of coming universal arbitration.

The sacredness of life, the horror of war, the power of womanhood, the absurdities of conflict, the costliness of militancy, the

effect of the Gospel, the instincts of human brotherhood, and the power of the indwelling Holy Spirit will bring the world to the feet of the Lord's Christ as supreme arbiter. "He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people." He is doing so now. "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." This prophecy receives fulfillment. *Arbitration is the Christ judging among the nations.* Human advance to the ideal is through progression exceeding retrogression. Universal equity, peace, cooperation, plenty, gradual approach to perfection, and the kingdom of heaven under human limitations established upon the earth, are among the blessings sure to come to our sinning, suffering, sorrowful world, and the coming may be nearer than we think.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF LIFE.

M. Brunetière, the leading French master in criticism, has recently commented with enthusiasm upon Mr. Balfour's great book on the *Foundations of Belief*. Perhaps one sees more distinctly in the brilliant comments of Brunetière than in Mr. Balfour's solid English the vast change which in a few years has passed over the world of thought. Two absolute monarchies have lost their thrones in little more than a decade. One of these monarchs is Reason and the other is Science. The world has not banished either; but it has restricted their powers and reduced them to the rank of servants under the will and the desire of the human soul. We set down here some thoughts inspired by the reading of M. Brunetière.

Why do we believe? is not a question in religion only, it is an everyday question and a vital one. Faith is everywhere; and neither reason nor science suffices to explain why we believe. Both help us, both go part way to explanation; and yet both fail to go the whole way. Every man with a reform finds it easy to show that any given social or political order is irrational and unscientific. Government, marriage, parental authority, property, inequality of possessions—all our institutions are vulnerable to attack by rationalist or scientist. Therefore every assailant of society has a following of men who suppose that reason and science should reign in human society. Their mistake is in failing to perceive that their reforms encounter the same objections. Authority, tradition, and instinct are three things whose empire

over faith is never seriously shaken. A rationalist objects to authority, ridicules it, makes his disciples despise it; with what result? Why, he himself becomes the authority before which his disciples bow. The authority of a God is odious to some man; he makes other men share his feeling; and straightway he is their god. Some think it stupid to quote the Bible, but rational enough to quote their master. *He said it* is one of the foundations of belief for all men, except, perhaps, the supreme egotist, and he says, *I said it.* The sober fact is that no one escapes from authority as a foundation of belief. When a man begins to declaim against authority in belief, wait a few minutes; he will presently quote some authority, some writer who is authority for him. What is our confidence in the surety of a hundred things—like, for instance, the accredited fact that the earth moves round the sun—but a confidence in authority? How could a child grow to be a man if he did not daily and hourly accept for true the information he receives from parents and teachers?

Tradition is another form of authority. "Our fathers have told us." History itself is only another name for tradition, for the authority of the experience of former generations. Institutions are the massed and piled experience of the past holding us in fast allegiance by our intimate belief in their necessity and usefulness, nay, in their sacredness.

In some ways stronger and more comprehensive in their power are some instinctive feelings for which we have no full account, which escape reason and transcend it. Analyze patriotism, home affections, ideas of neighborliness, or even ideas of duty, and we shall find an element of the instinctive. What makes life dear, companionship sweet, possessions desirable, man inviolable? What protects maiden innocence from assault by superior strength and clothes one's mother with a halo of affection and reverence? In all of these there is an element of instinct, of something inborn and active before all education and superior to it. It springs up of itself. It prescribes duties. It lords it over faith. It asks no justification from reason.

It is not enough to say that authority, tradition, and instinct prescribe the beliefs of the great mass of mankind. More is true; they prescribe the beliefs of philosophers and scientists, not only in the common business of all lives, but also in philosophy and science. However men despise and reject these rulers, they never abdicate and cannot be dethroned. The moral law

finds its strength and its enemies in instincts. Against the refractory instincts authority and tradition build up the better instincts of affection, reverence, and fear into defenses of individuals and of society; and the success of all the forces of civilization and moralization is measured by the subjection of brutal instincts to those which are purer and nobler.

If we turn to the æsthetic nature of man we confront a whole hemisphere of humanity where neither reason nor science has ever reigned. What is beauty? Why are some perfumes pleasant? What is the secret of sweet sounds? Science has of late labored in this field to find the *conditions* of pleasurable emotion. But every statement of these conditions leaves a mystic fact, a final, unsolvable unit of experience. "*We are so constituted that*—." Just so; this mysterious constitution of ours has a capacity for fine joys of sight, sound, smell, taste, touch. But this capacity is just a fact, a final fact beyond which we cannot penetrate.

In morals the belief that one course of conduct or item of conduct is right and that another is wrong is not fully accounted for by reason or science, though both may support it. But the question, What is right? is the smallest concern in morals founded on beliefs. The large concern is the coercion which those beliefs exercise over conduct through conscience. That conscience brings men into subjection to the moral law, that it scourges the offender by a revolt of his own nature—here is the deeper depth of the soul in which the lights of reason and science are extinguished. What may be called the historical conscience, as outlined in its growth, through generations, by the scientific utilitarians, is a figment of the imagination; there is no proof that the living conscience—exercising the office of a God in man—came by that path of evolution. The evolutionary conscience is hypothetical, and the notion that, in a far-off time, man had no conscience is pure assumption. Morals are inexplicable except as a religion, as an instinctive subjection to a supreme will. God and duty are inseparable beliefs.

By all means and in all things let us be rational; let us eagerly pursue all knowledge. But let us also recognize that Science and Reason are servants under a deeper and stronger power in the soul of man—that if we seek for the foundations of that faith by which we live our daily life as well as find our way to God we can only discover them in the spiritual nature of man, in depths unfathomable to science or to the understanding.

THE ARENA.

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

In the "Arena" of the last November-December *Review* J. Wallace Webb offers a criticism upon our contributed article in the July-August number on "The Relations of Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality."

1. Exception is first taken to the statement, "The thought about anything antedates the feeling about it," on the ground that "the conscious self always acts as a unit." It is true, as stated, that the conscious self always acts as a unit. In thought the whole soul acts: so in will and feeling. In every thought there are feeling and will elements. Nevertheless, it is evident that there are states of the soul in which thought predominates, others in which feeling predominates, and still others in which will is preeminent. We can correctly speak of these states as influencing each other. Our critic himself admits this, and, whether unconsciously or not, adopts the style of speech he objects to when he says, "Religious feelings determine religious thoughts." If the one determines the other, then there must be a consecution in time, no matter how fleeting and difficult to fix.

2. Again, the charge is made against the proposition, "Our religious emotions are determined by our religious thoughts," that it is a half truth, and it is contended that "religious feelings also determine religious thoughts." This, says the critic, is the other half of the truth. Before rebutting this, let it be remembered that in the contributed article the statement, "Knowledge about anything is determinative of the feeling about it," was carefully limited by the expression, "in the main." Then these words were added: "The feelings often react upon the intellect in determining judgment. But this is an order which common sense recognizes as inverted, and repudiates under the name of prejudice." The critic's position is perhaps approximately true of children, savages, and low and undeveloped intelligences. His own illustration is to the point: "A little child is by its mother put to bed in a room alone. She retires with the light. The child, in the darkness, feels afraid and thinks some one is in the room. Did the thought produce the feeling, or the feeling the thought?" We cheerfully answer: The feeling produced the thought, such as it was. Thought will become unreal, rapid, childish, in proportion largely as it is produced by feeling. The aim of all education is to make the proposition, "Thoughts determine feelings," a whole truth. Many of the absurdities and follies of religious people are to be attributed to the fact that they have let their feelings determine their thoughts.

3. Our critic has utterly failed to notice the limitation of the discussion to knowledge and feeling by the exclusion from it of the will element. It was most explicitly stated, "Let will be posited as a constant quantity, and a Christian life assumed, so far as the will is concerned." The itera-

...n of this assumption in the article is frequent. But to our amazement ...e critic offers the following: "Human cognition is not the germ that ...esluces the Christ life. Satan may have all the knowledge of an angel, ...et he has no such thing as spirituality. His feelings may correspond ...with his knowledge; still, the feelings are those of a fiend." The misapprehension is again apparent here: "Thought is not the only thing that determines feeling. Motive or purpose gives shape to both logic and feelings;" which is quite in harmony with reason, and, too, with the article criticised.

4. Another fundamental misapprehension with which we would charge our critic is in regard to the nature of the knowledge in question. We especially tried to make our position here plain. For instance, it was stated: "In this discussion the term 'knowledge' will not refer to the activity of the intellectual faculty as holding fundamental Christian truths in question, to be convinced by them or not, but as cognizing them in faith." The knowledge in question "is divine truth, brought to our remembrance, applied to our minds, and converted into knowledge through the assistance of Him who is called 'The Spirit of Truth.'" But the critic evidently failed to notice this, and treats the knowledge in question as theological and scientific, which is of course beside the mark. A Christian man may have clear and definite knowledge of divine truth without knowing it theologically and scientifically. The logical and systematizing understanding is not the only organ of knowledge. Religious truth may be effectively grasped by the unlearned man in a representative form. Hence the critic's remark that "the profoundest thinker in the pulpit may have some ignorant member in the pew more saintly and religious than himself," while true, is not pertinent to the discussion, and is merely a reference to what a recent writer calls "the hackneyed contrast between learned men without grace and unlearned men with grace, as if learning and grace were exclusive circles." Nevertheless, while "the most illiterate may be most pious," this is not true of those most illiterate in the truths of God. Such a man's piety must necessarily show all the gross imperfections pointed out in the article as results of too little stressing of the knowledge element in spirituality. "Religion may be low when thought is high," but hardly when thought is high in our sense; and the converse of this, "Thought may be low when religion is high," is inconceivable.

5. But the important point of difference between the criticism and our article is seen in this position of the critic: "Spirituality varies according to feeling more than according to thought." "Intellect is the handmaid of feeling." Here he seems to make feeling determinative of spirituality, and with this view we take direct issue. It degrades the intellect, it robs the feelings of their richest and most satisfactory content, and it reduces thought and feeling about Christ to the vaguest mysticism. It would bring Christ into the soul, not through intelligent cognition in faith and by the aid of the Spirit, but through some channel which overleaps and overlooks the intellect altogether.

The critic says: "That which satisfies the soul is not thought, but the real life-giving Christ himself." Here we stand upon the edge of a dark mystery, into which no human mind can enter. But may we not hazard the statement that Christ must first be intelligently conceived before he can be worshiped and possessed? "When the heart is brought to the front," continues the critic, "religion takes a fresh start, as in the cases of Christ, Schleiermacher, and Wesley." But how was the heart thus brought to the front? By fresh and powerful presentations of truth to the soul. Thus was feeling stirred and the will moved. Christianity's chief distinction is its objective revelation. As Principal Caird in his *Philosophy of Religion* says: "Within the sphere of feeling the rapture of the sensualist and the devout elevation of the saint are precisely on a level; the one has as much justification as the other." Deny the determinative character of the Christian thinking which grasps the revelation in the Gospel, and this revelation is minified, and the cross of Christ made of none effect.

The soul is a unit and incapable of being divided. There is no schism among its faculties. A religion without feeling is as barren and cold as a religion without thought is vapid, unreliable, and fanatical. The main contention of the article is this, and we believe it to be beyond dispute, that in the case of a truly converted man, with a will ever ready to serve God, the decisive point in his spiritual experience is his attention to the truth of God. The article was a plea for "a deeper and clearer knowledge of divine truth, intenser reflection upon God, and more thoughtful, more earnest prayer." Only thus can religious feeling be deep, earnest, steady, and powerful; otherwise it will tend to become unsteady, fanatical, and unhealthily mystical.

Rockville Center, N. Y. FRANK W. CROWDER.

"DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?"

AN article by the undersigned, with the above heading, appeared in the *Review* for July–August, 1896, and elicited two responses, one by the Rev. Benjamin Copeland, in the November-December number, and the other from Dr. Henry M. Harman, in the last issue.

Mr. Copeland has discovered three exceptions to Luke's use of ἐπί. One is found in Rev. xxi, 10, and the other two occur in Mark xv, 22, and Luke xxiii, 33. Had I said that John Bunyan usually says "*against* a place" for "*to* a place" it would have been just as appropriate to quote two exceptions, one from "The Tempest" and the other from the "Faerie Queene." In all these three passages, however, my critic is wrong about ἐπί signifying "up." In Rev. xxi, 10, ἐπὶ ὄρος does not signify "up a mountain," for John had been in heaven (verses 3, 5), where he heard a great voice from the throne, and saw the city descending (καταβαίνουσαν) out of heaven. If John had been ascending the mountain he would be caught beneath the descending pavements of gold and could not have seen within the city (verse 22). Search the Scriptures, Brother Copeland.

The other exceptions (?) to Luke's use of ἐπὶ are in regard to the phrase ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον which substantially occurs both in Mark's and in Luke's account of the crucifixion. In neither passage does ἐπὶ mean "up." Probably the reason that Luke did not write "up" is that it is down to go from Jerusalem to the point whence the procession turned off the road *into* (εἰς, Matthew and John) the field of the crucifixion. Mark and Luke speak of motion along the road, Matthew and John are speaking of departure from the road and entrance into the skull-place. The crucifixion was near the highway (Matt. xxvii, 39; Mark xv, 39). The highway would naturally run around, not over, the hills, and the side of a mountain would hardly be selected as a suitable place to plant crosses. I need not add that "Mount Calvary" is an unbiblical expression. Κρανίον may imply a moderate elevation, or it may be a grewsome name for a place of execution. Neither Matthew, Mark, Luke, nor John knows of any eminence. Brother Copeland alone says they went up.

He also decides that ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον (Acts xvii, 19) means, "They led him up the Areopagus." It follows, then, that the same writer, in Luke xxiii, 1 (ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειλάτον), means, "They led him up Pilate," as we have the same verb, the same preposition, and the same case. My critic therefore discovers a new mountain, Mount Pilatus, which I present to him with my compliments as some substitute for the conventional Mount Calvary whose possible loss he deplores.

The objections urged by Dr. Henry M. Harman in the January-February number of the *Review* mainly concern the court of Areopagus. He suggests that the Areopagus as described in *Demosth. ad Aristigona* "may not have been trying a case at all." Courts do, however, try cases, I believe. The Areopagus was organized especially for the trial of cases, according to the Greek accounts. Dr. Harman suggests, also, that the Areopagus did not sit in the Royal Court (στοᾷ), because Pausanias says that in that court "the king archon sits during the year of his magistracy." But the king archon was the constitutional president of the Areopagus, and the verb Pausanias uses (καθίζει) is the right word for the holding of a court. To say that the Vice President of the United States presides in the Capitol does not exclude the Senate at all.

My esteemed critic further claims that Luke's language should be, "They brought him before the *senate* of the Areopagus," if he meant the court or senate of Areopagus, and makes a number of citations in support of his claim. If, however, Dr. Harman will look a little farther in the lexicon from which he so conveniently cites references, he will find that the word Ἀρειόπαγος denotes the senate, as well as the more formal title, ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρειοπάγου βουλή. Notably in Lysias 7, 22, is Ἀρειοπάγου used for the senate, without any formal word such as βουλή. Ἀρειοπαγιτικός, as a designation of the court before which a speech was delivered, is too common to be worth mentioning.

A further difficulty is urged from the language of Pausanias, who says: "The white stones upon which those who undergo trial and the prosecutors stand, they call the one of them the (stone) of Insolence, and the other

the (stone) of Impudence." I might suggest, parenthetically, that "the (stone) of Implacableness" and "the (stone) of Outrage, or Guilt," would be a better translation of the terms denoting the legal places of prosecutor and defender. I do not understand that the initial formalities in a trial for murder, which is probably all that Pausanias has in mind, are to be identified with the usual meeting place of an important court like the Areopagus. As Pausanias has previously told us, in so many words, that the Areopagus met in the Royal Stoa, he cannot now mean that the sessions were still held on Mars' Hill. The members of the court may have taken the oath of initation on Mars' Hill, as the passage in Isocrates seems to imply, although in the four hundred years which elapsed before Paul's arrival the changes in the constitution and customs of the court were important and numerous. In any event the statement of my critic that the Areopagus does not "ever appear to have had any special jurisdiction in religious matters" is very misleading, as the Areopagus was organized for the trial of charges of impiety of all kinds.

Again, it is claimed by my worthy opponent that Paul's beginning (*ἀνδρες Ἀθηναιοι*) was not sufficiently "dignified" for an address to the court of Areopagus. I am aware that it was customary to address the court of Areopagus as a council or senate (*ὦ βουλή*). Paul's beginning is, however, as formal as was that of Socrates to the court which tried him, or that of Paul to the Sanhedrin (Acts xxiii, 1). Had he been served with a *πρόσκλησις* to answer a formal indictment (*ἔγκλημα*), and had the suit been properly opened, Paul might have begun his apology with *ὦ βουλή*. He was not conducting a personal defense, but was preaching a universal Gospel. He had no special doctrines for the Areopagus, and they had no corner on righteousness in his mind. Paul was a republican, knowing neither Greek nor Barbarian. He had a message of life, just as much for Damaris as for any member of the Areopagus. His opening was correct, dignified, Pauline, catholic. He may not have suspected that they were getting him before some members of the unorganized Areopagus, that the judges might themselves be witnesses in case of a formal charge to follow. But in any case he would probably have begun "Athenian gentlemen."

In the account of Paul's shipwreck *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* cannot mean, as Dr. Harman translates it, "on the land," as all Greek nautical terms refer to coming to the land as coming "*down*," and going to sea as going "*up*."

Finally, my critic inquires, "Is this suitable language [that is, 'in the midst of Mars' Hill'] if a court was intended?" It would be more suitable not to beg the question by a wrong translation, and then naïvely inquire whether his mistranslation harmonizes with my view. I translate it, "standing in the midst of the Areopagus," and can demonstrate that Luke does not mean "the midst of a hill," wherever that may be. For Paul in verse 22 stands (*ἐν μέσῳ*) in the midst of something, does he not? In verse 33 he gets through speaking and departs from the midst (*ἐκ μέσου*) of something, does he not? And, whatever thing he stood in the midst of, when he began his speech, from the midst of that same thing he

departed, when he concluded. Luke says that he departed from the midst of them (ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν). Does "*them*" (αὐτῶν) mean a hill or men? Then he stood, when he began, in the midst of the Areopagites and many others (verse 21). He stood in the midst of the Areopagites because the eager crowd, enringing him, surged into the stoa from all the open sides. On Mars' Hill not more than a hundred people could have heard him. I was on the hill almost daily for a year, and should know.

The following statements will, I think, be found correct:

1. Luke uses the word "Areopagus" just as we use "Oxford," "Cambridge," "Plymouth Rock," "Suffolk," etc. As we do not mean the ford of oxen, nor the bridge on the Cam, nor the rock at the mouth of the Plym, etc., neither does he mean the "hill of Mars," but Areopagus (Marshill) court.

2. If Luke knew where the court met in his time he did not signify, perhaps because he thought it needless, perhaps because it did not impress him.

3. We cannot tell from our text where in Athens the Areopagus of Claudius' time met. It is a question of archæology and history.

4. It is not true that the Areopagus met always on Mars' Hill. During the seven hundred years of its existence it may have met in many different places.

5. From the mention of the Ἀγορά (market place) and the crowd filling it we are led to believe that the address of Paul was delivered in some stoa, probably the Royal Stoa.

RICHARD PARSONS.

Delaware, O.

A NEW THEORY OF THE ATONEMENT.

IT is found in J. Agar Beet's book, *Through Christ to God*. It may not be new to others, but I, at least, have never seen it before in print. As near as I can make out, the following is the implicit teaching of Lecture xxii, based upon preliminaries contained in previous lectures: The author holds that the deliverance of sinners from penalty is through the death of Jesus; that this death of Jesus as a basis for forgiveness is demanded by God's justice. This demand was not in the Father's feelings, but was required to show God just in government. "To represent the Father as implacable and as pacified only by the intercession and the death of Christ is to contradict both the letter and the spirit of the teaching of Paul." The death of Christ is, then, necessary only as an exigency of government.

Is, then, the death of Christ the bearing of man's penalty under government? The following seems to me the author's answer: God cannot set aside the punishment due unto sin by mere prerogative. So Jesus becomes a member of the human race; and, although personally without sin, yet as bound up in humanity as a social organism, he cannot escape the effects of sin in humanity. The Father shows his respect for his own law by permitting the results of sin to fall upon his own well-beloved

Son. "No hand from heaven was reached out to save him from these various consequences of his entrance into a body doomed to die, and into a race dominated by sin. . . . In full view of the inevitable consequences of so doing the Son willingly entered into human flesh. . . . God permitted the full consequences of sin to run their course, even though they struck down his only begotten and well-beloved Son. In the death of Christ we see the Father, not overriding, but submitting to, his own law. We see the strong One submitting to the restraints which for their good he imposed on those under his control."

The death of Christ, then, upholds law, and manifests God as just. Nothing could do so better; not even the literal punishment of identical sinners. This accomplished, nothing stands in the way of pardon to sinners under suitable conditions. "Pardon of sin under such circumstances cannot loosen any moral obligation. For He who proclaims pardon maintains at infinite cost to himself the moral consequences on which rests the highest well-being of men." God now grants the sinner pardon on condition that he forsake his sinful life and accept Jesus by faith as the appointed representative sin-bearer for the race.

This differs from the ordinary statement in that the death of Christ is in no sense a substitute for the punishment due the individual sinner. The individual's sin is the cause of the death of Christ only in the social sense that both he and Christ belong to humanity and that both were subject to death—one because of personal demerit, and the other because his mission was to share humanity's destiny.

1. It will be seen that this construction has provision for all governmental necessities. Justice has been so exalted that there is no prospect that it will ever be disregarded.

2. There is no "squint" here toward the idea of suffering proportionate to demerit. There is no mathematical or quantitative satisfaction of law in the amount of suffering endured. The only necessity in the case is that He who has the prerogative of pardon shall not be regardless of justice. Christ dies for men, but not instead of men. His sufferings benefit men, but they are not a substitute for man's sufferings. No suffering on man's part is required after justice is upheld.

3. This removes the supposed contradiction between God's love and God's justice. God is moved by nothing but love, and labors without distraction of feeling to remove the one obstacle that stands in the way of pardoning sinners—justice.

4. This theory, if consistent with Paul's teaching, can be harmonized with the teaching of Jesus, which gives no hint of any obstacle to man's pardon in the feelings of God.

5. This theory does not isolate the death of Christ and assert its vicarious nature alone. The incarnation, rather, taken as a whole, is vicarious, and Christ's death is an integral part of it all. Perhaps some may say that this minifies the atonement, but others may conclude that it exalts it. It avoids some difficulties; is it exegetically sound?

Riverside, Cal. W. Arter Wright.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE USE OF THE REVISED VERSION.

THE Revised Version of the New Testament has been a quarter of a century before the world, and the revised Old Testament for a long time also. The use thus far made of this version has been in the nature of a commentary on the King James version, it having been adopted by very few of our churches and ministers as the pulpit Bible. At present there seems to be little or no tendency in that direction. Why this is so may be explained partly by the slowness of people to lay aside a version in which their devotions have been expressed for so many years, and whose very words have become sacred, and also by the fact that the revised translation was subjected at its publication to the severest criticism, some of it just but much of it growing out of a failure to comprehend the merits of the revision.

The chief objection raised has been that the English of the Revised Version is inferior to that of King James. We must, however, give due weight to the fact that our familiarity with certain idioms of speech has given them a value which would not be apparent if we met them for the first time. If we waive the first feeling of strangeness enough to look a little closer, and remind ourselves that the best style is that which expresses in clearest and tersest form the thought of the writer, we will find the last version a marked advance on the old, and, quite likely, will be convinced that it may well be entitled to a place in the pulpits of the Church, as well as in the homes of our people. It is needless here to recite instances of change for the better, which will readily occur to the careful reader. If a certain translation be the more correct rendering it should obviously be adopted, notwithstanding any prejudices which arise out of any infelicities of rhythm in the new version. This feeling of infelicity grows more out of our hearing than out of anything faulty in the style itself. We are not conscious how greatly our ideas of style are influenced by habit. Archaisms of expression derive their pleasantness to us from the fact that we have listened to them so long that when the simpler and more correct renderings are read to us they seem insipid and unattractive. Familiarity with the new version would, in due time, render its language as acceptable and dear as that of the King James version is at the present time.

There is another reason, however, for the more extended use of the Revised Version which should weigh in its favor, namely, that it presents to us a more accurate text. Whatever may be the discussions over what is known as the higher criticism, the matter of lower criticism, as it is called, is not a subject of serious controversy. The authority of the oldest and best manuscripts is recognized by all biblical scholars as of the utmost importance. While the purpose of the revision was not to make

a new text the natural outcome of it was the correction of many errors growing out of transcription which, in the progress of years, had crept into the New Testament text. In this regard the recent revision approximates a correct text so nearly that it makes the reader familiar with the best results of scholarship in regard to the wording of the New Testament. The omission of the last clause of the first verse of the eighth chapter of Romans, "Who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," is a case in point. It will be seen that the altered form is more in harmony with Pauline doctrine than was the rendering in the King James version, while the manuscript evidence for the change is so overwhelming that the modern reading is practically settled. It has been often affirmed, and is no doubt correct, that none of the authoritative modifications in the New Testament text have affected any cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith. All will agree, without regard to the positions of higher criticism, that a correct text is indispensable for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and the best text now available is found in the recent revision.

A further reason for more extensively employing the Revised Version is that it would soon make the people of our congregations familiar with the renderings of the Scriptures as affected and perfected by the latest Christian scholarship. There is in the nature of things a jar upon the feelings of those who have passages of Scripture with which they have been familiar from their infancy presented for their hearing in new and strange words. It is almost impossible to make any change in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians which would not at once be recognized by an entire congregation; for the passage has been read at the funeral of their dead till they know it by heart. One could hardly feel otherwise than shocked at even a slight change in what has become so familiar and so sacred by its associations. It is a pleasure to know that this wonderful argument for the resurrection in the Revised Version is so strikingly similar to the old, but little change being apparent to the reader or hearer. There are other passages, however, where the changes are marked and important, and, in consequence, our consciousness of unfamiliarity more pronounced. Assuming, as we are constrained to do, that this version is, in many important features, an advance on the old, we suggest that it may be a duty for individuals and assemblies to become acquainted with, and be made accustomed to, the Holy Scriptures in their best and most accurate form without delay. No theological dogma is involved in or touched by such action, for the version was prepared by men representative of almost every phase of the Christian faith, and the character of the scholars who produced this version is above reproach, both as to their ability to render the original accurately and as to their purpose to render it honestly.

It is barely possible that at some day not far distant this work of revision will be taken up afresh. It has already been suggested in this *Review* that if a convention of scholars representing the Christian Church should take the work already done by both the American and the British

Company and subject it to a revision which should be acceptable to all, such a procedure would not be unwise. We confess, however, that such a revision seems remote. An undertaking of that nature and magnitude requires about a generation for preparation, and another generation for its execution. In view, then, of the fact that this must remain as the representative of the best scholarship of the close of the nineteenth century, we raise the question whether it be not fitting for the ministry, without formal decree, to introduce their people gradually, in private and in public, to a knowledge of the Scriptures in their best form and as they are to be read and understood by the generations to follow. One thing seems certain: Either more ought to be done with the new version or less. If it has made no solid advance for the Christian Church, and if it is not a real improvement on the King James translation, it should not be quoted from our pulpits as a correction of the former. If it is an improvement, even though it be not perfect, are not the people entitled to the benefits of the great work which occupied the most capable and distinguished scholarship of the two great English-speaking peoples for a long series of years?

The suggestions offered above are made out of an earnest interest in the spread of a knowledge of revealed truth as it is contained in the original Scriptures, and out of proper respect for the authority of impartial, loyal, laborious, and eminent biblical scholarship, the value of which can be but faintly comprehended by those unacquainted with its arduous and enormous work.

THE MINISTER'S PREPARATORY STUDIES.

PHILOSOPHY.

It is a fact not without significance that in selecting subjects for the doctorate in a German university one of them must be in the realm of philosophy. This indicates that in the judgment of the faculties of these great centers of learning its study is fundamental to a complete education. The reason for this does not lie solely in the view that this practice will make students acquainted with the various philosophical schools of ancient and modern times, but that it is the best method of training the faculties in such habits of observation, analysis, and generalization as will enable learners to master and apply all the subjects which they may be called upon to investigate. It is a habit which is essential to the advance of truth in new lines, as well as to new deductions and applications of old and familiar facts.

It will be conceded that in some regards the functions of the ministry are more difficult than those of other professions whose main business is public speaking. The themes of preachers are such as have been familiar to most of their hearers from childhood. The facts from which they are expected to deduce their lessons are found in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and are facts which have been written about and preached about so much that, in the case of any other department of thought, the

attempt to keep a congregation interested by their constant consideration would be regarded as absurd.

It is at this point that training in philosophical studies becomes of great service to the preacher. Each incident becomes a field for investigation as to its relations and bearings. The underlying principle or the form of expression may open to the philosophical student new forms for the expression of the truth, if not of the truth itself. True originality does not consist in finding something new or strange, but in perceiving those deeper, subtler analyses which are not open to ordinary minds. The genius of Robertson, of Brighton, England, was largely of this character. The philosophic tendency of his mind invested old statements with fresh significance; and he interpreted the characters of the Old Testament and the principles of the New Testament with all that breadth of view and depth of insight which grew out of this disposition of his mind.

In thus setting forth the advantages of philosophy for the minister it is not understood that formal philosophical methods are necessary in the presentation of truth. The forms of all scientific thought are rather means to an end. They are valuable as opening up to the student the wide ranges possible in human thought and the principles connected with mental perception and development. Their language is often artificial, the intention being to enable the thorough student to comprehend certain ideas and principles by a word or sentence, and thus to avoid the repetition of things in detail. In thus covering the region of the first principles of all thinking the way is prepared for that clearness of perception, that simplicity and order of statement which are of such great importance in the minister of the Gospel.

Philosophical studies are especially valuable as introductory to systematic theology and apologetics, which form so important a part of the education of a Gospel minister. However much dogmatism and dogmatic theology are declaimed against in our time, few will question that a knowledge of the history of the formulas of Christian doctrine and also of the present beliefs of Christendom is of great importance to one who is to confront in his ministry the great problems of God and duty. The mental training and knowledge of the principles of philosophy are valuable in this particular.

The study of philosophy is important, also, as showing that the profoundest questions of human inquiry are still unsolved. It is common to suppose that when one reaches the department of philosophy he is in the realm of absolute certitude. A brief study will dispel this error. One unversed in such subjects is amazed at the difficulty which the most eminent philosophers have found in defining their own science. The history of the definitions of philosophy is very instructive in assuring us of the limitations of the human intellect in deciding the profoundest problems. It is fitting, therefore, that our colleges are making philosophy so important a part in their curriculum, as it contributes to the preparation of the student for his subsequent professional studies in our theological institutions.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE HITTITES.

THE Hittite question still continues to be a veritable puzzle. Notwithstanding the fact that great progress has been made in Hittite archæology since 1872, when Dr. William Wright, author of *The Empire of the Hittites*, succeeded in getting possession of several inscribed stones in Hamath, and that scarcely a year has passed from that day to the present without discovering some monuments of undoubted Hittite origin, yet no self-interpreting Rosetta stone or trilingual inscription, like that on the rock of Behistun, which furnished a key to the deciphering of the cuneiform mysteries, has yet gladdened the heart of the archæologist.

One thing, however, has been established, namely, that the Hittites exerted at one time a wonderful influence; that this people, though unknown to Greek and Roman historians, were for several centuries one of the great world powers. This is attested, not only by the fact that they are mentioned in the cuneiform monuments of Assyria and in the hieroglyphic annals of Egypt, but also by their own monuments which they have left all over Asia Minor and as far east as Lake Van and the River Tigris, and then again from the Black Sea through Armenia and Syria far down to the south.

It has been further established that this strange people possessed their own system of writing. This differs from all ideographs which have been so far deciphered. There is absolutely no similarity between it and the cuneiform script or the hieroglyphs of Egypt. The sameness of plan, style, and general execution found upon Hittite monuments, discovered over a vast territory, attest to their common origin; and though the carving and the signs on these stones may be very rude, yet it is evident, from the grouping, regularity, and similarity of form in widely different places, that they are intended to convey ideas as is the writing of other nations. We know, moreover, from the annals of Egypt, that a Hittite king sent to Egypt a copy of a treaty he had made with Rameses II. The text of this was engraved on a silver tablet in Hittite characters. What joy would thrill Professor Petrie's heart should he discover this venerable treaty in some buried temple in the valley of the Nile!

That the Hittites were powerful and had a system of writing can no longer be doubted, but what language or languages they spoke, and to what branch of the human race they belonged, is still a mystery; for all the efforts to decipher the records left by them on the rocks have not yet yielded satisfactory results. Though one man after another has taken up the subject, a key for unlocking their secrets has not been found. There is, however, every reason for believing that the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions is only a question of time. We say this in face of the fact that the most contradictory solutions have been suggested. The rude

representations or pictures found on their sculptures, as well as on other monuments, are not sufficiently perfect to enable anyone to conclude with any degree of certainty whether they were of Mongolian, Turanian, Semitic, or Aryan origin. And, even if this question were satisfactorily answered, it would not necessarily follow that the language left on their monuments was of the same origin. For it has often happened that the victor has adopted the language of the conquered. Scholars like our own Dr. William Hayes Ward, one of the best authorities on the subject under discussion, not only in America but anywhere, rejects the conclusions of Hilprecht and Jensen, who maintain that the Hittite language belonged to the Indo-European group. Dr. Ward likewise disagrees with Halevy and many others who make it Semitic, and though speaking with some caution it is evident that he would associate it with the Ural-Altaic languages. He is attracted to this view for two reasons. He says: "The features are not Semitic, nor are they Aryan. They agree much better with the Mongolian type. When we add to this the fact that the proper names of persons and cities resist the attempt to reduce them to Semitic triliterals, or to Aryan roots, we fairly conclude that they belong to a people who spoke one of that conglomerate of languages which has been called Turanian, which were spoken by the Mongolian peoples now represented by Turcomans rather than Chinese." Professor Sayce likewise rejects the Semitic origin of the Hittite language, and concludes from some similarity between the signs used on Cyprian and Hittite monuments that light may be thrown on the question by the study of the Cypriote. Attention has been called already in this department to the learned work of De Cara, an Italian Jesuit, who maintains with much force that the Hittites were the same people as the Pelasgians, the prehistoric inhabitants of the Grecian countries, thus making the Hittite civilization "the source and fountain head of the civilization of the Græco-Latin races of southern Europe."

The variety of theories proposed proves that we are still groping. The great *desideratum* just now is a polyglot inscription of considerable length. So far only one bilingual text has been found, namely, what is known as the boss of Tarkoudemos, who, according to Sayce, was a Cilician prince living in the time of our Lord. This was probably the seal of some ruler. It bears the figure of a king, around which are arranged a number of Hittite symbols; and on the outer edge is written the following legend in Assyrian characters, *Tarku-dimme sar mat Erme*, that is, "Tarku-dimme, king of the country of Erme." There is little doubt that, if the Hittite symbols on this seal were understood, the translation would be the same as that of the cuneiform script. This inscription, tantalizingly short as it is, cannot but prove helpful.

On May 23, 1894, there was discovered by Hogarth and Ramsay, in a mound at Arslan-Tepe, not far from Malatia on the upper Euphrates, a piece of sculpture with very perfect Hittite symbols and representations. The original is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, but photographs of the monument have been sent in all directions, so that

scholars may subject the symbols to a thorough study. Professor Jensen, of the University of Marburg, has written a very interesting article for the *Sunday School Times*, of January 2, 1897, discussing this bas-relief at great length. This learned orientalist has been devoting much time in recent years to the study of Hittite monuments, and for that reason is entitled to a hearing. He is convinced in his own mind that he has been progressing, if slowly, yet surely and satisfactorily. So sanguine is he of success as to indulge in the hope that "the nineteenth century will not reach its close without seeing the veil withdrawn from this important secret." He believes that he has now discovered beyond reasonable contradiction, and that on purely scientific grounds, the name of a Hittite king already known to history through the cuneiform inscriptions. As the question is discussed at great length in the article above referred to, we shall only add that Professor Jensen concludes that the Hittite language is the mother of the old Armenian, and thus of Aryan origin, and that the piece of sculpture under discussion "originated with Mut(t)allu, king of Kommagene, and therefore was executed between 712 and 708 B. C." Let us hope that the learned Marburg professor may have the pleasure of realizing his most sanguine expectations.

Our greatest hopes, however, lie in the direction of a more thorough excavation of the ancient Hittite sites of some of the old strongholds or capitals of this interesting people. For who can doubt that these silent, neglected mounds contain the desired information among their buried treasures? If Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt have revealed their past histories, why should not the land of the Hittites do the same? The partial excavation of Senjirli, in northern Syria, under the direction of the Oriental Committee of Berlin, in the year 1888, has brought to light several objects of great interest. In these old ruins were found articles inscribed in the Hittite, Assyrian, and Aramæan scripts. If, therefore, separate inscriptions in three different languages have already been disinterred at Senjirli, may we not hope that a trilingual text, if not here, then somewhere else, may yet reward the efforts of archæologists?

EARLY BABYLONIA.

Only a few years ago, when the famous inscription of Nabonidos, the last king of Babylonia, was made known, the historical critic had a quiet laugh at the expense of the credulous Assyriologist. Nabonidos was a great builder and restorer of temples, and while making some repairs or rebuilding the temple of the sun-god at Sippara he discovered an inscription which was more than three thousand years old. As it is brief we shall reproduce it: "I brought the sun-god out of his temple and placed him in another house; I pulled down that temple and sought for its old inscribed cylinder. I made excavations to the depth of eighteen cubits beneath the ground, and there the sun-god allowed me to find the inscriptions of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which for three thousand two hundred years no king who preceded me had found."

Now, as Nabonidos lived some six hundred years before our era, this would place Naram-Sin and Sargon I somewhere about 3500 B. C. No wonder, therefore, that scholars used to the subjective method of criticism manifested some skepticism about the correct rendering of the inscription, and attempted to ridicule the whole matter. Since that time, however, the earnest excavator has made excellent use of the pick and shovel, and has unearthed whole buried libraries with all their ancient treasure, and by means of other ancient clay books and monuments has corroborated the claim that great Sargon lived nearly four thousand years before the time of Christ. Moreover, the Assyriologist has shown that these ancient kings and their scribes were quite as proficient in chronology, and not half as much given to unprofitable theorizing, as the historical theologian of Germany and his faint echo in Great Britain and America.

The excavations of Ernest de Sarsec at Telloh, who only last year discovered a clay library of no less than thirty-three thousand tablets, have done much to show the great antiquity of Babylonian civilization. And still more so has the expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania, which has made such startling discoveries at Nippur, or ancient Niffer. Here, more than thirty-two thousand tablets of all kinds have been disinterred. So that now Professor Hilprecht is able to write, with as much assurance as any writer on ancient history, "Most of the early rulers of Babylonia, who were known to us only by name, and fourteen of whose very names had been lost, have been restored to history by this expedition." Not only have such a large number of texts of Sargon's time been found as to leave no longer any doubt about the powerful sway of this great monarch, but the script upon these tablets, though dating from about 4000 B. C., is also so perfect as to prove that it is not the product of an uncivilized people, but that writing and carving had been carried on for a long time, and that these inscriptions were executed in the "golden age of Babylonian history." We are, however, not left to mere inferences on this point, for while the American expedition was clearing the débris in the temple of Nippur, after having dug down some thirty-six feet the workmen came to a pavement made of huge bricks with the names of Sargon and his son, while some thirty feet under this pavement was still the "débris of other buildings." If, therefore, not less than thirty feet of rubbish was found between the foundations of Sargon's temple and that of the more ancient one built to Mullil, it is not unreasonable to conclude with Sayce that we have here to do with inscriptions dating as far back as 6000 or 7000 B. C. Among other things found under the pavement containing bricks with Sargon's name was a brick arch "in splendid preservation," as well as inscriptions of various kinds, not mere rude pictorial forms, but regular "cursive script, which we call cuneiform." So that, now, we may say with Sayce, "For the beginnings of Babylonian writing we have still to search among the relics of centuries that lie far behind the foundation of the temple of Nippur."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

CHRISTIANITY IN WEST AFRICA.

WHATEVER may enter into the explanation of the fact, it still remains a fact that the Christian religion has not become the religion of West Africa to any such extent as affords a satisfactory guarantee that it will rapidly develop as an aggressive force in the near future. This is not a statement of a novel character, nor is it intended as a pessimistic view of affairs in that quarter of the globe. No less than forty-six native clergymen and laymen of the Church of England recently expressed the same judgment in a formal document presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the following words: "Christianity has seen about a century in West Africa generally, and yet it to this day wears the character of an exotic. It has not been able to root itself in the soil, to get the people generally to identify their interest and their life with its existence and that of its institutions, and exercise toward it that devotion which they or their ancestors had exhibited toward heathenism. There is no strong guarantee for permanence and continuity in this exotic character, and Africans who believe in the regenerating power of the religion and wish to see it cover the whole country, who have some knowledge of its fate in North Africa after many centuries of existence, and of the complete failure of even its Roman Catholic form in comparatively more recent times after over two centuries of existence, and who are not altogether ignorant of the causes of these repeated and signal failures, are naturally anxious to see a repetition of the sad and terrible calamity avoided." This is a startling declaration. The definite assertion of the religious conditions which now exist in Africa, as indicated in this document, entitles it to the best hearing and respect.

These Africans attribute much of this failure to white man leadership, to which they say they have been all the time subjected. And yet it is difficult to find in this all that these brethren affirm concerning it. The same failure cannot be predicated of East Central Africa, and yet Uganda has had white man leadership from the first till now; and from the first or early days of its history among those tribes Christianity has been taken hold of by the people with all the zest they ever showed toward heathen religions and has "rooted itself in the soil." The "seed of the martyrs" is the source of their assurance. There is still room, however, to heed the suggestion that overdependence on foreign societies and subjection to foreign domination is a danger to which Africans do well to give heed. The native-born, captured, and released slave, who was for twenty-seven years bishop of the Niger—the renowned Bishop Crowther—certainly showed that much might be expected, if greater responsibility were thrown on the native Christians of even the West Coast. During his episcopate thousands of converts were won from the most debasing kind of heathen-

dom and idolatry, many of them from cannibalism, infanticide, and other cruel practices; and some of these became the most aggressive agents in bringing about the splendid result of Christian congregations and churches and schools which have, in thirty years, made that African desert to blossom like the rose. Bishop Crowther was elevated to the episcopacy as an experiment, to prove that the negroes had capacity for evangelizing important sections of the continent by themselves, without the stimulus of the presence and supervision of Europeans, and ability for exercising the higher offices of the Church. The close of his administration, however, left the English Church to believe that the experiment was not such a success as warranted a continuance of the policy, and a white man was appointed to succeed Bishop Crowther.

THE TRACT AGENCY AND MISSIONS.

THE work of the Tract Society in missionary extension scarcely comes into the foreground sufficiently to accentuate it in the mind of the Church. The preacher who, rather than have a blank, contributes a dollar from his own purse, or chips it off from bulk collections, that it may be entered in the column of the Tract Society collection, is quite too typical of the estimate in which this department of our benevolences is held by the Church at large. We are prone to forget the order and balance of our official operations. The Church Extension Society is supposed to care for the edifices in which Christian services are to be held, while the Missionary Society has also to do with the men who preach the Gospel; yet both are missionary operations. The work of the Tract Society, as appointed by the General Conference, is still different, and includes the issue of that Christian literature without which the success of the Church Extension and Missionary Societies would not be so pronounced at home and abroad. As an ally of all other societies of the Church the tract organization is, in fact, indispensable, and is therefore entitled to the most general attention and support.

Take a few instances of the operations of the Tract Society. It assists the Conferences of western Europe in meeting the demand for literature. The society in Germany issues no less than six hundred different tracts, last year aggregating a million pages. The Scandinavian missions vigorously sustain their tract literature. Switzerland last year distributed six hundred thousand pages, and pushed the circulation of its paper, *Friedensglocke*, to thirteen thousand eight hundred and sixty copies. North India reports forty thousand regular subscribers for some issues of their tracts, so that, immediately on being printed, forty thousand are sent abroad, the subscribers paying postage and five cents per hundred for them. The Lucknow press alone issued two and one half millions of pages of tract literature last year, at a cost of fifteen hundred dollars, by the aid of the Tract Society. At Calcutta the paper, *India's Young Folks*, and a hundred thousand pages of other current literature were given to the public, all of which would have been impossible but for the aid of the Tract

Society. Far away, down at Singapore, for the Straits-born Chinese, who are without any literature, publications have been issued in the Malay language. In the far East the *Christian Advocate*, published at Foo-Chow, is issued monthly. It goes into the homes of the influential *literati*, and a high official of a part of the province where we have five thousand Christians expressed a desire that all official edicts be published in this *Advocate*. It is not quite self-supporting; the subsidy comes from the Tract Society. Methodist hymnals, catechisms, disciplines, and periodicals in Japan, Korea, Italy, Bulgaria, Mexico, and the Argentine Republic are printed and circulated, in whole or in part, by means of appropriations of the Tract Society.

In this country every Conference is represented in the grants made. These have been distributed to immigrants, inmates of hospitals, prisons, and asylums, soldiers and sailors, and pastors in their regular work, until, as the leaves of the forest, fourteen million pages were sent out during last year. Of our regular churches not less than twenty-five hundred received grants of this form of literature from this society. From the French in New England to the Chinese in California, and from the coke burners about Pittsburg to the Spanish-speaking populations of New Mexico, the silent influences of the tract have reached our wide population through the benefactions of this society, and yet the total contributions to this splendid organization from all the Conferences for the year are reported at but a little over twenty thousand dollars.

We distinctly wish to emphasize the missionary element in this literary benefaction. It is as distinctly and definitely missionary as any other agency used by the Church, and yet the total amount asked for this branch of the service is one cent for every thirty cents given to the Missionary Society. A close inspection of the publishing houses of our foreign mission fields would impress on us the fact of their most penetrating and far-reaching influence. They reach persons and communities which by prejudice or other hindrance are positively beyond the reach of the living missionary. In the home fields the influence of tracts is also the same. Through all the mountains and valleys of our land, and in the great depths of vice to be found in hundreds of our cities these silent messengers are chiding consciences, offering consolation, inspiring the disheartened, enlightening the ignorant, and exerting influences which tend to save thousands from sinking to the level of the "submerged tenth," many of whom have become thus submerged by the resistless operation of evil forces with which they have been too weak to cope.

MISSIONARY OFFICERS IN COUNCIL.

THE Fifth Annual Meeting of the secretaries and directors of the several foreign missionary societies of the United States and Canada, held in New York city, January 12–14, suggested the growing unity between the several denominations and also the stage on which missionary discussion has somewhat recently entered, that of the consideration of polity. The

missionary magazines have come to recognize in part that their constituency now demand information on the comparative merits of the administrative and economic methods of conducting missionary operations, at home and abroad. The attempt to make comparisons, however, discloses to the several denominations many of their distinctive features which preclude parallel statement. This has long been known by experts. The statistical tables, for instance, regarding per cent of cost of administration and disbursements, are made on such radically differing bases as to render comparisons misleading. Yet an endeavor was made at this last session of the representatives of the various foreign missionary societies to find how far statistical forms could be adopted which would mean the same thing in all cases.

The effort to secure uniformity of practice in some other most important matters bids fair to be rewarded with a degree of success. No less than eighteen distinct decisions were unanimously agreed upon, such as the precedence of preaching over all other forms of missionary efforts; the restraint of native converts in their desire to come to this country or Europe for education; the discouragement of gifts outside the regularly approved estimates of missionary boards; the importance of frequent visitations of the officers of a missionary society to the several fields; the organization of simultaneous missionary campaigns; the value of the study of missions in theological institutions; and the necessity of a better definition of the relation of mission work to governments. The meeting also proposes the further discussion of many similar questions, such as uniformity in the salaries which are paid by the several societies to missionaries; the methods to be employed for raising missionary moneys; the "conversion" of pastors of the home churches who are not aroused on the importance of the evangelization of the world; the relation which higher education bears to the work of evangelization; the sending of lay missionaries to labor in foreign fields; the means of securing the best talent for foreign mission service; and the relation of industrial training to the development of mission churches.

The most interesting, and perhaps the most important, action was, however, the decision to make a call for a general conference of the missionary workers of the world at New York, in April, 1900. The committee appointed a year ago, to correspond with the societies in Great Britain and Europe on the desirability and feasibility of such a world's missionary conference to be held in this country at the close of the century, reported the uniform concurrence of all the societies which had been heard from, and which included nearly the whole list. Committees were also appointed at the present meeting to make further preparations for the holding of such a conference.

The representatives of the several woman's boards of foreign missions assembled for one day, January 15, and organized themselves into a conference similar to that of the general boards; and both these conferences will reassemble in 1898 as the guests of the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

K. U. Nylander. The theological situation which exists in Sweden at the present time is not well known to the average student in this country. The fact that it has played no part in the recent disputes which have been shaking the religious world has rather prevented inquiry as to what the theologians of Sweden are doing than created a presupposition as to their critical powers. As a matter of fact, a few of them have accepted the results of the modern critical school, generally in the form of which Wellhausen is the chief representative. Nylander is really a power in his own country, although he has not yet affected in any degree the outside world. Known among his own people as a superior Hebraist, he is hardly original enough to attract general attention. We name him here as a representative of one of the tendencies in Swedish theological thought. Avoiding the extremes of the followers of Wellhausen, he takes the middle course between them and the extreme conservatives, taking for his guides and teachers such men as Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Strack, though perhaps hardly so radical as either of them. With reference to the Psalms he has recently expressed himself at some length (*Inledning till Psalteren, isagogistickt-exegetisk afhandlung*—Introduction to the Psalter, an isagogistical-exegetical treatise. Upsala, Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1894). When he undertakes to support his belief in the existence of a Davidic psalm literature by reference to Amos vi, 5, which undoubtedly refers to the secular music at David's court, he does not increase our confidence in his critical judgment. But, though he places the origin of the most of the Psalms in the time of the second temple, thus greatly reducing the number of Davidic Psalms, still such exist, and as such he reckons Psalms iii, iv, vi, vii, xi–xiii, xv–xxi, xxiii, xxiv, xxix, xxx, xxxii, xxxvi, xli, lvi, lvii, lxi–lxiii, and perhaps ci, cx. Maccabean psalms, however, according to him, are not to be found in the psalter. Not even Psalms xliv, lxxiv, lxxix, lxxxiii are of the Maccabean period. To one who is acquainted with the advanced views which are held by European Old Testament critics these matters of divergence from the general view will appear mild in the comparison. It is a more radical thing for Nylander to assert the existence among the ancient Hebrews of animism and ancestor worship. The evolutionary presuppositions of modern criticism he furthermore totally rejects, and affirms his belief in inspiration. The Messianic character of certain psalms is, for him, determined by the citations from them which are made in the New Testament Scriptures. In general it may be said that he is measurably independent in the expression of his opinions, and that he has by this very independence opened the way for the opponents of his views to criticise him with severity.

Paul Natorp. He is the champion of an interesting idea with reference to the relation of religion and education. He finds society divided into classes to such an extent as might be expected only if those comprising them did not belong to the same humanity. He thinks religion is the means by which society is to be reunited. But not religion in the dogmatic sense, not religion which demands submission to dogma and creeds relative to the unseen and undemonstrable, but the religion which finds its expression within limits of humanity. In order to bring in this religion, and with it the reuniting of humanity, a new pedagogic is needful. Education must not deal with the individual as such, but with the individual as a member of society. And society is not to be understood as an organism in which the members merely exist side by side, but as one in which laws are observed and rights regarded by each and all without any sense of personal loss or inconvenience. The Christian religion, with its law of love, is exactly what will bring this state of affairs about if taught in its simplicity and purity and freed from its incomprehensible dogmas. Natorp expects that he will find opposition from two sources: first, from those who believe that religion is far more than a mere element in human education; and, secondly, from those who regard humanity as too noble to contain as one of its essential elements a thing so incomprehensible, indefinite, and subjective as religion, of which it is difficult to say whether it is to be regarded as an innocent, or as a gross and conscious, self-deception. Natorp believes that a proper limitation of religion will lose for it nothing which its best representatives have held precious, while at the same time he thinks such a limitation would make it acceptable to those who have hitherto opposed it. On the other hand, if the irreligious will consider the subject with the freedom from prejudice which they so loudly claim for themselves, they will discover that with the rejection of the extraneous elements of religion they have cast away an essential part of real human nature, something which, if properly viewed, is flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone. The difficulty with Natorp's scheme is that, like all attempts to unite opposing factions, it demands concessions from each, and so takes the form of a compromise; and compromises in the case of moral questions, as well as in other matters which will easily occur to the reader, are never the final settlement of anything. We better like the plan followed by those who with less irenic intentions seek after the truth, expecting that it will win.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation (Ignatius Loyola and the Counter-Reformation). By Eberhard Gothein. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1895. This is far more than a biography of Loyola; it is a history of the Jesuits, so far as Loyola was connected therewith. Both as a biography of the man, and as a history of the origin and early progress of the order, it is undoubtedly the best ever written. One of the chief virtues of the book is that it gives so comprehensive, detailed, and clear an idea of the

times of Ignatius. The religious development of the Spanish people is given at length, as also that of Italy, in order to prepare the mind for the so-called counter-reformation which was the product of the Church life of these two countries, and of which the order of Jesuits was one of the principal agents. The name of the order, *Compañia de Jesus*, is not translatable by the words, "Society of Jesus." It does not signify that the members are companions of Jesus, but rather that they are a militant host which has taken the name of its leader. As the Swiss mercenary troops were ever ready to go anywhere and fight for their leaders, so the Company of Jesus was to be ready to fight for Jesus. The name Jesuits is disapproved by members of the order. The Jesuitical doctrine of obedience comes in for a good share of Gothein's attention. He declares that to Ignatius the highest end was to secure in each member a dead mechanical compliance with his own purpose. In such compliance alone did he see a true observance of law and rule. Nowhere else can one secure so good a conception of the spiritual exercises of the Jesuits as in this book. The exercises themselves Ignatius considered to be the real education of a Jesuit. One of the great merits of the book is its treatment of other great personalities than Loyola, both of those who preceded and of those who were contemporary with him. Among them was Caraffa, who later occupied the pontifical throne as Paul IV, and who was to the counter-reformation in Italy what Loyola was to the whole of Europe. The book also gives a clear and comprehensive idea of Spanish mysticism, the prevalence of which in the sixteenth century was one of the prime conditions of the spread of reformation principles among the Spaniards. Ignatius was himself at one period in danger from the Inquisition as an adherent of the Illuminist party. Notwithstanding the fact that Gothein is a Protestant he has handled his subject with the true objectivity of an historian, and no fair-minded reader can charge him with lack of sympathy with his hero. Nevertheless, his biography contains too much truth to suit the Ultramontanists, and consequently does not win their favor.

Vie de St. Bernard, Abbé de Clairvaux (Life of St. Bernard, Abbé of Clairvaux). By the Abbé E. Vacandard. Paris, Victor Lecoffre, 1895. The most interesting of the monks of the Middle Ages has here found a competent biographer. To the majority of those who know something of Bernard he is a man conspicuous for his saintliness and for his burning love for Jesus Christ. All such may find here the facts needful to dispel this illusion. He was one of the most dogmatic of men, and at the same time one of the most commanding. He intermeddled with the theological speculations of his time, and always in the interest of strict orthodoxy, and with questions of far-reaching importance in the practical management of the Church. The prevalent impression that he always had his way is not exactly correct, nor is it substantiated by this book. Vacandard is a Romanist, and accepts as facts what nothing but the methods of viewing history peculiar to Rome could substantiate. So

that, while he excludes the large quantities of legendary matter which less discriminating writers would have inserted, yet he surrounds Bernard with a halo of the miraculous. Still, he attempts to be fair by admitting the limitations of the man. He sometimes exaggerated, though for the purposes of the orator, that is, to attract the greater attention, and his language did not always indicate a spirit of moderation. The things which he said against those whom he opposed cannot always be accepted without allowance, although Bernard was himself convinced of their truth. Perhaps Vacandard might have done well to add that, while Bernard was generally frank even to the point of excess, he was sometimes so careful as to suggest that he knew how to be diplomatic on occasion. As an orator Vacandard considers him lacking in correct taste, which, however, in his estimate is not essential to the highest oratory. It is rather the sweep of thought and the power of conviction that makes the orator, according to the belief of Vacandard, and in these matters Bernard need fear no rival. One of the most instructive portions of the book is that in which the author compares Bernard's conception of love with that of Fénelon and Madame Guyon. Utterances of Bernard, however, which were out of harmony with post-Tridentine Romanism Vacandard passes over in silence, though he refuses to explain away his hero's opposition to the doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary. He mentions the fact that "enemies" of "the Church" have compared Bernard with Martin Luther. On this point he remarks that the comparison is infinitely to the disadvantage of the Abbé of Clairvaux. This is a question concerning which Protestants and Romanists would naturally and permanently differ. From a sermon of Bernard we infer that cheese, milk, and fish were a part of the diet at Clairvaux. Vacandard seems to overlook the significance of this.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Christianity and Natural Science. We have seen in the last two numbers of the *Review* what Harnack and Kaftan had to say with reference to the apologetic relation which exists between Christianity and history, and also the relation prevailing between Christianity and philosophy. In the same series of addresses Dr. Riehm, head master in Halle, spoke on the relation, apologetically considered, between Christianity and natural science. He begins his remarks by calling attention to the fact of the supposed enmity existing between Christianity and natural science, and gives as an early illustration the excited warnings of Luther and Melanchthon against the newly announced Copernican theory of the revolution of all the planets about the sun. He proposes to show that there can be no conflict between the representatives of science and Christianity, unless on one side or on both sides there is a transgression of the proper limitations of their respective domains. In order to do this Riehm gives a somewhat detailed history of primitive and later thought relative to the origin and progress of the physical universe. This review also demonstrates how thoroughly the newer conceptions have banished the earlier ones, and how

strongly they have intrenched themselves in the minds of all educated people. The chasms in the demonstration of the Darwinian theory of the origin of species, to which Riehm firmly adheres, he regards as explicable on the ground that conditions must be very favorable in order to secure the petrifaction of an organism, and that as yet but a small portion of the earth's surface has been made use of as a field of research. Under all the circumstances he regards the discoveries made remarkably corroborative of the theory in question. Having freely admitted all the supposed discoveries of modern science, Riehm declares they are purely scientific matters having nothing to do with religion. The Darwinists have overstepped their bounds in declaring that the theory renders a Creator unnecessary, and that it disproves the teleological view of the universe. But, just because of this materialistic conclusion which many Darwinists drew, the conduct of the theologians in rejecting the theory itself on the ground that it conflicts with the teachings of Scripture is explicable. Yet in so doing the theologians, like the Darwinists before them, departed from their proper sphere. They forgot that the Bible has for its purpose to instruct as to the ideal mutual relations between God and man, not to spare us the necessity of historical, geographical, or scientific investigation. In fact, says Riehm, the account of creation found in the Bible is irreconcilable with the findings of science; and, since the Bible is not a book of science, we must yield its scientific utterances as far as they conflict with the progress of discovery. The one thing which the author of Genesis really wished to inculcate was, not how, but the fact that, God is the author of all matter and all force, and that he has, therefore, power over all and that nothing can occur to us except by his wish or will. And this is in no wise contrary to the findings of science. The chemist cannot explain the origin of matter, nor the physicist the origin of force. Should any one assert, says Riehm, that matter and motion have existed from all eternity, the mathematician will tell him that he does not know what eternity means. For, even if billions of years passed before the rotating sphere of nebula took the form of the present universe, eternity is still longer. Other billions of years preceded. Why was it that in those billions of years the supposed rotation did not produce the present condition. A developing, progressive, changing movement cannot be eternal. Only an unchanging or a periodical movement, or rest, can be eternal. In like manner the assertion that the teleological conception is destroyed by Darwinism is not justified by the facts. If the laws of nature are so constituted as to produce by their mutual interaction a world so marvelously complicated as ours from a rotating ball of nebulous matter, shall we say that the qualities and laws of matter are what they are by accident and without purpose? Is that sense or nonsense? But, if these qualities are in matter for a purpose, then He must have cherished this purpose who gave matter its attributes. How this is no science can tell us, but the Scripture only. The scientist may be astonished at the dependence he can place on the operation of natural law; the Christian recognizes in these laws the will of God, which no one can alter. Natural

science, so far from being able to deny the work of the Creator, has rather for its function to show in some measure how God proceeded in the construction of the world, although the first act of creation is still left unexplained and inexplicable. The Almighty, holds Riehm, could without difficulty have revealed the actual method of creation to the author of the Book of Genesis; but nothing useful would have been accomplished thereby, for men would not have understood the revelation as it was given. Martin Luther once described heaven to his little son, Hans, as a great and beautiful garden in which grew all manner of delicious fruits, where the inhabitants rode on beautiful horses and shot with silver crossbows. If Hans took this letter in his hand in later years he would have found it just as edifying as in his infancy, although he would have interpreted his father's fanciful description of the other life in an entirely different sense. As children, we think as children; as men, as men. So it is, says Riehm, with the story of the fall. As it is related in Genesis it did not occur. And yet we all know how frightfully true is the intent of the story there told. Natural science can never make us hesitate to believe in God, the Almighty, the Maker of heaven and earth; nor can it have anything to object against the doctrine that the Almighty God is our Father, whom we may trust unconditionally and with childlike confidence because he loves us more than all else and is himself love. With equal confidence we may pray to him, in the assurance that he hears and answers our prayers, in spite of the unbending character of natural law. For our prayers for spiritual blessings have nothing whatever to do with the laws of nature; while He who knoweth what we need before we ask him did not so construct the universe that he could not give the objects of their petitions to them that ask in confidence. As to the miracles, Riehm further continues, it must be said that faith does not consist in holding them as true. Unbelief directs its chief assaults against the belief in miracles. It is true that the scientific investigator finds much in everyday life which is incomprehensible, and that certain of the miracles, especially those of healing, can be explained to-day by the known effect of mental influence of one upon another; yet it ought to be remembered that Jesus laid but little stress upon his own miracles, and rated that faith very low which was based upon them. To require this acceptance of the miracles, unless at the bottom of one's own heart he felt that the conflict between them and the laws of nature was overcome, would result in self-deception and hypocrisy. This would indeed be not merely a dead faith; it would be a faith that would kill. Faith, says Riehm, is not intellectual acceptance, but confidence. It is an affair of the heart, and not of the understanding. If one believes in God, his heavenly Father, places himself entirely in his merciful hands, trusts him for daily forgiveness of sin for the sake of Christ, who suffered and died, then he can leave all that is secondary and subordinate on one side, and then he has the true faith which furnishes power for good works, and which makes us holy and happy both here and in the world that is to come.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

SOME years since a young man who was speaking in a Southern church on Scripture study made a complimentary allusion to Shakespeare, in illustration of his point "with regard to the appreciation of the Bible as literature." His remarks called forth a rejoinder from a leading member of the church, who "arose and delivered a very severe philippic against Shakespeare and 'others of his tribe,' saying that they had done incalculable harm to the cause of sound morality and religious instruction." In this condemnation the pastor of the church also joined, who said that he "had never read but one play of Shakespeare's, and very little else of secular literature;" and afterward so many others united in the criticism that the young man found himself "largely in the minority, and went to his home a sadder but, perhaps, a wiser man." Such is briefly the incident with which Edwin Mims, M.A., introduces his article on "Poetry and the Spiritual Life," in the January number of the *Methodist Review* of the Church South. As an offset, however, to the incident Mr. Mims next quotes from Farrar as follows: "I dare to say that I have learned more of high and holy teaching from Dante and Shakespeare, Milton and Wordsworth, Browning and Tennyson, than I have learned from many of the professed divines. The poets have given me more consolation in sorrow, more passion for righteousness, more faith in the divine goodness, more courage to strive after the attainment of the divine ideal, more insight into the sacred charities which save us from despairing over the littleness of man, than I have derived from other men. . . . Next to these [Christ and the prophets and apostles of the Bible], of all human teachers I would place the illumined souls of the few Christian poets of the world who, sweeping aside the sham and rubbish of Pharisaism, lead us to realities and to the living Christ." After a general analysis of the high qualities necessary in a poet Mr. Mims observes that Shakespeare, "more than any man that has ever lived, had a vision of the life of man in its entirety," and quotes the advice of the late Dr. Broadus to the theological students of Vanderbilt University, that they "could not afford to leave Shakespeare out of their libraries." Wordsworth, next, "had a vision of nature as the revelation of God and as the teacher and comforter of man. . . . To an age of materialism he spoke a message of spiritual life; to an age of doubt and skepticism he brings the calm and rest of a sublime faith in God and man and nature." As for Tennyson, he "has many a message for those who are seeking for the truth." And, lastly, Browning's "faith in God and immortality and Christ was never shaken; his poetry is a triumphant assertion of those fundamental facts of the spiritual life." So do the poets "keep alive the sparks of divinity in man," as the successors of David, Job, the prophets who "denounced evil in all forms," and that apostle who "caught a vision of the city of the New Jerusalem."

A NEW venture in the department of monthly theological literature is *The Expositor*, which is the American edition of the English magazine of the same name. Its first issue bears the date of February. Its American editor is the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Hall, D.D., recently elected President of the Union Theological Seminary. Particularly trenchant and disillusionizing is the review of *The Mind of the Master*, with which the publication opens. It is a "superficially attractive and a deeply disappointing book;" the reviewer finds specimens of "theology unrecognized," of "unsteadiness of the pen," and of "inadequate and evasive thinking," and another utterance challenges "good taste or decency." As to Dr. Watson's suggestion for a new creed, the author believes that a Church "with no creed but the Sermon on the Mount . . . would neither bear witness to any definite doctrines nor hold together for six months." The writer of the critique is the Right Rev. G. A. Chadwick, D.D., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. The following article, by Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., discusses "Christ's Attitude to His Own Death," and particularly analyzes certain utterances of the Saviour upon that impending event. In his article on "Christian Perfection" Dr. J. A. Beet considers the word "perfect," as it occurs in the New Testament, with a scholarly comparison of different texts. "The teaching of the New Testament about perfection," he concludes, "as a whole, holds before us for our pursuit and attainment a measure of moral and intellectual and spiritual maturity as much above the actual condition of some of the members of the apostolic churches as is the strength and development of manhood above the weakness and waywardness of a child." The remaining articles, on which we may not comment, are "Notes on Obscure Passages of the Prophets," by Professor T. K. Cheyne, D.D.; "John's View of the Sabbath Rest," by George Matheson, D.D.; "The Linguistic History of the Old Testament, and Maurice Vernes' Dating of the Documents," by Professor Eduard König, D.D.; "On Dr. Schürer's Reply," by Professor W. M. Ramsay, D.D.; "The Priest of Penitence," by Rev. E. N. Bennett; and "Note on the Meaning of the Word ΑΙΩΝΙΟΣ," by Rev. J. H. Wilkinson. The "Reviews of New Books" is a full and valuable department, Dr. Hall himself being a contributor. The vigor, wide scope, and high scholarship of this new periodical commend it to the notice of the American ministry.

THE desire to remove, or at least diminish, "the existing divisions of Christendom" marks the close of the nineteenth century. No longer are Catholic and Protestant, Calvinist and Arminian "content to fight," caring "only for victory." These are the introductory statements of a vigorous article on "The Problem of Christian Unity" in the *London Quarterly Review* for January. Among the causes leading to "desire for mutual understanding" are "the scientific study of history," "the more complete acquaintance with one another," and "reunion conferences of all descriptions." The problem of organic union is, however, by no means simple. Some, in fact, "see plainly enough that the mediæval theory

of ecclesiastical uniformity has disappeared, never to return." The latest project for reunion, on the part of the English Church, has met its defeat in the bull of Leo XIII that "ordinations carried out according to Anglican rite have been and are absolutely null and utterly void"—though, "on the ground of possessing the inestimable blessing of an order of clergy with certain exclusive rights," the Church of England "expects Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists to give up their autonomy for State bondage." Yet, while organic union must come slowly, if at all, "a deep and abiding unity does exist, which no sectarian controversies can prevent or disturb," the "unity of the spirit" that Christians are bidden to "guard, in the bond of peace." The second article of this quarterly discusses "Sheridan," and describes his genius, literary labors, public successes, and sad decline. "Mr. Gladstone's 'Butler'" is the subject of the third article. The reviewer notices in detail the work of revision and annotation, performed by the man whom Döllinger pronounced "the best theologian in England," and, with some differences of opinion on "comparatively minor matters," confesses his "high admiration of both the man and the book." All will join him in the further expression that "there is something both pathetic and gladdening in the sight of one of the very foremost of British men of affairs, whom honored old age has brought to the confines of the world to come, on which he has spent so much and so protracted thought, calmly asserting his firm faith in it and his trust in the goodness and faithfulness of God." The fourth article, entitled "New Theistic Speculations," gives an outline of Professor C. B. Upton's book, and pronounces the work "one of the ablest in an able series." The fifth article, on "Mr. Augustus Hare's 'Story of My Life,'" and the sixth, on "Sir Humphry Davy," are charming as brief reviews, and suggest that the volumes themselves are still more attractive. The next article, on "The Puritan Settlements in New England," discusses twelve books recently issued on the general subject, and is an intelligent Old World review of New World growth. The eighth and last article notices "Earl Selborne," and pays worthy tribute to one who was "a profound lawyer, a consummate advocate, a masterly and persuasive speaker in Parliament, a great chancellor, a wise statesman, . . . a humble, steadfast Christian."

In the *Nineteenth Century* for February is found: 1. "Urgent Questions for the Council of Defence," by Captain Lord Charles Beresford; 2. "The Plague," by Dr. Montagu Lubbock; 3. "The Elizabethan Religion (in Correction of Mr. George Russell)," by J. Horace Round; 4. "The London University Problem," by Sir Joshua Fitch, LL.D.; 5. "The True Nature of 'Falsetto,'" by E. Davidson Palmer; 6. "Law and the Laundry," by Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, Mrs. Creighton, Mrs. Sidney Webb, and Lady Frederick Cavendish; 7. "Timber Creeping in the Carpathians," by E. N. Buxton; 8. "Recent Science," by Prince Kropotkin; 9. "Life in Poetry—Poetical Expression," by Professor Courthope, C.B.; 10. "Sketches Made in Germany, No. 3," by Mrs. Blyth;

11. "Gibbon's Life and Letters," by Herbert Paul; 12. "Individualists and Socialists," by the Dean of Ripon; 13. "Nurses *à la mode*—a Reply to Lady Priestley," by Mrs. Bedford Fenwick.

THE February number of the *Review of Reviews* gives much of its space to notices of General Francis A. Walker, Rudyard Kipling, and Robert Browning. "Few men," it says of Walker, "have lived so many lives in one." And again, making reference to him in "A Plea for the Protection of Useful Men," it asserts: "So valuable a piece of public property as such a man ought not to be worried and badgered to death by petty demands upon his time and strength, any more than the high-bred race horse should be used for dray purposes, or precious stones for road making." Dean Farrar's address at the recent service commemorating Browning's decease is also included in the present issue. His theme is "The Significance of Browning's Message," and his lesson from the poet's life and writings is that we should live "truly, nobly, bravely, wisely, happily." F. Herbert Stead follows with a paragraph on "Browning as a Poet of the Plain People."

Two of the prominent articles in the January and February numbers of the *Homiletic Review* are contributed by C. H. Payne, D.D., LL.D. The first is entitled "The Coming Revival—Its Characteristics," and the second, "The Coming Revival—Signs of Its Coming." In optimistic spirit the writer believes that the American Church "is about to enter upon a revival epoch unprecedented in her history." We would invite particular attention to these articles, for their scholarship, hopefulness, and breadth of view. A third paper is to complete the series.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for January has: 1. "Forty-one Years in India;" 2. "Ulster Before the Union;" 3. "William Morris, Poet and Craftsman;" 4. "Sir George Tressady;" 5. "Algeria;" 6. "The 'Pharsalia' of Lucan;" 7. "The Progress and Procedure of the Civil Courts of England;" 8. "What was the Gunpowder Plot?" 9. "Rooks and Their Ways;" 10. "Newspapers, Statesmen, and the Public;" 11. "Financial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland."

THE *Christian Quarterly* for January is a new issue "devoted to the advocacy of the faith, doctrine, and practice of New Testament Christianity." It is scholarly and promising.—Both the *Lutheran Quarterly* and the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January have articles on Melanchthon.——The *Chautauquan* for February has as attractive illustrated articles, "Masterpieces of French Painting," by Horace Townsend, and "The Active Rear Admirals of the United States Navy," by E. L. Didier.——Much attention is given to China in the February number of the *Gospel in All Lands*. For its typography, illustrations, and general attractiveness, Dr. Smith, its editor, is to be commended.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Works of Bishop Butler. Edited by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxxvii, 461; x, 464. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $7.

Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. 12mo, pp. 370. Same publishers. Price, cloth, $2.

Butler's *Analogy* was published in 1736. That in 1896 that extraordinary man, Mr. Gladstone, a statesman-theologian of undeniably large and accurate learning, as well as philosophical subtlety and logical acumen, should consider, after lifelong study of the works of Bishop Butler, that the most fitting labor to crown his powerful life and the greatest service needed at his hands by mankind will be found in making the substance and meaning of Joseph Butler's writings more easily accessible and readily comprehensible to all students—this simple fact is so great a testimony to the value of Butler's works that the force of it can scarcely be overestimated by the orthodox or belittled by the heterodox. As for the success of Mr. Gladstone's efforts, it must be said that, in his edition, a master thinker of the nineteenth century has—by the division into sections with headings, by perfect indexes, and by explanatory and illustrative notes—made the works of a master thinker of the eighteenth century accessible, convenient, lucid, and alluring to men of the coming centuries. Volume I contains the *Analogy*, as also the dissertations on Personal Identity and the Nature of Virtue, and the correspondence with Dr. Samuel Clarke. Volume II contains the fifteen sermons on Human Nature, or Man Considered as a Moral Agent, six sermons preached upon public occasions, a charge to the clergy of the diocese of Durham, etc. In the smaller volume of subsidiary *Studies* Mr. Gladstone discusses Butler's method and its application to the Scriptures, his censors (Mr. Bagehot, Miss Hennell, Leslie Stephen, and Matthew Arnold), his mental qualities, the points of his positive teaching, his theology, metaphysical points, the Butler-Clarke correspondence, and Bishop Butler's celebrity and influence. In addition there are the chapters on A Future Life, Our Condition Therein, Necessity or Determinism (considered by some his strongest and most valuable discussion), Teleology, Miracles, The Mediation of Christ, and Probability as the Guide of Life. In these studies a broad, subtle, sinewy mind, often and long the helmsman of a world-wide empire, wielding for many years a more than royal power, familiar with and adequate to the most lofty, extensive, and intricate subjects, pours out upon one of the most compact and colossal arguments of human reasoning a "rich treasury of comment and expansion from the stores of his own philosophical thought and religious devotion." A circumspect mind, taking probability as a guide, will conclude, we think, that arguments which impress Gladstone as weighty and cogent after over a half century of examination are not

likely to be easily remanded to the museum of curious theological antiquities by any of our recent readjusters, disintegrators, and dispensers, few, if any, of whom are of stature to cast a shadow approaching the size of his. These three volumes, constituting together a cubic block of solid intellect thrown into the midst of a time all too ready to make weak, precipitate, needless, and treasonable concessions to deniers and destroyers, are opportune, steadying, and establishing. A man who will deny that Butler and Gladstone constitute a syndicate of brains and erudition formidable and hard to match proves himself so brainless and ignorant as to be incapable of judging; and the "liberal scholarship and progressive thought" which motion them contemptuously aside as having no footing in the arena of end-of-the-century discussion are so light-headed and trivial as to recall the old lady's seaside endeavor with a broom against the flooding tide. Mr. Gladstone in his Preface modestly suggests that some one else, naming Dean Church, might have done the work of editing better; but it is the expressed opinion of the scholarly world that this edition of Butler's works, with Gladstone's comments, will not be set aside or improved upon. Massive and monumental, it will abide. The volume of subsidiary *Studies* is in some ways even more interesting than those which contain the *Analogy;* in it we have Gladstone himself as an independent thinker and not as a commentator; and the *Studies* show an octogenarian ripeness without a trace of senility.

The Expansion of Religion. Six Lectures Delivered before the Lowell Institute. By E. WINCHESTER DONALD, Rector of Trinity Church in the city of Boston. 12mo, pp. 238. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The busy rector of one of the most conspicuous churches of the land here gives to the reading public in permanent form certain valuable addresses which he had formerly delivered before a Massachusetts institute. Their individuality and separateness, which is noticeable as one turns the pages of the book, are owing to the fact that they were delivered on different occasions; their unity is attributable to the further fact that they are the scholarly and cohesive utterances of a Gospel minister on many of the practical relations of Christianity to the problems of personal and social existence. The first lecture of Dr. Donald is entitled "Religion and Salvation." As an opening postulate he takes occasion to speak of religion as "the common possession of all mankind," and to affirm that "the Christian's contrite prayer is the blossoming of the pagan's attempt to purchase the Deity's favor by something done or something sacrificed." The author's differentiation of Christianity, in other words, from the heathen religions of the world, is not that sharply drawn definition with which we are usually familiar. He fails to see why it is either "perilous or untrue" to affirm that Christianity differs only in degree from other religions. It is, he declares, "the great expansion of religion, not simply of Judaism, but of every form of religion which has sensitized the conscience, invigorated the will, and directed the hopes of mankind." Or, to quote still further, the writer says: "I claim, therefore, that this is a

true expansion of religion, which has lifted Christianity, as we know it here in America, up out of the narrow notion of it as standing in solitary grandeur among the faiths of the world, to which it has no ties of spiritual kinship, and is setting it forth as the evolutionary, divine fulfillment of what has been living and growing in the heart of man since the day he was placed upon this earth." The view is one that is not held by all. As fairly as is possible, however, we would in these few words show the author's position and leave the matter with the student of religion for his own disposal. The second lecture of Dr. Donald, on "The New Anthropology," is a vigorous emphasis of the value of man in the order of creation. The distortion, "How much is a sheep better than a man," has already been restored, the author holds, to its "original divine" form, "How much is a man better than a sheep." The high value that is now being placed on man is evidenced in the establishment, under the new anthropology, of hospitals; in the larger attention given to sanitary science, including tenement house reform; in the increasing emphasis laid on physical exercise; in a new use of the Sabbath day; and in the estimate now put upon "the spiritual significance of health and sickness." The third chapter of this thoughtful book, entitled "Religion and Righteousness," is an expansion of the idea that religion is "insisting upon the necessity of righteousness to the economic welfare of society," and to this end is "redefining righteousness." In the next chapter, on "Religion and Industrialism," are noticed some of the charges that industrialism makes against civilization, and in turn the growing consciousness of religion as to its duty toward industrialism. "Religion and Socialism" is the title of the fifth chapter. Religion, it declares, is strenuously insisting upon "the separateness of the individual;" is laying great stress "upon the duty of loyalty to superiority, and upon the duty of protection to inferiority;" and is opposed to socialism, which is "in strict principle the proposal so to reorganize human society by State enactment that there shall be an absolute statutory equality of opportunity and possession for every member of society." Religion, on the other hand, "stands for personality, for the assertion and refinement of self-separateness, and for the duty of self-development;" and its expansion "precedes and creates the altruism without which every plan to raise man in the social scale is doomed to irretrievable failure." This brings us logically to the notice of the claims which organized religion has "upon the allegiance of the people," as noticed in chapter six. It ministers to man's "instinctive sensitiveness to God;" it exercises an "ethical force in the life of society" superior to that of the press, the stage, the schools; and it is "distinctly on the side of weakness, ignorance, and innocence." Such are the successive steps of the author's argument, and we have traced an outline of his reasoning through the successive chapters because this method best shows what he aims to teach. With certain of his utterances all will not agree, as, for instance, his views upon permissible Sabbath diversions, or his assertion that "of the need of the playhouse to healthy life there ought to be no serious doubt;" yet, in the main, his positions will have the

sanction of the reader. He has evidently thought long upon the social problems he discusses, and is jealous for the advance of Christianity through the many doors of opportunity which now open before it.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality. By STEWART D. F. SALMOND, M.A., D.D. 8vo, pp. 697. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $5.

This portly volume is an expansion of a course of lectures given in the Free Church College at Aberdeen, Scotland, on the Cunningham Foundation, by Dr. Salmond, the Professor of Theology in that institution. The quick call for a second edition is practical evidence of the value of the book. The author uses the word immortality in the large sense which Paul gives it when he speaks of "this mortal" putting on "immortality." Life, eternal life, the immortality of the man and not of the soul only, is held to be the message of the Bible, alike in Old Testament and New, in Christ and in apostle, in John and in Paul. The Preface says: "The eye of man looks wistfully to the end. Life, like love, believes in its own immortality. Heart and mind cry for light upon what is beyond the grave. Nor do they cry in vain. They have their answer in themselves. They have it in highest measure in those words of the Lord Jesus, into whose clear depths men have never ceased to look since they were first spoken, and from which they have never turned unsatisfied. It is the primary object of this book to ascertain what these words disclose of man's future. It does not undertake to examine the belief in immortality in its relations either to science or speculation. The rational proofs which have been elaborated in support of the hope of a future existence have their own interest, although it does not lie in the logic of the case. The heart has reasons of its own, better than those of the understanding, for its assurance of immortality. It has also its own presages of what that immortality will be. So far as these have any place in Scripture they come within the scope of this book," which is occupied mostly with the testimony of the Bible and the biblical theology; the witness of reason, the place given in literature to the faith in immortality, the philosophical aspects of the subject, and the history of opinion being only partially dealt with. Looking at its great subject from the scriptural standpoint, the very bulk of this volume gives promise that in it may be found a probably exhaustive treatment. It is a thorough refutation of the attempts made in recent years to traverse or modify the traditional and natural sense of Scripture, especially of the New Testament. Mr. Gladstone, whose studies in his retired old age center upon the great convictions and arguments of immortal man, calls this book "an able, truth-loving, and, from many points of view, comprehensive work." Goldwin Smith says Dr. Salmond "subjects the sacred records of Christianity to critical examination. He does not talk effete orthodoxy to an age of reason. Nor does he rest upon the evidence of revelation alone. He endeavors to combine with it that of manifestation as presented by reason and history." With entire candor, with patient and lucid reasoning, and with commanding scholarship, the author handles a

subject bristling with difficulties and bombarded by objections in a way to show triumphantly that Christianity "has translated the hope of immortality from a guess, a dream, a longing, a probability, into a certainty, and has done this by interpreting us to ourselves, and confirming the voice of prophecy within us." It is the opinion of Principal Cave that this book steps at once into the first place in the front rank. The following summary of its contents indicates the course of its argument: THE ETHNIC PREPARATION.—Introductory—Ideas of Lower Races—Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, and Greek Beliefs. THE OLD TESTAMENT PREPARATION.—Negative and Positive Aspects of Old Testament Preparation—The Notes of Old Testament Preparation—The Contribution of the Poetical Books, the Prophets, and Ecclesiastes. CHRIST'S TEACHING.—General Consideration—Doctrine of the Return—Doctrine of Judgment—Doctrine of the Resurrection—Intermediate State—Doctrine of Final Destinies. THE GENERAL APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE.—Apostolic Doctrine and Non-Canonical Literature—Teaching of James, Jude, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse—Doctrine of Peter and John. THE PAULINE DOCTRINE.—General Statement—Particulars of Paul's Doctrine—Paul's Doctrine of the Resurrection. CONCLUSIONS.—The Contribution of Christianity to the Hope of Immortality—Doctrines of Annihilation and Conditional Immortality—Restorationism and Allied Doctrines—The Alternative Doctrine. APPENDICES. INDICES.

Missions and the Pentecostal Church. Annual Sermon Before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Delivered at Toledo, O., October 6, 1896, by Rev. EDWARD N. PACKARD, D.D. Pamphlet, pp. 19. Published by the American Board, 1 Somerset Street, Boston.

The text is the Day of Pentecost, and from that epoch-making event lessons are drawn for our present-day mission work. "Just so far as the Church has been Pentecostal has it been missionary. It was so at the beginning, and in the first three centuries, when the whole Roman empire, fifteen hundred miles north and south, and two thousand miles east and west, was evangelized. It was so at the Reformation, when the pure Gospel was preached and sung into the hearts of nearly the whole of western Europe. It was so at the opening of this century, when revivals blessed the land, and various boards of missions took form. Indeed, the modern era of world-wide evangelization may be said to have begun with the revivals under the Wesleys and Whitefield, and more specifically with the great essay of President Edwards, 'An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth.' The Holy Spirit in the Church is the impelling power of missions. The fire from heaven touches individual souls with a sudden glory, and we see a Goodell leaving the farm in Vermont and carrying his trunk on his back as he walks over the hills to Andover to prepare himself for the grandest tasks; we see Harriet Newell laying down her young life on the Isle of France; we see the anointed group around the haystack at Williams College. The Spirit has breathed upon the

Churches, and they have sent forth their choicest young men and women to the ends of the earth. The abundant life from God flows into the life of a man or woman, and then those who are thus inspired are brought out into the open; they are baptized into a sense of all conditions; they are swayed by universal obligations, and are free to take up impossibilities. They open continents with Livingstone; they turn multitudes to righteousness with Titus Coan; they translate the Bible into the language of millions with Dwight and Riggs; they stand before kings with Cyrus Hamlin; or they move as angels of mercy among the starving and dying with Grace Kimball and the whole band of heroic missionaries in Armenia." The familiar story is repeated of the conversation between a monk and Pope Innocent IV in the Vatican. "As they sat together large quantities of gold and silver were being carried by servants into the papal treasury. The pope, with satisfaction, said, 'You see that the Church need not say now, Silver and gold have I none!' 'Yes, holy father,' replied the honest monk, 'and the day is past when she can say to the paralytic, Take up thy bed and walk.'" At the World's Congress of Religions the gifted Miss Josephine Lazarus, a Jewess, said with prophetic eloquence: "The times are full of signs. On every side there is a call, an awakening, a challenge. Out of the heart of our materialistic civilization has come the cry of the spirit hungering for bread, the bread without money and without price, and a thirsting for living waters, of which, if a man drink, he shall never thirst again. What the world needs to-day, not alone the Jews, who have borne the yoke, but the Christians, who bear Christ's name and have built up a civilization so entirely at variance with the principles he taught—what we all need, Gentiles and Jews alike—is not so much a new body of doctrine, but a new spirit put into life, which will fashion it upon a nobler plan and consecrate it to higher ideals and purposes. Christians and Jews alike, have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Once more," she pleads, "once more let the Holy Ghost descend and dwell among you as it did upon your holy men, your prophets of the olden time, lighting the world with that radiance from the skies, and so make known the faith that is in you, for by their fruits ye shall know them."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Democracy and Liberty. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. xxi, 568; xix, 601. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $5.

In sobriety, breadth, and weight, as well as in clearness and strength, this book, by the distinguished author of *The History of European Morals*, belongs with Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, treating as it does, though with a wider range, of the same region of human interest and discussion. The author thinks that his exhaustive study of the history of England in the eighteenth century may have furnished him with kinds of knowledge and methods of reasoning which may be of use in discussion of contem-

porary questions, and is certain that the history of the past is not without its uses in elucidating the politics of the present. This work deals with a large number of questions, some fundamental and vital, relating to the civil and political life of modern civilization. The mass of valuable matter in the book was susceptible of somewhat better arrangement by the author, and its appearance would have been improved if the division by chapters had coincided more exactly with the division into topics. The subjects of the first volume in their order are as follows: English Representative Government in the Eighteenth Century; French Democracy; American Democracy; Measures of Reform; Irish Land Question; Confiscation of Landlord Rights by the Act of 1881; Other Attacks on Property; Some Suggested Remedies; Increase of State Taxation in Europe—its Causes; Aristocracies and Upper Chambers; Early History of the House of Lords; The Hereditary Element; Causes of its Debility; Its Judicial Functions; Foreign Upper Houses; Colonial Constitutions; Proposals for Reforming the House of Lords; Nationalities; America a Test Case; The Italian Question; Democracy and Religious Freedom; India; Mormonism. The second volume continues the discussion of religious liberty, and contains chapters on Catholicism and Democracy—Ireland; Continental Catholicism; Laws of 1881 and 1882; Sunday Legislation; Gambling; Intoxicating Drink; Marriage Laws; Various Forms of Imperfect Marriages and Marriage Disabilities; Civil Marriage; Divorce; Socialism; Socialism in Germany; Labor Questions; The Factory Laws; Other Methods of Conciliation; Moral Element in Labor Questions; Woman Questions; Arguments Against Female Suffrage. A copious and helpful analytic table of contents is prefixed, and a full index is suffixed to the book. Lecky agrees with Bryce that the government of cities is the one most conspicuous failure of the United States, and quotes in confirmation of this opinion from A. D. White, who says: "I wish to deliberately state a fact easy of verification—the fact that whereas, as a rule, in other civilized countries municipal governments have been steadily improving until they have been made generally honest and serviceable, our own, as a rule, are the worst in the world, and they are steadily growing worse every day." For particular illustration Mr. White is further quoted as saying: "The city of Berlin, in size and rapidity of growth, may be compared to New York. It contains twelve hundred thousand inhabitants, and its population has tripled within the last thirty years. . . . While Berlin has a municipal life at the same time dignified and economical, with streets well paved and cleaned, with a most costly system of drainage, with noble public buildings, with life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness better guarded by far than in our own metropolis, the whole government is carried on by its citizens for but a trifle more than the interest on the public debt of the city of New York." It should be noted here that men of ability, integrity, and fidelity hold, to-day, conspicuous places in the government of New York city, which is fortunate in being able to command the services of such citizens as Police Commissioners Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick D. Grant, and Street Cleaning Commissioner

Waring. Honesty and discipline rule in the police department, and Colonel Waring makes and keeps the city clean for almost the first time in its history. Speaking of the overwhelming power of public opinion in the United States when roused in a worthy cause, Mr. Lecky writes: "Nowhere in the present century has it acquired greater volume and momentum than in the war of secession. The self-sacrifice, the unanimity, the tenacity of purpose, the indomitable courage displayed on each side by the vast citizen armies in that long and terrible struggle, form one of the most splendid pages in nineteenth-century history. I can well recollect how Laurence Oliphant, who had excellent means of judging both wars, was accustomed to say that no fighting in the Franco-German war was comparable to the tenacity with which in America every village, almost every house, was defended or assailed; and the appalling sacrifice of life during the struggle goes far to justify this judgment. Nor were the nobler qualities of the American people less clearly manifested by the sequel of the war. The manner in which those gigantic armies melted away into the civil population, casting aside, without apparent effort, all military tastes and habits, and throwing themselves into the vast fields of industry that were opened by the peace, forms one of the most striking spectacles of history; and the noble humanity shown to the vanquished enemy is a not less decisive proof of the high moral level of American opinion. It was especially admirable in the very trying moments that followed the assassination of Lincoln, and it forms a memorable contrast to the extreme vindictiveness displayed by their forefathers, in the days of the Revolution, toward their loyalist (Tory) fellow-countrymen. America rose at this time to a new place and dignity in the concert of nations. Europe had long seen in her little more than an amorphous, ill-cemented industrial population. It now learned to recognize the true characteristics of a great nation. There was exaggeration, but there was also no little truth, in the words of Lowell:

> "'Earth's biggest country 's got her soul,
> And rises up earth's greatest nation.'"

Mr. Lecky remarks that "three fatal consequences would have followed the triumph of the South. Slavery would have been extended through vast territories where it had not previously prevailed. A precedent of secession would have been admitted which, sooner or later, would have broken up the United States into several different powers. And as these powers would have many conflicting interests, the European military system, which the New World had happily escaped, would have grown up in America, with all the evils and all the dangers that follow in its train."

Proportional Representation. By JOHN R. COMMONS, Professor of Sociology in Syracuse University. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Professor Commons has rendered a service to patriotism by furnishing thoughtful citizens with some important data. Apprehending the failure of the existing system of representation in lawmaking, patriotic people are more than willing to consider possible changes of method by which

the system may be saved. Proportional representation is in this country as yet only a theory, but it is a fascinating one, and it is certain to be tried on a scale which will test its practicability. Professor Commons presents clearly and forcibly the comparative failure of representation in the legislative branch of government. The executive and judicial branches work well, and there is a tendency to substituting them for the legislative branch. New State constitutions severely limit the powers of the law-makers. In city government various devices are employed to reduce the powers of aldermanic councils. The judges are more and more looked to for protection through their function of interpreting constitutions. This purely American judicial power is exercised with singular wisdom; but it subjects the courts to great temptation and to popular abuse, and in both ways endangers the stability of the system. Dissatisfaction with the Congress, with legislatures, with city councils, is general, and it is justified by many facts. The best citizens are not generally found in these bodies; their work is often unsatisfactory, sometimes grossly immoral. The lobby has become an institution, a third house often dictating the action of the other two houses. The political boss has also become an institution, and he is more dangerous than the lobby. These evils—and they are inexpressibly grave evils—are traced by those who favor proportional representation to the existing system of selecting legislators. Some of the reformers also indict the party system, but Professor Commons believes that proportional representation and the party system will work together. The theory of our system is that the majority rule; the practice is that the minority rule—that is, they elect the legislators. This state of things is plainly proved by the careful and exhaustive analysis and the statistical tables of this book. We divide a State into one hundred legislative districts. It is impossible to divide equitably as to population or as between parties; it is possible to divide very inequitably. In a notorious case one voter in one party becomes equal to five voters in the other party. The courts are appealed to; but the inequality is only one of degree, and though a court may with impunity declare such a districting as the one referred to unconstitutional, yet a new gerrymander will follow perhaps to the advantage of the opposite party. Every districting must be expected to be in favor of the party making it. Minority government is established by the system of dividing into districts. Coming to nominations, we have the minority reduced again; a portion of a party favors A, another portion favors B, and a third favors C. Only one can be nominated. It often happens that twenty or thirty or more men would receive votes if there were any value in such votes. Then there are smaller parties than the two principal ones, and those small parties get nothing at all. The legislator who represents ten thousand voters is the choice only of two thousand or three thousand, and he knows that only this faction is really behind him, and governs himself accordingly. Want of space forbids going into details here; for them the reader is referred to Professor Commons's elaborate statements and argument. We will give a very simple scheme

of the proportional plan. Let us suppose that a legislature consists of one hundred members; there is no districting; the legislators are chosen by one mass vote on one ticket and one hundredth part of all votes cast elects a member. Having been nominated in some way by which all opinions and classes are represented, the candidates would be presented to the voters in a body, from which each voter might select his representative. Several ways of making the selection may be chosen from in making the law. What is to be secured is: (1) That any voter may cast his single ballot for any one candidate residing in any part of the State. The small party would be sure of one or more representatives where it now gets none. A minority faction of a party would get its fair share in place of getting nothing—which hits bossism between the eyes—and any body of men, say the educators of the State, could elect one of their number if they desired and had in the whole State votes enough. (2) In working out this plan devices will be framed into the law for preventing any waste of votes. For example, A receives ten thousand votes where five thousand will elect. Those who vote for him may indicate their second, third, and fourth (or even more) choices, and the election boards will transfer the surplus votes to the other candidates in the order of choice or of need, and all the votes cast for candidates who do not receive votes enough to elect them would be transferred to second or other choices of the voters. This is a very rapid outline of the system at work. So many things not here named have to be looked to in enacting a law that there is danger of too much complexity. But, if the plan be made practically effective, one sees at once that it would make a truly representative legislature, and the men composing the body would be, on the average, men of much better ability and character. We anticipate the salvation of the legislative branch of government by some system of proportional representation. It may be slow in coming, but, unfortunately, nothing indicates that the need of it will disappear. There has been enough experiment in minority and proportional representation to inspire confidence that the existing American system of election can be much improved by the latter plan. Thus far the advocates of the new system have been too willing to apply their method in the choice of members of small semiexecutive boards, where the advantages are relatively unimportant. The adoption of the Gove Bill (1891) in Massachusetts (which provided for the election of the State senate on the proportional plan) would have given a fair trial to the system. Until some State ventures into this path no amount of experimenting with boards, and no amount of European experience, will count for much. We congratulate Professor Commons upon having made a valuable addition to the literature of his subject.

Addresses. Educational, Political, Scientific, Religious. By J. T. EDWARDS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 295. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The contents of this book present a variety indicative of a versatile mind, a wide range of knowledge, and a rounded culture. In all its

parts it has sterling value, because the author is not a scholastic recluse theorizing about affairs, but a man of practical and prolonged experience in matters educational, patriotic, political, scientific, and religious, at home in the things of which he speaks. It is not often that we find a teacher and a preacher and soldier and a statesman and a farmer and a scientist and an administrator all in one. Dr. Edwards has been a soldier in the civil war; a State senator in Rhode Island and in New York; a scientific director and lecturer at Chautauqua; a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a member of its General Conferences; and principal of several educational institutions. The addresses are not the leisurely elaborations of a *littérateur*, but the pithy, direct, and forceful utterances of a man of energy and purpose. Many of them were delivered extempore and taken down stenographically. Most of them were prepared for occasions of special interest and public importance. Of the educational addresses, that on "Symmetrical Culture" was delivered in Providence, before the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction; that on "The Psychology of Illustration" in the Hall of Philosophy at Chautauqua; that on "Eloquence and Orators" before the Jamestown Business College; that on "Educational Legislation," as well as the one on "A Unique School" (the McDonough School of Baltimore, of which Dr. Edwards is now president), before the University Convocation at Albany, N. Y. Of the patriotic and political speeches the one on "Receiving the Flag" was delivered at Camp Stevens, Providence, R. I., in 1862, when a flag was presented by the young ladies of Providence to the Eleventh Rhode Island Volunteers; that on "The Scholar in War" before the Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Institute, in 1864. "The Defense of the War Record of Rhode Island" was spoken in the Senate Chamber of the State, as was also the extended speech on the "Just Limitations of the Pardoning Power." "The Individual More than the Caucus" was a brief response at Jamestown, N. Y., to his nomination for State senator. In the New York Senate were delivered the speeches on "Women in Education," "School and Public Libraries," "The Excise Bill," "Favoring a Constitutional Convention," and the memorial eulogy on "The Character of Hon. James G. Blaine." The scientific lectures treat of grasses, alcohol, photography, and the chemistry of milk. The religious discourses are upon "The Centennial of Methodism," "The Divine Element in Human Thinking," "Sunday Opening of the Chicago Exposition," "The Gospel Standard," "The Light of the World," and "Christian Benevolence." In reading this book of addresses one observes the developing, strengthening, broadening, and maturing of the author's mind from 1862 to 1895, and sees the ideas of an educator and a patriot walking to and fro among practical affairs, in furrow and forum, in laboratory and library, in school and senate, by altar and anvil. Here and there in the addresses is a quoted bit of poetry, like a flower in a grainfield, such as this from Tennyson's "Idylls of the King"—King Arthur pledging the knights of his Round Table:

I made them place their hands in mine and swear
To reverence their king as if he were their conscience,
And their conscience as their king;
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ;
To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it;
To lead sweet lives of purest chastity;
To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
And worship her with years of noble deeds,
Until they won her: for indeed I know
Of no subtler master under heaven
Than is the maiden passion for a maid,
Not only to keep down the base in man,
But teach high thoughts and amiable words,
And courtliness and the desire for fame,
And love of truth, and all that makes a man.

This, too, from Celia Thaxter, on the Isles of Shoals, speaking to the little sandpiper which she sees flitting along the beach under a threatening sky between sundown and dark:

Comrade, where wilt thou be to-night
When the loosed storm breaks furiously?
My driftwood fire will burn so bright;
To what warm shelter wilt thou flee?
I do not fear for thee, though wroth
The tempest rushes through the sky;
For are we not God's children, both,
Thou little sandpiper and I?

Travel and Talk. By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 340, 331. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $5.

Mr. Haweis is well known by twenty previous books, and by lectures and sermons in several visits to America. This book is the record of a hundred thousand miles of travel through the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Ceylon, and "The Paradises of the Pacific." In lieu of preface the author writes bluntly, "These volumes speak for themselves; those who are interested in me and my travels and observations will read them, and the others can learn them alone. . . . They include only my travels *outside* Europe from 1885 to 1895. I have two more volumes in view dealing with my travels in Europe from 1855 to 1885. But as I wish to conciliate everybody I do not promise to publish them—I only threaten to do so." So lively and interesting a Britisher seldom comes to our shores. Keenly observant, restlessly energetic, bubbling over with sparkling high spirits, he records minutely the significant details of his experiences and blurts out genially with unrestrained English frankness without fear, favor, or apology his opinions of places, people, and things. It is evident that he enjoys himself and the world immensely. A very elate and exuberant perpendicular personal pronoun promenades briskly over the earth in these diverting and instructive pages. His book has no more dullness than a cinématograph. The contents of the chapters which report his visits to our country are indicated by their captions: "Who am I?" "My First Voyage;" "The Hub of the Universe;" "Boston Days;" "Phillips Brooks;" "Oliver

Wendell Holmes, his Table Talk, his Letters;" "Bryant, Longfellow, Emerson;" "Courtlandt Palmer ;" "Henry Ward Beecher;" "Andrew Carnegie;" "Bishop Potter;" "President Cleveland;" "Abram Hewitt;" "Charles Sumner;" "John Bigelow;" "Ogoutz;" "Cornell University;" "Vassar College;" "American Girls;" "Walt Whitman;" "Niagara;" "Lectures and Agents in America;" "Profits;" "Reporters;" "Chicago, the World's Fair, and Parliament of Religions;" "San Francisco;" "Leland-Stanford University;" "The Bishop of California Criticised;" "Mormon Land;" "Estimate of Mormonism;" "To New Orleans;" "The Black Preacher;" "A Peep into Mexico." In writing of Tahiti he refers to Charles Darwin's visit to that island in the ship *Beagle*, and recalls the great naturalist's rebuke of those who were ever ready to point out still existing defects in the South Sea Islanders and to blame the missionaries for these. Darwin wrote: "They forget, or will not remember, that human sacrifices and the power of an idolatrous priesthood, a system of profligacy unparalleled in any other part of the world, infanticide, a consequence of that system, bloody wars when the conquerors spared neither women nor children—that all these have been abolished, and that dishonesty, intemperance, and licentiousness have been greatly reduced by the introduction of Christianity. In a voyager to forget these things would be base ingratitude, for should he chance to be on the point of shipwreck on some unknown coast he will most devoutly pray that the lessons of the missionary may have extended thus far." It is but simple truth to say that we do not remember any travel talk more varied and vivacious than that which fills these nearly seven hundred pages.

The Country of the Pointed Firs. By SARAH ORNE JEWETT. 16mo, pp. 213. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.25.

This is the latest of some fifteen bright and racy volumes from the pen of Miss Jewett. It is a story of a summer on the coast of Maine and adjacent islands. The author excels as a writer of short stories, which Mrs. Phelps-Ward considers the most exacting and difficult literary product called for to-day. Most of Miss Jewett's books are made up of brief stories, easily read through in a half hour or less. Such are the volumes entitled: "The King of Folly Island," "A Native of Winby," "The Life of Nancy," "A White Heron" (seventh edition), "Old Friends and New" (thirteenth edition), "Country By-Ways" (tenth edition), and "The Mate of the Daylight" (eighth edition). The following are one-volume fictions: "A Country Doctor," "A Marsh Island," "Betty Leicester," and "Deephaven" (twenty-second edition). Miss Jewett divides with Miss Wilkins the honor of being a sort of prose laureate for rural life and old-time country people in the section to which they both belong. Both give us with delicate appreciation and apt fidelity what one calls "New England idyls—charming sublimations of the homely." In a common field Miss Jewett and Miss Wilkins remind us of each other, each being, however, sufficiently original and

individual. Each renders as well as may be the rustic dialects of the region where most of the stories are cast; each knows intimately the ground and its products, animate and inanimate. Their stories are vivid with local color, piquant with the peculiarities of life and character in rural Yankee land, odorous and gritty with the soil. Miss Wilkins sometimes depresses us with an excess of dreariness, too much monotony of the grimy, sordid, merciless woefulness of poverty, too much stern and grim severity of spirit and condition. Miss Jewett is a blither soul; more buoyancy and cheer lift the load along the country roads in her stories, and to most of her quaint, odd country folk life, in spite of everything, is worth living. The shrewd, sly, dry humor of rustic New England is not lacking in her sometimes mirth-provoking pages. Many native and curious personalities are deftly drawn, the stories are astir with action, things happen, incidents move briskly, situations develop into shape out of suggested or surprising possibilities, and webs of human experience are woven out of threads of emotion and event. Miss Jewett writes as one who has a story to tell, and confines herself to telling it directly, consecutively, effectively. Not all of her stories are about New Englanders. The negro and the Irishman and others with their dialects appear. And her writings appeal to all and are readable everywhere, because underneath the local idosyncrasies of custom and character, opinion and expression, she touches and exhibits the universal human heart, the sensibilities of men and women as human beings. And her men and women are genuine, natural folks, not impossible creatures nor artificial wax figures. We lay before our readers this general notice and enumeration of Miss Jewett's books because we reckon them with worthy and desirable, as well as enjoyable literature, and because we would gladly substitute them for much feverish, unnatural, unwholesome, and vitiating reading which seeks and too often obtains admission even to Christian homes, to their serious detriment. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. publish Miss Jewett's books in attractive style at $1.25 per volume.

Whitman. A Study. By JOHN BURROUGHS. 12mo, pp. 203. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Whitman is to Mr. Burroughs "the most imposing and significant figure in our literary annals;" and criticism of the bard is "hostile sissing and cackling." "Talking about Whitman" is "like talking about the universe." It is evident from Mr. Burroughs's book that if Whitman had lived far enough back in mythologic days he would have monopolized Parnassus, and Jupiter would not have held the headship in the coterie of gods on Olympus. Indeed, if all that our author says is literally true, christendom should appoint a committee to investigate and find out whether Walt Whitman may not have been, after all, the real Messiah. Whitman himself veraciously writes that his "poems will do just as much evil as good, and perhaps more"—a statement which we consider exactly true, and which seems to us to invalidate the Messiah theory; but Mr. Burroughs thinks it is all right enough, and on page 178 says that Whitman

"atones for the sins of us all." As near as we can make out from the context it is an atonement by stark naked shamelessness. It is interesting to learn that Thoreau and Burroughs consider Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" a gospel—"glad tidings of great joy," "worth more than all the sermons in the country for preaching." Part of his gospel is that "there is no God more sacred than yourself." It can hardly be denied that Whitman talked like a god and a Messiah. He wrote that whoever would become his follower (and various persons have become such) would have to give up all else, for he alone would expect to be for his followers their sole and exclusive standard; their novitiate would be long and exhausting; the whole past theory of their lives and all conformity to the lives around them would have to be abandoned. Severe as these requirements are, he has his disciples. To those of us who cannot endure this demand for an all-abandoning consecration to Walt (and our name is Legion), he says, "Release me now, before troubling yourself any further; let go your hand from my shoulders, put me down and depart on your way;" in which particular we feel inclined to do just as he bids. So far, but no farther, can we submit ourselves to him. After 267 pages of incontinent, effusive, and effulgent eulogy it seems a tame and timid anticlimax for Mr. Burroughs to write: "After what I have already said my reader will not be surprised when I tell him that I look upon Whitman as the one mountain thus far in our literary landscape." This rhapsodical book should have been entitled *The Apotheosis of Whitman*. That only the last word appears in the title must be a mistake of the typesetter, overlooked by the proof reader.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America. By JOHN ATEINSON, D.D. 8vo, pp. 458. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $3.

This book is intended to illuminate upon the authority of the oldest authentic documents—mostly manuscript—the foundation-laying period of American Methodism; it claims to furnish a new, fresh, original, and complete history of the origin and progress of the Wesleyan movement in this country down to the formal founding of the Methodist Connection here, which was accomplished, not by the Christmas Conference of 1784, but by the Philadelphia Conference of 1773, the Conference of 1784 being assembled to provide for the ordination of preachers and the administration of sacraments in a connection which had been governed for eleven years by the Annual Conference, which was then and for years subsequent to the Christmas Conference a legislative body. The history is brought down to January 2, 1774, when, after a service of four years and a quarter in America, Boardman and Pilmoor returned to England. The author says his book is made up on data unknown to previous writers, and supplies much knowledge hitherto unpublished. The time is divided into three periods: first, from the beginning to the arrival of Boardman and Pilmoor; second, from their arrival to the close of the

First Conference; third, from that Conference to their departure from this country. In these periods Dr. Atkinson claims to furnish full particulars on matters meagerly treated by other historians, especially in the time between 1766 and the arrival of Francis Asbury. Dr. Bangs noted the beginning by Embury under the impulse which Barbara Heck awakened, the increase of the audiences under Webb and Embury, and the building of John Street Church. This was further illuminated in *Lost Chapters* by Wakeley, who developed the fact that Robert Williams came to New York as early as September, 1769; but what he afterward did, and where, Wakeley records not to any extent; and in various other matters, through lack of adequate information, he fell into numerous mistakes, which, being adopted by others, passed for correct history. One mistake, of general currency, is due to Lednum, who says that Williams, who was the first English preacher that came after Embury and Strawbridge, finding congenial spirits in New York, hugged that place closely for two and a half years; whereas we now know that Williams went to Maryland early in November, 1769, very soon after his landing, as Lee says. From that time to the landing of Asbury, October 27, 1771, previous histories are a blank as to the labors of the ministers and the doings of the churches. Asbury's journals furnish little information of value in the period immediately succeeding his arrival; of his first week in this country he makes no record, not even of his first sermon in America, which Dr. Atkinson describes. Referring to Stevens's account of this period, from the beginning to the First Conference, the author notes that it is made up chiefly of biographical matter respecting Embury, Webb, Williams, John King, Asbury, Watters, and to some extent Boardman and Pilmoor, with little information as to what was done, and when, and where, and by whom; even Pilmoor's Southern labors, extending over a year and constituting one of the grandest itineraries ever made in America, receive small notice, being dismissed with the assertion that Pilmoor left no record thereof. In noting these things our author disavows any desire to depreciate previous writers, who could not use data then unknown or inaccessible, but only aims to substantiate his claim of superior fullness and accuracy for his own work, which is aided by information subsequently discovered. Previous accounts of the First Conference are said to be inadequate, because written without knowledge of the information left by Pilmoor, the same being the case as to the differences which resulted from Asbury's coming and interference with the work under Boardman and Pilmoor. Remarking that Asbury was glorious when nobody disputed with him or challenged his authority, but that he had considerable trouble with those who did, Dr. Atkinson presents, in various connections, some detailed evidence in proof of this statement. Much of the narrative in the book before us is taken up with the labors of Pilmoor, Boardman, Webb, Robert Williams, and John King, furnishing facts not given by earlier histories concerning their travels, changes, and powerful ministry from Boston to Savannah. Among the remarkable characters of early American Methodism brought into fuller light is Mary Thorn,

of Philadelphia, to whom this book gives a long chapter. Although not so much as her name appears in published history, except in Lednum, who gives a few facts concerning her, she is here portrayed with much fullness as one of the most devoted and every way extraordinary Methodist workers ever produced in this country; and is held up for the emulation of this later day as being in fact, though not in name, our first deaconess. Another neglected but now restored name is that of Edward Evans, the first American Methodist preacher, the only published record of him heretofore being the bare mention of his name by Lednum as one of the trustees appearing in the deed of St. George's Church, Philadelphia. Dr. Atkinson's book begins with an attempt to settle finally the much-mooted question as to where Methodism had its first beginning in this country. Most prominent previous historians left the question open. Our author, after an exhaustive examination of the evidence on both sides, affirms that the dispute is entirely settled by the testimony of the fathers, South as well as North, notably by what is found in O'Kelly's writings in opposition to Asbury and Methodist Episcopal Church government. From O'Kelly's *Apology*, Dr. Atkinson quotes this passage as decisive: "In the year 1766 two ministers of the Methodist order, namely, Embury and Strawbridge, emigrated from the land of kings and settled in North America. They taught the people the fear of the Lord and formed societies." This *Apology* was published in 1793, and adds the testimony of this prominent Southerner to that given by the fathers, both South and North, in favor of the priority of the New York society. The author says that there is nothing but tradition in favor of the Maryland claim of priority, and illustrates the untrustworthiness of tradition as to dates by the fact that Paul Heck's will, when discovered, showed the date of his death as recorded on his tombstone to be about two years out of the way. By great labor and the utilization of all known data Dr. Atkinson presents in this large octavo volume what he calls "a story never before told," covering a period to which Jesse Lee, in his History, gives only twenty-six pages; Nathan Bangs, in his History, but thirty-nine pages, and Abel Stevens, in his History, only one hundred and twenty-eight pages. To this work he has been impelled by the conviction that such a denomination as ours "ought to be in possession of all the important facts relating to its origin and establishment in this land," as well as by the belief that no one else was likely ever to attempt the difficult labor of research without which the book could not be written. The least that can be said is that Dr. Atkinson's book, by its character and its claims, challenges the interest and studious examination of intelligent Methodists. That all its claims and opinions will command universal consent is too much to expect; but that it is a highly interesting book, and a distinct and significant addition to historic literature can scarcely be denied. Is there not a pattern for preachers in the description of one man's sermons, quoted on page 214, as "a happy assemblage of doctrinal truths, set in an engaging light, and enforced with convincing arguments?"

The American Revolution. By JOHN FISKE. Illustrated with Portraits, Maps, Facsimiles, Contemporary Views, Prints, and Other Historic Materials. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. xxxviii. 351; xxiii, 321. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, glazed cloth, $8.

Professor Fiske's reputation as an historical writer is so well known as not to need a word of commendation. He fitly dedicates these volumes to Mrs. Mary Hemenway, in recognition of the rare foresight and public spirit by which she led the movement to save from destruction the Old South Meeting House in Boston, one of the noblest historic buildings in America, and made it a center for the teaching of American history and the principles of good citizenship. This sketch of the American Revolution stops with the surrender of Cornwallis and the consequent fall of Lord North's ministry, but the story is continued in the author's book entitled *The Critical Period of American History*, the first chapter of which deals with the results of Yorktown; which volume, together with the present work and *The Beginnings of New England*, and *The Discovery of America, with Some Account of Ancient America and the Spanish Conquest*, is intended to make part of a complete narrative history of the United States, comprising the whole record from 1492 to 1865, which Professor Fiske hopes to finish in some favoring future, somewhat after the plan of John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People*. Bibliographical notes are omitted in the present work, because Mr. Justin Winsor's *Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution*, which contains a vast amount of bibliographical information perfectly arranged in small compass, is obtainable everywhere and costs but a trifle. From it the general reader can find out where to look for further information concerning any point in these two volumes. A photogravure from the Houdon bust of George Washington is the frontispiece. Gilbert Stuart admitted this bust to be a better likeness than his own famous painting of the Father of his Country. It is shown in this history that the political exigencies of George III at home made him desirous of quarreling with the American colonies in order to divert attention and give him a chance of outmaneuvering his political opponents. It was his hatred of the Whigs, and especially of Pitt, which impelled him to provoke war as a cunning political trick; the result of which, however, overwhelmed him with disaster. That the men who fought and won our Revolutionary battles were brave and noble gentlemen is illustrated in Professor Fiske's description of the surrender of Burgoyne. In carrying out the terms of the surrender both General Gates and his soldiers showed praiseworthy delicacy. As the British soldiers marched off to a meadow by the riverside and laid down their arms the Americans remained within their lines, refusing to add to the humiliation of a gallant enemy by standing and looking on. As the disarmed soldiers then passed by the American lines, says Lieutenant Aubury, one of the captured officers, "I did not observe the least disrespect or even a taunting look, but all was mute astonishment and pity." Burgoyne stepped up and handed his sword to Gates, simply saying, "The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner." The American general

instantly returned the sword, replying, "I shall always be ready to testify that it has not been through any fault of your excellency." When Baron Riedesel had been presented to Gates and the other generals he brought his wife and children out of the dreadful cellar where they had been hiding among wounded and dying men, without food and almost without drink. The baroness came with some trepidation into the enemy's camp, but the only look she saw on any face was one of sympathy. "As I approached the tents," she says, "a noble-looking gentleman came toward me and took the frightened children out of the wagon; embraced and kissed them; and then, with tears in his eyes, helped me to alight. . . . Presently he said, 'It may be embarrassing to you to dine with so many gentlemen. If you will come with your children to my tent, I will give you a frugal meal, but one that will at least be seasoned with good wishes.' 'O, sir,' I cried, 'you must surely be a husband and a father, since you show me so much kindness!' I then learned that it was General Schuyler." Schuyler had indeed come, says the author, with unruffled and magnanimous soul, to look on, while the fruit which he had sown, with the gallant aid of Stark, Herkimer, Arnold, and Morgan, was plucked by an unworthy rival. He now met Burgoyne, who was naturally pained and embarrassed at the recollection of the beautiful house which his men had burned a few days before. In a speech in the House of Commons, some months later, Burgoyne told how Schuyler received him. "I expressed to General Schuyler," says Burgoyne, "my regret at the event which had happened, and the reasons which had occasioned it. He desired me to think no more of it, saying that the occasion justified it according to the rules of war. . . . He did more; he sent an aide-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he said, to procure me better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family; and in this general's house I remained during my whole stay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality." Madame Riedesel was also invited to stay with the Schuylers; and, when first she arrived in the house, one of her little girls exclaimed, "O, mamma! is this the palace that papa was to have when he came to America?" As the Schuylers understood German the baroness colored, but all laughed pleasantly and put her at her ease. Brave men are magnanimous and courteous; it is the mean, the selfish, the cowardly, who cherish hatred after the fight and perpetuate spiteful and rancorous grudges.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Poems by Emily Dickinson. Third Series. Edited by MABEL LOOMIS TODD. 16mo, pp. 200. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The Preface says: "The intellectual activity of Emily Dickinson was so great that a large and characteristic choice is still possible among her

literary materials, and this third volume of her verses is put forth in response to the repeated wish of the admirers of her peculiar genius." A man who took her poems with him on a day's car ride wrote: "Miss Dickinson has no care for rhyme or rhythm. This makes it easy for her, if her thought is large enough to make the reader forget arbitrary rules. If any mind can do that, let it caper, I say. Most of us have to be put into thought's straitjacket. She is emancipated. Let her comets fly and meteors shoot." In this new volume are one hundred and forty-three bits of poetry, from four lines to ten verses long. This is characteristic:

When morning comes
It is as if a hundred drums
Did round my pillow roll,
And shouts fill all my childish sky,
And bells keep saying, 'Victory,'
From steeples in my soul.

Among the verses on "Time and Eternity" is this:

This world is not conclusion;
A sequel stands beyond,
Invisible as music,
But positive as sound.
It beckons and it baffles;
Philosophies don't know;
And through a riddle, at the last,
Sagacity must go.
To guess it puzzles scholars;
To gain it, men have shown
Contempt of generations
And crucifixion known.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1897.

ART. I.—THE IDEAL CREED OF IAN MACLAREN.

THOSE who are acquainted with the writings of Dr. John Watson, of Liverpool, under the *nom de plume* of "Ian Maclaren," will promptly concede the singular talent, not to say the genius, of the man. His remarkable literary gifts—too tardily discovered, even by himself—have fairly flashed before an admiring gaze. We have eagerly read his most realistic portrayal of Scotch scenery and character. His little volume, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, commands the admiring, rapt attention of all classes of readers. We have lately had some further glimpses of Scotch wisdom and wit in *The Cure of Souls*, and now he issues for the more thoughtful his *Mind of the Master*.

In character-study, in vivid word-painting, in sly and dry humor, and in tear-compelling pathos he rightly belongs to the latest constellation of Scotland's star writers, and, it may be, star preachers. There is no question as to the literary brilliancy of this gifted man. Some, however, are raising the question of his doctrinal clearness and soundness. His warm human sympathies are most pleasingly evident in his study of the manly character and self-sacrificing career of the hero-physician, Dr. Maclure. It is undoubtedly an inspiration to a noble, self-forgetful life to have known, even in the pages of acknowledged romance, so sturdy yet so sweet a specimen of toilsome, faithful manhood. Lachlan Campbell, one of Maclaren's characters, is the exponent of a cast-iron creed and of a mere mechanical theology. He is censorious and severe in his

judgments and exactions. His was a false idea of God and truth. With the incoming of a great sorrow came new light. "The Transformation of Lachlan Campbell" is one of the most touching pen-pictures to be found in religious literature. We have this character before us as we proceed with a task by no means pleasant, hoping to clear the atmosphere and satisfy honest doubt.

But let us turn to *The Mind of the Master*. There is really so much to admire in this masterful exaltation of the claims of the Christ, so much of genuine love for Jesus, that we regret that there seems to be anything to forbid unqualified approval. In order the better to understand Dr. Watson's position we must remember his own discriminations. They are not always consistent. If he says, in one place, "Theology is the science of religion," he says, elsewhere, "Theology has one territory which is theory; religion has another which is life." Sin is selfishness. With self-renunciation man ceases from sin. If the experience of the new birth is needed, this is not emphasized, and does not prominently appear. Dr. Watson inveighs against "that solitary creed which has raised uncharitableness into an article of faith." For this we will not chide him. The trend of his thinking and theology is apparent from his confessed admiration. They are the key, in part, to the interpretation of his teaching. He says, frankly, "The disciples of Jesus owe a debt that can never be paid to three men that have brought us back to the mind of our Master. One was Channing, for whose love to Jesus one might be tempted to barter his belief; the second was Maurice, most honest and conscientious of theologians; and the third was Erskine of Linlathen, who preached the fatherhood to everyone he met, from Thomas Carlyle to Highland shepherds." Dr. Watson is an exponent and champion of the "new theology." He is representative of the Broad Church idea—the progressive orthodoxy, it may be called, of his branch of the Church in Great Britain.

As such he has given us a passage, among others of like liberal character, in *The Mind of the Master*, which affords special warrant for not unkindly criticism. We venture the suggestion that the passage seems to call for further expansion, or, at least, for some qualification. As it stands it seems to be crude, immature, and incomplete, regarded

from a theologic point of view, however fresh and pleasing may be the rhetorical simplicity of its phrasing. It is: "I believe in the fatherhood of God; I believe in the words of Jesus; I believe in the clean heart; I believe in the service of love; I believe in the unworldly life; I believe in the Beatitudes; I promise to trust God and follow Christ, to forgive my enemies, and to seek after the righteousness of God." The conviction of Dr. Watson, ever borne in mind by him in all his study of the mind of the Master, is this: "There is nothing on which we differ so hopelessly as creed; nothing on which we agree so utterly as character." It is this conviction which affords us so much that is inspiring and elevating in his work. But it is this, also, however much we may admire the independence, not to say the originality, of the man, which makes him liable to the suspicion of erroneous teaching. We understand him to be the outspoken foe of mere traditional teaching, of theologic dogma, and of metaphysical subtlety of every kind. He exalts the value of being, in contrast with believing. He prefers the possession of a true-hearted Christian character to the profession of the most exact Christian creed. Holy living with him, as with all good men, is paramount in importance with sound thinking. Yet the brilliant Scotchman, in his chapter on "Fatherhood the Final Idea of God," himself insists that the "first equipment for living is a creed."

We do not wish to misrepresent Dr. Watson. His spirit is most genial; his heart is most philanthropic; his loyalty to Christ and to the teachings of Christ, as he honestly interprets those teachings, is most exemplary. His love for his Master is seen at its best in the beauty, and even pathos, of his admirable chapter on "Devotion to a Person the Dynamic of Religion." We simply raise the question whether his ideal creed is as ideal as the very cream of all the creeds should be, both ethically and spiritually. Moreover, we do not criticise this so-called life-creed altogether in the light in which Dr. Watson honestly intended it, so much as in the view in which it is likely to be received. To know his real meaning it will not do to take his ideal creed entirely by itself. We must see it in its literary framework. We must consider it illumined by the sidelights afforded by the fifteen chapters of his thoughtful and stimulating book. But, even in this painstaking effort to be unprej-

udiced and impartial, we find that this imaginary creed is still shadowed by serious doubts. The passage is liable, we fear, to be misapprehended as a substitute for all the creeds of Christendom. We are assured that Dr. Watson really "offers it as an interpretation of them." If this be so, may it not justly be urged that this interpretation needs to be interpreted? To say nothing about the great cardinal doctrines comprehended in all the great historic creeds, here purposely eliminated, what shall we say of some of the affirmations themselves? Can it be claimed that they are either clear or comprehensive? Is it not evident that some of them are ambiguous? May not such an "interpretation" be, in effect, unscriptural, insufficient, and misleading?

Take, for example, the affirmation, "I believe in the fatherhood of God." So far as the unregenerate are concerned, may this not point to a fanciful sentiment, rather than to a scriptural truth? Is it, or is it not, the mere echo of Pope's "Universal Prayer?"

> Father of all! in every age,
> In every clime adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.

The prayer which our Lord taught his immediate disciples began, it is true, with "Our Father which art in heaven." It was in a message to his disciples only that Jesus said, "I ascend unto my Father, and your Father." And is it not the explicit teaching of Scripture that we are God's children by adoption, or through the process of the new birth? Did not our Lord say, speaking to the Pharisees, "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do?" Both John the Baptist and the gentle Jesus characterized them further as a "generation of vipers." Was this empty vituperation? Or was it not exact classification? In view of their real, inner character, the hypocritical Pharisee and Sadducee, according to the verdict of Omniscience, belonged to the serpent brood. Their genealogy is, with one swift glance, traced back to "that old serpent, called the devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world." Did not Paul qualify the idea of God's possible fatherhood in the words, "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus?" But what does Dr. Watson mean

when, in his last chapter, he persistently affirms, "Two finds have been made within recent years, the divine fatherhood and the kingdom of God?" Dr. James McCosh, in *The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*, speaks of Scotland as possessing an "intellect as hard as its rocks;" but excepting when he speaks of "the sentimental view of God" he may have the view of Dr. Watson remotely in mind, we shall discover nothing, even in the way of allusion to what the latter is pleased to claim as a "new find."

For many years, in the narrow thought of one school of theology, only the elect were warranted in calling God Father. Now the pendulum of belief has swung to an opposite extreme. The modern idea with many, even in Calvinistic circles, is likely to be much too broad. The secret thought, and even public teaching, of many is that the fatherhood of God is not a strictly spiritual, but rather a constitutional, relation; that, good or bad, we are "his offspring;" and that the relation is in no wise dependent either on the grace of God or on compliance with what once were regarded as necessary conditions prescribed in God's word. The doctrine of the divine sovereignty, even among Calvinists, is fast giving place to that of the sovereign fatherhood of God.* The divine government is pronounced to be purely paternal. The claim is made by some that we become the children of God only as we realize his fatherhood, and that the expressions, "children of the evil one" and "children of disobedience," represent simply an aspect of life, and not a fact of nature. If this claim is just it needs to be more plainly verified. Can it be proved by the word of God? The condition of sonship in the professed believer and the recognition of his own fatherhood, on the part of God, are plainly stated and are insisted upon in the New Testament Scripture. Only those who are Spirit-born and Spirit-led are the sons of God. There must be, in a sense, a certain separation from the world, or we have no encouragement to appropriate the conditional assurance, "I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." Paul says, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." This witness is to a marvelous change, a change

* *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, by A. M. Fairbairn, p. 444.

of condition, and a change of relation. But if we are the children of God by natural constitution where is the significance of this Scripture, and what becomes of the doctrine of assurance?

No argument for the universal fatherhood of God can, we think, be based on the absolute, yet occult, relation which Christ, the Son, sustains preeminently to the first person of the Trinity. As Abraham is spoken of as the "father of the faithful," so, in a real but infinitely exalted sense, is God the father only of those who have been "born from above." Is it conceivable that God was the father of Judas, the betrayer, in the same sense that he was the father of John, the beloved; or that he was the father of the impenitent multi-murderer, H. H. Holmes, in the same sense that he was of the spiritually-minded Madame Guyon? We are being forced to face the seemingly needless question, In what view is the true Christian distinctively "a child of God?" If we universalize the fatherhood of God, why should it not extend to all the created intelligences in the entire universe—to the angels, bad as well as good—and so, at last, to Satan himself? If this, in any sense, is a *reductio ad absurdum*, is it not the evident consequence of a confusion of ideas? God is, by revelation, the almighty Maker of all men, the rightful Ruler of all men; but is he necessarily, therefore, the Father, in any well-defined sense, of all men? In the reaction from the old-school teaching of God's rigid and relentless sovereignty must the new-school teaching swing entirely over to the other extreme of God's all-inclusive, undiscriminating, fatherly love? Is there no middle ground which is tenable? Must those of the Scotch school of theology, who revolt from the sterner teaching of John Calvin and John Knox, find their final resting place, by even remote possibility, in the creed of Hosea Ballou, or of James Freeman Clarke? To steer between the Scylla of Calvinism, on the one side, and the Charybdis of Universalism, on the other side, may still be the peculiar province of pilots of the Arminian faith.

If we are assured once in the Old Testament that "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him," we are likewise assured, and that repeatedly, in the New Testament, that Christ is "the only begotten of the Father." In this view we see a definiteness of statement in the Apostles'

Creed which admits of no misunderstanding: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, . . . and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord." It is a striking admission on the part of Dr. Watson that neither prophets nor psalmists were ever "so carried beyond themselves as to say 'My Father.'" The creature, then, is not necessarily the child. The possible fatherhood of God to the believer, through the work of the regenerating Spirit, is one of the plain revelations of the divine Son of God. In all the systems of divinity—those greater interpretations of the mind of the Master with which we may happen to be acquainted—regeneration is ever the ground of sonship. Did not John the evangelist say, "He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God?" Will the genial author of *The Mind of the Master* claim, in rebuttal, that these are the words of John, but not "the words of Jesus?"

We have no "dogmatic ends to serve." Yet it is by no means so plain to some as it appears to be to Dr. Watson that Jesus had "no exoteric word for his intimates." What was hid from the wise and prudent was revealed to babes—babes in Christ—the children of God. The "universal note in Jesus's teaching" is not so obvious to some as it is to this gifted author. Even he admits that "it would not be fair to rest any master doctrine on a single parable," as that of the prodigal son. We have a sort of hermeneutic restriction which appeals to our good sense: "A parable must not be made to walk on all fours." It may be overworked. An old school of typical or allegorical teaching would convert a parable into a theological centipede. In this view, even the parable of the prodigal son may yet have to be reconsidered. To speak of the sonship of the sinner as a divine possibility is one thing. It is for this we contend. To speak of it as a relation which is actual and real, while a man is yet "dead in trespasses and sins"—this is quite another claim. This view we feel constrained to oppose. Does not Dr. Watson himself at last unguardedly surrender it? Does David say, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth" all human kind? "Like as a father" expresses the idea

of similarity only. Are not the qualifying words, "them that fear him," filled with restrictive meaning? We have long thought that even supposed orthodoxy has been corrupted, insensibly but too really, by the insidious teachings of Universalism. The drift of things, in these closing days of the nineteenth century, is toward doctrinal laxity, and hence toward ethical lawlessness. Not only are the words of inspiration thus suspected, but the books of the Bible are being repudiated. A too apprehensive Church may yet take up a wail similar to that of the afflicted Jacob, "Moses is not, and Daniel is not, and will ye take Jonah away? All these things are against me."

The necessary limits of this brief critique will not admit of a full discussion of the question of the divine fatherhood in its various aspects and with its scriptural limitations. In any view there are difficulties to be faced and differences to be feared which may not readily be reconciled. Children, we believe, are recipients of all the benefits of the atonement. As John the Baptist was "filled with the Holy Ghost" from the hour of his birth, each infant may be the subject of the latent regenerating grace of God, and so remain a child of God until, by conscious sin, it falls from grace. Yet Dr. Austin Phelps, writing on the work of the Holy Spirit, finds grave difficulties; and Dr. John Miley said in his class room at Drew Seminary, in answer to an inquiry: "I frankly concede the profound mystery, and as frankly admit I have no light to give. Nor have I been able to receive light from others. The fact of infant salvation, in case of death, I do not question. But its philosophy is a mystery as yet without solution."

If we have dwelt at some length on the first affirmation of Dr. Watson's imagined new creed we may be excused in the view of his own statement: "It is open to debate, indeed, whether Jesus said anything absolutely new, save when he taught the individual to call God Father." Yet, with Dr. Watson, "the words of Jesus" constitute the true evangel; the utterances or acts of the apostles are comparatively of little worth. In his estimation the epistles lack directness, if not authority. They are not regarded by him as of equal inspiration or accuracy with the reported words of the Master. However presumptuous or profane it may seem, even to this author, he does not hesitate to hint at imperfections in the apostle to the Gentiles,

or to criticise his style, his illustrations, his doctrine, and his spirit. Dr. Watson, it must be admitted, does this in loyal insistence upon the supreme excellences of the great Teacher. It may be this fact, with others, was not charitably borne in mind by the ministry of a certain city, who felt called upon publicly to repudiate the doctrinal teaching of even so brilliant a writer as Ian Maclaren. And, just here, is it not a somewhat unexpected admission which the author makes, "The lonely supremacy of Jesus rests not on what he said, but on what he did?"

"I believe in the words of Jesus." This seems an affirmation moderate and comprehensive enough, perhaps. In one view it certainly is. For Christ claimed, "I and my Father are one." But—as another has already noted—many a Unitarian will affirm that he believes the words of Jesus who will nevertheless resolutely reject the claim he makes to be divine. If one says Dr. Watson intended this second affirmation to include all Christ said about his sacrificial atonement as being the divine Son of God—the one Mediator between God and man—and other lofty spiritual teachings, then why not make this single affirmation all-inclusive? Why should not the ideal creed be, simply and only, "I believe in the words of Jesus?" This would include all that is theologic and ethical. Why proceed with the remaining affirmations of belief? Yet he further says—we think needlessly—"I believe in the clean heart; I believe in the service of love; I believe in the unworldly life." This may be all true, beautiful, and good, both in thought and in expression, but we look in vain for any recognition of the person and work of the Holy Spirit; and, while we do not wish to be understood as implying that a belief in the Holy Ghost is no part of Dr. Watson's own creed, we do wish to express our surprise that, in the highly spiritual and ideal creed which he "imagines," the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has no place. We have here also no word concerning repentance, though Christ's first public deliverance seems to have been, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Again, why say, "I believe in the beatitudes," and not say, "I believe in the Ten Commandments?" "Are not the beatitudes indeed the "words of Jesus?" Are the Ten Commandments—sufficiently ethical, it would seem—to be regarded as abrogated? And are the beatitudes, by implication, all that is left by a sort

of destructive criticism of our Lord's more lengthened majestic discourse? The moral elevation and the spiritual heroism which Dr. Watson sees in the beatitudes alone are most attractive. His paraphrases and eulogiums are fresh with new life and eloquent with fine feeling. Yet we are confident our author's full meaning is not included in the brief words he employs, by way of ideal creed, concerning even the beatitudes. He elsewhere claims that the Sermon on the Mount is the authoritative creed of the Christian Church, the divine constitution of the kingdom of heaven. He also says, "The ten words are only eclipsed by the law of love." It is with this in mind, then, that he speaks of the "service of love." He has had the "courage to formulate an ethical creed," it is true. But is there not an underlying fallacy in the "stand" which he takes and on which he conceives an ethical creed should be based? Was the Sermon on the Mount the only deliverance of our Lord? Are there not other "words of Jesus" which were uttered supplementary to this first public discourse? Did Christ ever intimate that this first sermon was substitutional for all other scriptures—that it was so comprehensive and complete that there was no need of any further deliverance on his part?

Dr. Watson's views, we repeat, while sufficiently broad, are likely, in the light of this ideal creed alone, to be somewhat widely misunderstood. If it is urged that the creed imagined by Dr. Watson is intended to be a purely ethical creed, then we must object that belief in the divine fatherhood or in the words of Jesus is not purely ethical, whatever else may be fairly insisted upon. The broad view of Dr. Watson, if we rightly represent him, is a new departure in theologic thought. Orthodoxy, so called, has never entertained it. It has had neither the respect nor the recognition of the great Church councils—which Dr. Watson himself admits—nor of the great representatives, individually, of theologic learning or authority. Calvinism, as interpreted by Charles Hodge, is antagonistic to it. Arminianism, as interpreted by John Miley, gives it no countenance.

We need say little more. However unimportant it may seem to some, we think we have made good our point that the passage referred to is neither a good substitute for any of the great symbols of the Christian Church, nor is it a fair interpretation of their choicest spiritual meaning. It lacks the dig-

nity that would commend it to the favorable consideration of a "congress of all religions," the comprehensiveness that would receive the indorsement of Christian scholars, and the evident scripturalness and spirituality that would satisfy the simple-hearted believer. We can only conclude that what some of us have esteemed to be necessary forms of belief hitherto are thought by Dr. Watson to be altogether unimportant, and hence, in his view, have no place in the Christian's conception of what an ideal creed should be.

It may be thought by some that this brief critique is too moderate. By others it may be regarded as severe. Whichever judgment may be passed, we have sought to be appreciative, tolerant, and fair. Whatever we may think of Dr. Watson's ideal creed, we will admire, not only the genius, but the actual Christian character, of the man. We do not say that he even inclines to the acceptance of Universalist or Unitarian ideas. But we do say that, in the light of his so-called creed and of at least one chapter in his book, his doctrinal meaning is not perfectly clear, and may be used in the propagation of error. Nor are the best results to be obtained by mere expedients or by the spirit of compromise. We are sure that nothing can be hoped for by timid surrender. True evangelistic leadership will insist upon the recognition of the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," of the need and efficacy of a sacrificial atonement, and of the regenerating power of the Holy Ghost. Concerning these Dr. Watson has but little to say.

John J. Reed.

Art. II.—THE MEANING OF PRAYER.

All men are in their way theologians. Everyone has some deity at whose shrine he bows in prayer. It may be a false god, a deified ancestor whose failings are hid by a halo of reverence, or even the sun, moon, stars, or other natural objects and forces. It may be the true God, whose unseen power is manifested in righteousness and benevolence. The fact of prayer, of adoration to some deity, true or false, is a significant phase of human history and life.

A glance at the religious history of the world shows the universality of prayer. In ancient India over two thousand years ago petitions were chanted by the Vedic priests—hymns of propitiation to Indra, the sky god; of thanks to Agni, the fire god; of fear to Varuna, the great destroyer; and tenderly beautiful supplications to Yama, the god of death. The temples of old Egypt, dedicated to Osiris, god of the dead; to Amen, giver of victory; to Ra, the sun god; and to Ptah, the creator, resounded with entreaties to their patron deities. In the Western world the Aztecs in ancient Mexico brought tribute and human sacrifice to Mexitli and to Quetzalcoatl, god of benevolence. From the altars of classic Greece incense arose through many centuries to Athene, the wise; Zeus, the thunderer; Poseidon, the sea god; Apollo, the princely healer; and Aphrodite, the foam-born beauty; and votive offerings enriched the shrines of the oracles of Delphi, Lesbos, and Dodona. The Romans, with all their genius and endurance, owed their conquests as much to prayer as to warfare. They had their Lares and Penates, gods of the home and family; Vesta, goddess of the quenchless hearth fire; Trivia, goddess of the streets; Jove and Juno, Mars and Venus, Neptune, Pluto, and Bacchus; naiads and nymphs, fauns and satyrs; a deity for every place and condition, to which the devout Romans offered fervent and frequent prayer. Our nearer ancestors, the ancient Saxons and Norsemen, held communion with the mighty Thor, ruler of storms and thunder; with the gentle and beautiful Balder, god of summer; with Frey, giver of rain and harvests and peace; and with Odin, the great all-father. And savage tribes, Indians of America, idolatrous blacks of Central Africa, fetich worshipers

of the sea islands, these and all other peoples have gods to which they offer a sincere but benighted adoration. And the true God has never lacked worshipers. The Hebrews, with clearer insight than their polytheistic neighbors in Chaldea, Assyria, and Egypt, prayed to him as El Shaddai the mighty; as Elohim Sebaoth, God of the hosts of heaven and earth; as Jehovah, the living one. And the petitions spoken with incense and sacrifice at the altars of Israel yielded at last to the purer prayers of the early Christians, to spiritual communion with the great Comforter. Thus in prayer the Church was founded by Christ and extended by Paul and his brethren. In prayer its missions were spread from India to Britain. In prayer the martyrs died in the arena. In prayer the Church councils were held. In prayer battles have been fought and nations founded. In prayer Luther established Protestantism, Columbus claimed the New World for Spain and the Church, and the Huguenots and Puritans sought the freer life of the Western world.

Prayers rise incessantly in the daily life of the world. To-day, as in ancient times, the Brahman priests supplicate hideous idols, and Buddhists in Japan tie their paper petitions to the lattice screens at the shrines of the great Gautama. Many times daily the muezzin calls the faithful of Islam to prayers, and many millions of worshipers still bow before gods of metal, wood, and stone. In Christian nations prayer is offered in public meetings and on national occasions. Congress and legislatures have their chaplains and services. In educational institutions prayer has a permanent place. Universities, colleges, academies, and some public schools have stated times for it. In the religious world it is a vital part of the regular services, Sabbath school, official and social meetings, and is peculiarly prominent in the weekly prayer meetings. It enters into domestic life, as family prayers or as the blessing at meals, and is part of the personal experience of all believers.

A fact so prevalent in the history and life of the world must command the attention and interest of every thoughtful mind. It seems a just claim that everyone, whether a Christian or not, should have an intelligent understanding of the meaning of prayer. All prayers are petitions from a worshiper to a deity. In the church services the minister says, "Let us unite in prayer." The worshipers then kneel, or stand, or bow their

heads. All eyes are closed. The preacher, in a similar attitude, with clasped hands, leads them in prayer. In subdued tones, which may sometimes tremble with emotion or rise in throbs of supplication or melt in fervent thanksgiving, he talks to this invisible and inaudible Being, which he addresses as "God," or "Lord," or "Our Father in heaven," or "Almighty God." His words guide the thoughts of the listening people. He prays for the "sick and afflicted," for "those weak in the faith," for the unconverted, for all good causes, such as the Church, Christian temperance, Christian education, and missions. He confesses and asks forgiveness for the sins of his people and of the world. After speaking thus for a short time he ascribes holiness, glory, and power to this supreme Being, and says, "All this we ask in Christ's name," or merely uses the phrase "for Christ's sake," and then closes with the word "Amen," a Hebrew adverb meaning "firmly," "certainly," "so be it." Then the congregation resume the ordinary position in the pews, and the service proceeds. An act so unique as this communion of a sinful human being with an infinitely holy Deity suggests various queries which may perhaps be answered by scrutinizing prayer from several points of view:

I. The psychological. The act of prayer is the culmination of normal mental conditions. One who prays does so because he cannot help it. He is in mental distress which demands relief. Into that desert land of the self, where each of us dwells in loneliness, has suddenly flashed a revelation of weakness, selfishness, and guilt; and far away on the heights of consciousness the dweller sees a splendor of unattained possibilities. And toiling toward this transfiguration of his latent powers his futile struggles declare his need of One who, knowing infinitely better than he the hidden dangers of the psychic wilderness, can guide him aright. This Guide can be no other than the supreme mind, God. For all other finite minds are making the same weary journey. Prayer, therefore, is the spontaneous yearning for the Companion. And, as the brilliant and genial Professor James aptly says, "The impulse to pray is a necessary consequence of the fact that, whilst the innermost of the empirical selves of a man is a self of the social sort, it yet can find its only adequate Socius in an ideal world." * Thus, in

* *Psychology*, p. 192. New York, 1892.

prayer, the petitioner communes with the ideal Self whose holiness he vainly strives to realize. His sorrows and longings are understood, and his burdens are lightened, because his secrets are known, by an infinitely compassionate Friend.

The act of prayer involves some definite and important psychic processes. The habit of prayer is an advantage and a danger. Habitual prayer is easier, and by care and accompanying works may become a controlling power in every life. But it is liable to degenerate into a subconscious routine, like eating and walking, and its efficacy is thereby endangered. The mind that would commune with its Companion must be properly secluded. The quiet Sabbath, free from the turmoil of business; the evening hour, after the cares of the day; the sanctuary, from whose dim light all harsh sounds and sights are excluded; the worshiper's closed eyes and subdued tones are requisites for shielding the spirit from the disturbances of sense. In true prayer the attention must be directed to God. Thus, only by effort can there be access to the divine consciousness. Grouping its petitions around some definite need, daily noticing new beauty in the changes of Christian experience, finding the shock of disappointment only a stimulus to closer scrutiny of failings and possibilities, all valid prayer requires voluntary attention. Those who pray are led to greater delicacy of moral discrimination. The holiness and sin, the gold and dross, the slime and cleanness in others and in himself, stand out in their true proportions and vividness when seen through the correcting transparency of prayer. Viewed through its achromatic purity, the pomp and glory of the world vanish, its colors fade, its great dwindle, mammon's jewels become baubles and its robes tatters, Rome is a wilderness and Nazareth an empire, Cæsar a servant and Paul dictator, and the despised Galilean is King of kings. The last is first and the first last, death is life, prosperity is doom, the tipsy world grows sober, and superficial contrasts disappear when by prayer we discern amid life's seeming chaos the dominant purpose of the great Judge who judges all things well. In prayer the scope of this purpose is revealed. By the silent, swift bonds of association the remotest and minutest objects and events are united into a spiritual system wherein the meaning of the world is more clearly seen. In suggestive influence

upon a wavering mind a dewdrop may outweigh the ocean; a casual greeting may do more than a learned dissertation; a name, a touch, a familiar refrain may reach the hidden springs of life. The wings of lowly faith sweep in association from India to China, Africa, Armenia; from Rome to Ephesus; from David to Christ; from doubt to faith; from Calvary's cross to the heavenly throne, and take many a refreshing journey in the realms of spirit. Memory, too, darkens or chastens the present with recollections of past failures or blessings. Imagination secures through prayer an insight into the ideal world. It shows us the gates of pearl, the precious streets, and jeweled corridors leading to the great white throne. It sees there the ineffable radiance of the thorn-crowned King, the chanting choirs of cherubim and seraphim, and the adoration of the white-robed kneeling throngs of the redeemed. And, borne on their melodious hosannas, it transports us away from all the crudity of earthly longings.

Further, all prayer is rational, an intelligent and normal act. By reason we pass from the things seen, which are temporal, to the things unseen, which are eternal; and the concrete world of houses and trees, books and furniture, men, weather, sky, earth, stars, universities, battles, debates, newspapers, and money, resolves into a few simple facts and principles—a holy God and a sinful soul; after sin, forgiveness or condemnation; after life, death; after death, judgment; after judgment, heaven or hell—and these are the essentials of life. Obscured in ordinary living, they stand clearly revealed in prayer. The emotional nature is preeminent in prayer. Throbs of remorse for sin, gratitude at forgiveness, grief and reverence, fear and entreaty; anger, doubt, and despair; wonder, awe, and peace; the exultation of Miriam's triumphant song, Elijah's thanksgiving for rain, David's penitence, Simeon's rejoicing, Christ's agony in Gethsemane, and over all the love that passeth understanding—all these find a true and necessary place in communion with the living God. The deepest psychological significance of prayer is its volitional nature. The bended knee, bowed head, and clasped hands fitly express the submissive will, which has listened to the inner voice, has deliberately chosen God, has renounced self, and has determined upon a new life. Thus it was that the

publican cried, "God be merciful to me a sinner;" and the persecutor on the Damascus road, in his crushed zeal and broken purpose, asked, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And the volitional element in prayer is consummated by the "Amen" of consent, the fiat of the worshiper.

II. The metaphysical. A psychological analysis of prayer is inadequate. Psychology at best is only a natural science, and—like chemistry, with its atomic theory, astronomy, with its nebular hypothesis, and all other natural sciences—it rests upon unproven assumptions, and all its explanations are provisional. A clearer understanding of prayer requires the aid of metaphysics, which defines it as a special relation between the absolute and the finite spirit. The nature, method, and results of this relation may be determined, as involving the categories of personality, being, and relation. The relation of the worshiper to God in prayer is the "second personal" relation of communion or direct address. As a scientist the theologian studies about God, as a worshiper he is acquainted with him. The fact of prayer presupposes that the same essential nature is characteristic of deity and worshiper. The Universal and the particular are therefore spirits whose reciprocity of life is the choice of both, and the fulfillment of the conditions which make prayer valid is the duty of the suppliant. The method whereby the particular secures audience with the Universal is peculiar. The two are radically distinct—finite and infinite, creature and Creator, sinful and holy, ignorance and omniscience, weakness and omnipotence, limitation and absoluteness, human and divine. Prayer bridges this dualism by a third element possessing the essence of both Absolute and conditioned. This mediation must be the Universal particularized, the absolute idea uttered in a finite form, the eternal Logos incarnate, the servant of Jehovah, Jesus the Christ. In his name only and for his sake alone can the soul have access to God, and there is no other name under heaven whereby prayer can have validity. The phrase "for Christ's sake" is necessary in all effectual prayer, and has a clear metaphysical authority. The beauty of prayer is further shown in its results, in the insight so gained into the life of both the conditioned and the Absolute. This knowledge is more extensive and reliable than any other. All physical science is neces-

sarily "through a glass, darkly." Mental sciences are more accurate in that the observer is "face to face" with his psychic specimens. But in both departments the knowledge has two limitations—the observer is fallible, and the mental and physical specimens are inadequate revelations of reality and are studied under necessarily defective conditions of experimentation. But, in prayer, that unique attitude of the particular to the Universal, there is only one limitation to knowledge—the worshiper. The revelations of the Absolute in prayer are more direct and extensive than in the ordinary mental life or in the cosmos, and, if made at all, are wholly sincere. The finite spirit, illumined by the shekinah of the unconditioned, sees painfully its own most secret faults; and he who prays in humble faith can thereby view the unveiled glory of reality, forever hidden from the intellectual scrutiny of him who studies but prays not. The action of the religious consciousness in prayer is the metaphysical acme of cognition. It yields to ontology and epistemology their most precious data.

III. The theological. The divine participation in prayer is more important than the human. A thorough understanding of prayer can be found, not in a description of its mental accompaniments, nor in an analysis of its basal principles, but only through theology, which—being the interpretation of the divine life as revealed in the facts of the religious consciousness of man in history, in the cosmos, and in Christ—is the most accurate, comprehensive, and important of all the sciences. Thoughtful minds may have difficulty in harmonizing prayer with the attributes of God. It seems to contradict his omniscience. Is not prayer, they suggest, absurd in relation to an omniscient spirit? If he knows us infinitely better than we do ourselves, is it not a farce, they ask, to tell him the sins we commit, the longings we have, the gladness we feel? Some prayers, doubtless many, do undertake this ridiculous task of tutoring God. But prayer should not attempt to add to that life in which there are no shadows of ignorance, no fluctuations of passion, no maelstroms of doubt. In act, word, and thought we do indeed express what is eternally known to him; but thus only can a relationship to him be established which is not intellectual but volitional. Prayer is a communion, not a recitation; companionship, not coercion; petition

with compliance or refusal, not question with answer or silence. Conditioned by faith, it presupposes our receptivity, obedience, and cooperation, recognizes God's perfections and sovereignty, and acknowledges in him the solution of all life's puzzles.

A greater difficulty is to reconcile prayer with God's omnipotence. His eternal purpose is to reveal himself through an orderly system of finite spirits, objects, and events. Does prayer disturb this revelation and alter the course of events? If this purpose should require a rainstorm, an earthquake, the ruin of a nation, the success of a battle, the death of a loved one, the salvation of one of our friends and the damnation of another, can our prayers prevent these occurrences? When President Garfield was shot, the Christian world agonized in prayer for his recovery; but he died. What good did all this praying do? Such queries may be answered by distinguishing the principles of the divine character from their revelation in objects and events. God is almighty. But he is not an almighty brute, or machine, or lunatic. He is an omnipotent person whose life, being regulated by reason, is one of infinite love. The principles of that life are unalterable. If all the Christians of all ages should unite in prayer to change a principle of the divine character, the petition would be unheeded. The eternal reason cannot be absurd. He cannot deny himself. But the revelation of reason in concrete events is not unalterable. The fact of prayer, and of its influence upon events, is presupposed in the system of finite spirits constituting the kingdom of God. Prayers are dynamic. They cannot change God's eternal purpose. But they do influence the manifestation of that purpose in the cosmos and in history. Hence the "accepted prayer" of faith commits itself to God in complete confidence that it will be disposed of in wise accord with his ultimate purpose.

But can prayer be reconciled with foreordination? If our friend's damnation is predetermined from all eternity, why commit the absurdity of praying for his salvation? We do so pray because such events are not foreordained. God is responsible for, and does foreordain certain elements in, all objects and events. The cosmos, the moral system, our own powers are predetermined. But the use of these powers, our sins and consequent damnation, we alone control. God's knowledge and power are not limited. His responsibility is. He is not responsible

for sin or for righteousness, but only for the freedom whose expression they are. And that this expression—either the unselfish choice of God as the supreme object of love, or the sinful choice of self as that object—is completely within our control is overwhelmingly proven by the testimony of consciousness. The remorse and penitence of the millions who have found peace only in prayer to a forgiving God; the lives of the martyrs, of Luther, Bunyan, and Jerry McAuley, are convincing proof that our destiny is in our own power. Consciousness, the soul's impartial tribunal, pronounces its sentence, not upon an innocent deity, but upon the deliberately criminal self.

Prayer is connected with the origin and continuance of the Christian life. It is potent in conversion and in Christian culture. Prayer "without ceasing" is the unbroken sequence of a Christian's acts and thoughts. Time and place are nonessentials. If business men prayed over their counters, farmers in their dairies, mechanics at the lathes, and cooks in the kitchen; if students in class rooms used swift, brief, silent prayers instead of sly peeps into text-books; if prayer were offered steadily and silently, not merely at church or at night and morning, but everywhere, on the streets, in stores, on railway trains, the world would be better. There would be more answers to prayer. One who prays thus secretly, not thrice but a hundred times a day—thirty-six thousand five hundred prayers a year, short ones—will be surprised to see the delicate touch of God in the details of life. And prayer is not merely language, or thought, or action. "Prayer" is ordinarily pronounced as a monosyllable, like "there," "where," "care." But the word is a dissyllable. The stem is "pray;" and the suffix *er*, like the Latin *or* in *orator*, and the Greek ωρ in ῥήτωρ, means actor or agent. A pray-er is one who prays. The Christian is himself a pray-er; and the Christian civilization which, despite its depreciation by skeptics and its competition with baser creeds, is enhancing every phase of life, is the modern world's sterling tribute to the Pray-er of pray-ers.

John Bigham.

Art. III.—DID THE GAELIC CHURCH REVIVE PRESBYTERIAL ORDINATION?

High Churchmen are apt to make poor historical scholars. Certain elements of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, nay, of the papacy, unquestionably occur in the New Testament. A High Churchman is one who, fastening on the elements of which his own system is the specific development, slights the others, and thereby makes out his own polity to be the exclusively legitimate and divine frame of the Church. Among Protestants the Episcopalians and American Congregationalists appear at present to be the most strenuously active in this reversal of history, this backward projection into the pregnant fullness of the apostolic age of the hard exclusiveness of later antagonisms. Among the latter, however, this folly is no longer perpetrated by scholars. Methodism, by its youth and its history, is not much exposed to this temptation. Presbyterianism itself, so far as we can judge, is at present not greatly inclined this way. What we once heard the illustrious Henry Boynton Smith declare from the pulpit is, we fancy, very widely applicable in his denomination: "We are Presbyterians, but not *jure divino* Presbyterians." All the more, when we do find a presbyterian High Churchman, we find one of the most thorough grain. Such a one is the eminent Dr. Killen, of the Assembly's College at Belfast. We hardly know which to admire the most, the bishop who informs us that the threefold ministry was universally accepted in the Church by the year 100, or the presbyter who informs us * that it was first established at Rome, about 140, and from there spread elsewhere, and who interprets Cyprian's phrase, *Roma, unde sacerdotalis unitas exorta est*, as meaning this. That the individual episcopate at Rome first came to distinct development about 140 is highly probable; but that it spread from hence eastward, instead of being the westward term of a process of some seventy years, beginning where heresies first began, in Syria and Asia Minor, is as fine an instance of historical preposterousness, in the literal sense, as could easily be adduced.

Dr. Killen is equally heroic when he quotes Polycarp's modest

* Killen, *The Old Catholic Church*, p. 53.

address, "Polycarp, and the elders with him," as proof that he was not then supposed to have been specifically bishop at Smyrna; and when he quotes the fact, apparent by the same letter, that Philippi was then governed simply by presbyters, as a proof that "the churches" were then presbyterially governed, as if there could be no bishops in Asia because there was as yet no bishop in Philippi. In this forming period of the Church, as Jean Réville emphasizes, there might easily have been twenty varieties of Church government in as many regions. Christians were not yet bound up into any uniformity of administration, nor had they yet discovered that we are not justified by Christ, but by Christ and church government.

However, we are not proposing to argue with Dr. Killen as to the date when the individual episcopate had become universal throughout the Catholic churches. All will allow that by the time of Cyprian, at the middle of the third century, no other polity is accepted as legitimate among the orthodox.

This, however, does not necessarily imply that presbyters might not as yet have been held capable of ordaining presbyters. Indeed, Dr. Killen gives overwhelming proof * that in the second century the presbyters still set apart their own bishops. And aside from this the distinction between bishop and presbyter was at first only administrative. Both Jerome and Augustine declare it to be valid "because the custom of the Church has made it valid." There was not supposed to be any intrinsic necessity in the fact that the bishop alone commonly baptized and celebrated the eucharist, and there was no more any intrinsic reason why he alone should ordain. It sufficed all the purposes of episcopal government that the bishop should have all the sacred offices under his control. The actual functions of baptism and the communion he might delegate, and why not of ordination? That bishops did, in fact, more or less delegate to presbyters the right of ordaining presbyters seems plain from the fact that, as late as 314, the Council of Ancyra forbids *chorepiscopi* to ordain presbyters or deacons, but allows city presbyters to do so, if specifically commissioned by their bishop, who could keep a keener watch over his urban subordinates than over his rural colleagues.†

* *The Ancient Church*, chap. ix.

† We have here no occasion to consider Anglican exceptions to this interpretation of the Council of Ancyra. We give the statement of the learned Anglicans, Smith and Cheetham.

Yet there was a growing tendency to confine to the bishop not merely the power of authorizing, but that of administering, ordination, at least ordination to the presbyterate. The inferior orders, from deacon down, were hardly vital. Even yet it is a moot point in the Roman Catholic Church whether the pope might not, if he would, authorize a presbyter to ordain a deacon (as indeed was once done in Cyprian's church), while all allow that he could not possibly authorize a presbyter to ordain a presbyter. Nor is it held by anyone that an invalid diaconate vitiates a subsequent presbyterate. When we speak of ordination, therefore, let it, unless otherwise required, be understood only of the ordination of presbyters. As the Church multiplied the bishop became increasingly incompetent to exercise the ministry alone, but remained perfectly competent to transmit it alone. And, as it became more and more necessary to station presbyters at a distance from the bishop, it became increasingly necessary to guard against their possible usurpation of episcopal authority. We see this from the action of Ancyra itself. The most obvious precaution, therefore, was at length absolutely to inhibit presbyters from ever ordaining presbyters. This appears to have become the Egyptian discipline before 350, for some time earlier we find an Egyptian council disallowing the standing of a claiming presbyter on the ground that he had not been ordained by a bishop. It should seem, therefore, that not long previously presbyterial ordination had been recognized, or else why should this man have resorted to it?

For the reasons given, the tendency to confine the power of ordaining absolutely to the bishops continually gathered strength. It seems well made out that originally the country bishops, the *chorepiscopi*, had full episcopal competency. Yet in the East the city bishops gradually deprived them of the right of ordaining presbyters and deacons. No wonder, then, that they finally withdrew this power from presbyters, who appear to have exercised it very rarely before. By the year 400 the incompetency of presbyters to ordain appears to be unconditional. Jerome, writing to the Roman pope, and exalting the presbyterate against the episcopate, which he rightly declares to have been distinguished from it rather by the Church than by Christ or the apostles, adds, "And even now, what can a bishop do which a presbyter cannot also do, except ordain?" The

argument would have been triumphant if he could have added, "And he can even ordain, if episcopally authorized." He does not add this, doubtless because he could not, because presbyters by that time were absolutely inhibited from ordaining.

Yet Dr. Killen maintains that presbyterial ordination, thus by 400 absolutely extinct in the Catholic Church at large, survived, or was revived in the monasteries, and was exercised for centuries by the abbots within the Latin Church, and that it was an unquestioned competency of the abbots in the Gaelic Church, though he allows that it was very commonly exercised, even in this, by bishops.

It is hard to prove a negative. We cannot undertake to show that from 400 to 800, or later, some abbots of the Latin Church may not have ordained some monks presbyters, and shuffled them in among the authentic clergy. We only adduce some general considerations adverse to this assumption, and then examine Dr. Killen's positive proofs in favor of it. We will afterward take up the Gaelic Church. The question whether presbyterianism existed far into the Middle Ages is certainly an interesting and curious one.

We have seen that by the year 400 presbyterial ordination was extinct throughout the Græco-Latin Church. Dr. Killen also gives this date. The power of the bishops was growing daily, and the rights of the presbyters were daily declining. The bishops were jealously vigilant against all attempts to renew obscure and half-forgotten prerogatives of the second order, as they were steadily curtailing the rights of the humbler members of their own. Can anything be imagined more likely to provoke them against the rising monasticism (of which we know them to have been in fact the zealous patrons) than the knowledge that the abbots pretended to the right of ordaining presbyters, even had the abbots been presbyters themselves? But they were not. Most of the abbots were simple laymen, say Smith and Cheetham, till into the seventh century, and lay abbots are found till into the eleventh.* They were therefore wholly incompetent, on any theory, to ordain. Yet, in his *History of the Old Catholic Church*, Dr. Killen takes no account of this vital fact. He shows that he knows it, as of course he does, by saying that the abbot Eutyches, the heresiarch, "was

* These were real abbots, not, like later lay abbots, mere commendataries.

also a presbyter," which implies that abbots generally were not presbyters, just as, when we say that the Benedictine abbot of West Australia "is also a bishop," this implies that abbots are not usually bishops. Now, the three or four early monastic rules which Dr. Killen supposes to make for him provide for the rights of abbots generically, not merely of abbots who are presbyters. But a layman, abbot or not, is not capable, nor is it to be supposed that he has ever been capable, of ordaining so much as a doorkeeper. The nonsacramental minor orders may in modern times be given by an abbot, but only if he is himself a priest. The *potestas ordinandi*, therefore, ascribed in these rules to the abbot, without regard to order, is assuredly not "the power of ordaining." It is simply the power of admitting to the monachate, as the episcopal *potestas ordinandi* is the right of admitting to the priesthood.

However, before going further into this point, let us dispose of a much earlier instance, in which Dr. Killen sees, and we are inclined to think warrantably, a case of presbyterial ordination. He quotes Cassian, who says that Paphnutius, a presbyter and abbot—not the noted Nicene bishop—advanced a young brother Daniel to the diaconate, and then to the presbyterate. As this was hardly twenty-five years later than the Council of Ancyra, in Asia Minor, which had expressly permitted episcopally authorized presbyters to ordain presbyters, it looks as if Paphnutius may himself have ordained Daniel. Yet this is doubtful, for this was in Egypt, where the orthodox Paphnutius might well have hesitated to contravene the express decision of the great Athanasius against presbyterial ordination. The term *provexit* is not decisive. If Paphnutius procured Daniel to be ordained by some bishop to whom the sanctity of the abbot was a command, *provexit* would be perfectly in place. Abbots of to-day are continually "advancing" their monks to the priesthood, not by ordaining them—to which they are incompetent—but by procuring their ordination. This therefore may have been a last lingering exercise of presbyterial ordination, or it may not.

To return to the monastic rules. We are all given to astonishing oversights, and since the time of George Primrose and his journey to Amsterdam to teach the Dutch English without once remembering that he did not know Dutch, we

have noticed none more astonishing than Dr. Killen's entire oblivion of the fact—the hinge of the whole discussion—that *ordinare* and "ordain" are as far as possible from being equivalent terms. *Ordinare* goes beyond on every side. We have *ordinare presbyterum*, to ordain a priest; *ordinare monachum*, to profess a monk; *ordinare consulem*, to appoint a consul; *ordinare monasterium*, to regulate a monastery; *ordinare regem*, to consecrate a king; and so on indefinitely. To "ordain," as a function of the Latin Church, means exclusively to admit to the eight hierarchical grades of doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, bishop. *Ordinare* means to admit to any office, grade, status, whatever, in Church or State; to regulate affairs or institutions; and we know not what besides. Ordaining clergymen and enacting ordinances are the two points of meeting, but all the wide sweep beyond belongs only to *ordinare*. Indeed, so far is the earlier Church Latin from jealous rigor of use, that the still higher term *consecrare* is once used by Innocent III of the mere translation of an already consecrated bishop. *Ordinatio* is also the name of a part of the papal inauguration service, although, as the pope is almost always a bishop already, he is usually no longer capable of being "ordained." Yet he is still capable, it seems, of receiving an *ordinatio*. So it would be perfectly good Latin to speak of the *ordinatio cardinalium*, although a man is neither ordained nor consecrated cardinal.

Therefore the *potestas ordinandi* of the rules is not the "power of ordaining." It is the "power of admitting." Admitting to what depends on the connection. Ordination is an ecclesiastical act, and the early abbot was not an ecclesiastical functionary. He was not usually in any grade of the ministry. Gregory the Great sets the monastic and the ecclesiastical life sharply in antithesis. "An abbot," says he, "ought not to exercise any grade of the clericate." Yet Dr. Killen supposes him to have exercised even the specific function of the episcopate. Benedict, Gregory's great master, had been a simple layman, and that is the monastic ideal which Gregory upholds. He will have the abbot the obedient subject of his bishop. The ordinations in the monastery, of every grade, he ascribes to the bishop; yet he is equally resolute in defending the properly monastic authority of the abbot. We know how much occa-

sion there was for this during centuries. The bishops, almost inevitably, but often very provokingly, would insist on confounding their own general right of ecclesiastical supervision with the abbot's right of interior monastic government. This Gregory forbids. "Let not the bishop," says he, "administer even the most inconsiderable ordination—*levissimam ordinationem*—within the monastery, save by the abbot's request." These are the ordinations of the monks to the various grades of the hierarchy, which, though strongly discouraged, could not be altogether forbidden. The *ordinatio monachorum*, the admission, or as now called, "the profession," of monks, was an entirely different thing. It is not an ecclesiastical, a hierarchical, but a monastic act. Therefore it properly appertained to the abbot, whether he were a priest or a layman. Yet the bishops, it appears, often arrogated it to themselves. Against this abuse various rules, sanctioned, it appears, by great bishops or by councils, make provision. Aurelian, a bishop of Gaul, who is quoted by Dr. Killen, draws up a rule for the abbots subject to him, and perhaps in commission of a council, by which it appears that he was himself accustomed to admit their monks. Indeed, as he was an abbot as well as a bishop, this was the more natural. Yet he allows that this right exists in their monasteries only by their good will, for he says: "*Et quando (abbas) voluerit ordinandi habeat potestatem.*" Assuredly Aurelian is not intending to part with the prerogative which St. Jerome a hundred and fifty years earlier had regretfully admitted to have already become the incommunicable jewel of the episcopate. He is not trying, at the risk of deposition, to convey to his abbots, or those of his neighbor bishops, an attribute which the Catholic Church would have voided in the use. What possible motive could he have had for this heretical superserviceableness? He is simply assuring his abbots that although he commonly exercises not only the *potestas ordinandi ad ordines*, which is inherent in his episcopal office, but also, even in their convents, the *potestas ordinandi ad monachatum*, which was inherent in theirs, he does the latter only by their good will. It never seems to enter Dr. Killen's head that *ordinatio monachorum* and *ordinatio monachorum in presbyteros* are two fundamentally different things. There is an ecclesiastical *potestas ordinandi*. This appertains to the

bishops. There is a monastic *potestas ordinandi.* This appertains to the abbots. A rule for bishops, giving them this power of admission, would mean the ecclesiastical power. A rule for abbots, giving it to them, means the monastic power. How far these two powers are delegable, or interchangeable, rests on entirely independent data. Aurelian assures to all his abbots, whether presbyters or laymen, his colleagues as abbots, the equal monastic *potestas ordinandi.*

Certainly the wildest theological theorist of that day—had there been any—would never have dreamed of claiming for laymen, of whatever monastic standing, the power of ordaining priests. Yet this is what Dr. Killen's interpretation involves. Moreover, he supposes that Aurelian, in contradiction to Catholic doctrine and practice, is making over to his abbots an indeterminate power of obtruding upon him a swarm of new priests for whose clerical conduct he alone is responsible. For the official worthiness of every priest, whether monk or secular, the bishop himself was then accountable. It seems to us, at least, that a more astonished bishop would be hard to imagine than Aurelian would have been, could he have been told that he was supposed to be giving away his episcopal right of admitting presbyters simply because he assures to the abbots their monastic power of admitting monks. This right, *ordinandi monachos*—now commonly called "professing" monks —abbots and other superiors enjoy to this day, while abbesses must resort to a bishop. A monastic rule giving to the abbot *potestas ordinandi monachos suos in presbyteros* Dr. Killen does not cite, and probably will never find one to cite. When, as occasionally happens, an abbot is also a bishop, he has this power by virtue of his episcopate, but of that only.

On one page the author quotes an old English rule, of perhaps A. D. 630, saying that an abbot "*non potest aliquem ordinare de suis propinquis, neque de alienis, nec alio abbati dare si non voluerint fratres,*" as a proof that in England also abbots originally had the power of ordaining. So they had, as they still have, everywhere. But it is the monastic, not the sacramental, power. It admits, not to the priesthood, but to the monastery. In modern English, as we have said, it is commonly called "professing a monk." The abbot is here forbidden to burden the monastery with new monks unless the

brethren consent, and subordinately and subsequently is forbidden to transfer an already accepted monk without their consent. Whether a monk already an inmate should be admitted a priest or not was a matter of inferior import. The abbot is not forbidden to ordain a monk a priest, for the very sufficient reason that he could not. He is not required to consult the brethren as to the ordination of such a monk by the bishop, for it would add no new burdens, nor make any essential change. A monastic priest would wear the same garb and follow the same rule as a lay monk. Not till sometime between 1000 and 1200 did the possession of holy orders distinguish between governing and serving brethren.

The ordination of abbots themselves requires few words. Gregory the Great refers it to bishops. Some other rules commit it to abbots, apparently only when presbyters, or to other priests. Gregory's rule has prevailed, but not universally. Sometimes abbots consecrate abbots. It is of no special importance. An abbot's consecration, it is true, is often a great solemnity. If of the higher rank, he is consecrated almost like a bishop. He receives imposition of hands, though not the chrism; is invested with buskins and gloves, with the pectoral cross, the miter and crozier, and proceeds through the church blessing the people, exactly like a new-made bishop. Yet to all this stately ceremony is attributed not one least vanishing touch of sacramental virtue. Its efficacy is purely *ex opere operantium*, not at all *ex opere operato*. It exalts the rank of the new prelate, but leaves him in point of order and of sacramental capacity precisely where he was before. Indeed, so little necessary is it that there are various abbots who, when once chosen, are, without any ceremony, *ipso facto* consecrate.

Now comes the question, Did the Gaelic Church, after her foundation under Patrick in the fifth century, or after her extension into Caledonia under Columba in the last of the sixth, revive presbyterial ordination? The Gaelic Church, existing in Ireland and Scotland, was the daughter, not of the Roman Church specifically, but nevertheless of the Latin Church. Succath (St. Patrick), whether born at Dumbarton, or, as Dr. Killen holds, we think with reason, to be more probable, in northwestern Gaul, was a Roman citizen. His father was a decurio, or Roman functionary of some rank. His name, or

rather title, of Patricius, "nobleman," expresses this. His father was a deacon, his grandfather a presbyter, of the Latin Church. The Celtic Bretons were not very exact in conformity, but they were both in doctrine and polity orthodox Roman Christians. Even Dr. Killen allows that Patrick, son of a deacon, grandson of a priest, himself obtained episcopal consecration to give him full competency for his mission. Here we have the three fundamental orders of the Catholic Church. From his time we have an uninterrupted succession of bishops in Ireland. Indeed, there was small likelihood of interruption, for the little island, not larger than South Carolina, had three hundred bishops at the least account, and each seems to have exercised his right of transmitting all the orders nearly at his absolute discretion, although in a vague subordination to Armagh.

This brings in the question, Was the Gaelic Church episcopal or not? In one sense it was, in another it was not. It was episcopal assuredly in having an almost unbounded affluence of bishops that enjoyed an uninterrupted succession—not in particular sees, but as a body—through a great bishop and missionary, from the Latin episcopate.* It was nonepiscopal in the sense that, had it begun without the specific episcopate, there was nothing in Gaelic society that would have suggested the necessity of establishing this episcopacy among the Gael, which, though never interrupted and always exercising its specific function of ordaining, really existed in large measure by traditional habit and by fraternal accommodation to the Church at large. As the Scottish historian, Dr. Burton, well says, the interviews between Gaelic abbots and distinguished bishops resemble the reception of a king by a republican magistrate. The magistrate honors the august rank of his visitor, but as something extrinsic to his own system. The episcopate was really an outgrowth of the urban life of the Græco-Roman world. Though it spread into the country parts it could not maintain itself there. To this day, with very few exceptions, every Catholic bishop has a civic title, even if it be of a city now vanished. For ages, in the Latin countries, the bishops had no authority outside the precinct of their own cities. But among the Gael the city did not exist, or was a wretched aggregation

* Of course, we are not talking about an unbroken inward validity. As Cardinal Newman says, this can only be believed on the faith of a miracle.

of cabins that signified nothing. The organizing unit of society was the clan, or perhaps rather its subdivision the sept, easily detaching itself into a new clan. The Irish Church was the most intensely ascetic and monastic Church that has ever existed. The severity of the Irish discipline was extreme. Each monastery, with its surrounding colony, became a new sept or clan, of which the abbot was chief. He was sometimes a bishop, sometimes a presbyter, sometimes a married layman, supervising the monks but not properly himself a monk, sometimes a lay monk. On the other hand, the nonmonastic bishops had no strictly defined jurisdiction, and were not much reverenced. They, therefore, had no power to compete in importance with the abbots, who, especially in Caledonia, seem to have acted very much as their metropolitans. They largely sank into simple agents of ordination.

This metropolitan rank belonged above all to the presbyter abbot of Iona. From this great foundation almost all Celtic Scotland had been evangelized. As the great mother-house of Benedictinism, Monte Cassino, signified much more in the Church than a good many common bishoprics, although its abbots never acted as bishops, so by incomparably stronger titles the abbey of Iona did not merely influence, but actually governed, the whole Caledonian Church, bishops, presbyters, and people. This Bede explicitly sets forth, declaring that the bishops of the mainland were subject to the presbyter abbot of the island.

Now, the question is not, Did the Gaelic Church revive presbyterial government? In a profoundly modified form she did. Yet her form of government was much farther from primitive use than that of the Latin Church. In every episcopal town of the Continent the bishop and his chapter are still, however deeply modified, the lineal representatives of the original moderator and college of presbyters. In Celtic Scotland the metropolitan supremacy of a great monastery and its abbot corresponded to nothing whatever primitive. It was legitimate, doubtless, for it sprung from the soil and long did good work, but anything less scriptural in form or lineage could not be found. It revived presbyterial government, but only partially and casually. The Gaelic abbot, like the Latin, might be indifferently bishop, priest, or layman. In

Iona, it is true, he must be a priest. As a subordinate bishop could always be found to ordain, most abbots seem not to have cared to take a degree which had no other vital significance in their Church. It was not presbyterianism, but monasticism *versus* episcopacy. It was a very peculiar form of the great mediæval struggle between the dioceses and the monasteries.

Dr. Killen does not deny that the distinction of bishops and presbyters prevailed in the Gaelic Church from the beginning to the end of her independent history. It is true, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* he shuffles and equivocates in every possible way to make us forget this. He is fond of calling the bishops—who had each, from their numbers, a very limited range—parish ministers. Yet their districts were not smaller than various Italian dioceses now, although here and there there were curious aggregations of them. And he owns that the bishop was commonly served by eight or nine presbyters—a very decent staff for a small see. Many undoubted Latin bishops had only two or three presbyters. Some had not even one. The two indispensable ministers of a small Latin see were a bishop and a deacon. Presbyters were added as required. On this showing the Irish bishops were very comfortably provided with subordinate clergy.

Even so the author, when describing the final reduction of Ireland, about 1150, to some thirty dioceses, represents the bishops as country pastors, long accustomed to "presbyterian parity," who were not likely to relish diocesan subjection. Yet he has told us that these "country pastors" had each of them eight or nine subordinate presbyters. By his own showing, therefore, there had never been "presbyterian parity," but a multitudinous episcopal parity, served by a much more multitudinous presbyterial subordination.

Dr. Killen lays stress on the want of all signs of episcopal influence in early Ireland. True, where austere monasticism was the ideal, and where abbeys were numerous, at once rigorous and learned, these petty prelates and their subordinate presbyters amounted to little except to celebrate the rites of religion. But they were none the less bishops and presbyters. The distinction between these two orders did not lie in an eminent difference of rank or power, although, according to our author, both distinctions were found in Ireland. It lay

essentially, through all the ages of Irish as equally of Græco-Latin history after 400, in the fact that the bishop alone, as Jerome says, had the power to ordain. This distinction of degree and function was received from Patrick; it prevailed throughout Christendom; and the Irish, who were eminently and, as in the Easter question, sometimes unreasonably tenacious of ancient use, could have no possible reason for departing from it, especially as it was still connected with vague rights of superintendency. Nevertheless, Dr. Killen affirms that both in Ireland and in Gaelic Scotland the abbots always possessed, and not unfrequently exercised, the right of ordaining presbyters, and even bishops. Above all, he ascribes this prerogative to the abbot and monks of Iona.

Now, setting aside Iona for the present, what evidence does he produce? We may remark that he plays fast and loose here, as he does regarding the country bishops and presbyters. It is this which makes his works significant, for it shows the intrinsic weakness of this widely spread contention. In his Irish history he repeatedly speaks of "the bishops or abbots" in connections plainly showing his claim that the two terms had the same force. Indeed, he expressly cites a letter of Archbishop Laurentius, of Canterbury, addressed to "our eminent and dear brethren—*dominis caris fratribus*—the bishops or abbots throughout Scotia"—that is, Ireland and Gaelic Scotland—as proof that the Roman Catholic bishops regarded the two terms as virtually equivalent among the Gael. Yet, according to his own showing, the vast bulk of the Irish bishops were not abbots, but country pastors. Moreover, he expressly contrasts the presbyter abbot of Iona with his subordinate bishops. Moreover, he expressly mentions the courage of the young Columba in that, being only a presbyter, although already the abbot of several monasteries, he had the boldness to bring a leading bishop to terms. Yet, according to Dr. Killen, this same man, at this same time—before there was an Iona—was more than a bishop! Furthermore, he describes him as entitled to peculiar deference as a presbyter abbot, showing him to know that in Ireland, as on the Continent, most of the abbots were still laymen, and therefore incapable of ordaining to even the humblest Church office. Nevertheless, every abbot had been ordained a monk, and then an abbot. Yet, as Dr. Killen shows himself to be aware, these two *ordinationes*,

being of only monastic, not ecclesiastical, value, left the abbot still a layman, so that a presbyter abbot ranked much higher. Yet we are told that Laurentius, Justus, and Mellitus, three Roman bishops settled in England, conceived these lay abbots —for the letter makes no distinction—to be the same as bishops. They did, indeed, address their letter indifferently to bishops or abbots, not because abbot and bishop meant the same thing, but because either one or the other meant an influential dignitary. The letter, as quoted by Dr. Killen himself, and as given by Bede, expressly distinguishes Dagan, the Irish bishop, from Columban, the Irish abbot. Again, the author tells us that St. Malachy, on the edge of transition, but still under the old model, became a priest, then an abbot, then a bishop. He was plainly unaware that an abbot was *ipso facto* a bishop, nay, if a presbyter, more than a bishop.

The fact is, that between Dr. Killen's solicitude to make out the Gaelic abbots to be *ipso facto* bishops, and the stubborn, contradictory facts that fly in his face at every turn, he does not half the time seem to know what he is saying when on this topic. Everywhere else he is perfectly clear and strong, even when, as in talking about the Roman Catholic division of the Decalogue, he is grossly ignorant and calumnious. Dr. Killen declares that the Irish bishop sometimes received investiture, which he makes equivalent to ordination—but which, since the early ages, has been a very different thing—in the monastery to which he belonged, and sometimes was ordained by a neighboring bishop. Of this alternative he gives no proof. If the abbot had the intrinsic power of ordaining a bishop, why should he have summoned a bishop to ordain, or sent his monk to a bishop? He was not, like the pope now, too great a dignitary even to consecrate a bishop, except occasionally. The story told about Columba may be unauthentic—though Dr. Killen's criticism of it seems trivial, and even unmeaning—but it illustrates the usage of the Gaelic Church. His own abbot, St. Finnian, was only a presbyter, but desired to have a bishop in his monastery. He therefore sent him to Etchen, the resident bishop of another abbey, for consecration. He found Etchen plowing, and in the hurry—this was before the days of spectacles—St. Finnian's message was misread, and instead of bishop the young man was ordained priest. This story, true

or false, is redolent of the elder Gaelic times. Everything in it is simple and primitive. It sees nothing amiss in a presbyter abbot using the episcopal services of a subordinate bishop. Dr. Killen is very scornful over such "puppets," but his contempt of them does not annihilate them. He cannot deny that for several centuries such monastic bishops existed throughout the Church. Professor G. T. Stokes * shows that they were found from Ireland to Mount Sinai. Dr. Killen has a great spite at them, but all the comfort we can give him is that though they assuredly once lived they are all dead now. They have modern successors, more or less, but somewhat differently circumstanced.

Dr. Killen is so determined to make out early Irish abbots *ipso facto* bishops that he will even have them to have carried their episcopate with them into the Latin Church, where no such strange discipline has ever prevailed. Even those rules which the author distorts out of their meaning, as we have seen, by his mistranslations of *ordinare*, give the abbot only a monastic authority. He will have it that Virgil, or Ferghal, was, about 750, an ordained abbot in Ireland—although the high authority of Dr. Lanigan disputes the identity, and although Virgil's contemporaries and later biographers know nothing of it—and that, going to Germany, and becoming abbot of St. Peter's, at Salzburg, he for two years "dissembled his ordination," and put forward an Irish bishop, Dobda, to perform episcopal acts. Now, first, this statement comes from a source four hundred years later, a cleric of Salzburg. Second, this cleric knows nothing of Virgil as either abbot or monk, either at Salzburg or at home. The abbey of St. Peter's contained the episcopal chair, and Virgil, who was bishop designate, appointed by the Duke of Bavaria, may have been, like many bishops—notably Canterbury—*ex officio* abbot of the monastic chapter. His successor in the see speaks of "Virgil, abbot of St. Peter's." The elder authorities say nothing of his having been himself a monk. His biographer is not describing his government of an abbey, but of a great bishopric, although Dobda probably had his home in the monastery, for he bears the specific title *proprius episcopus*. *Ordinatio* may mean indifferently "ordination, benediction as abbot, designation, episcopal consecration."

* *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 105.

The writer of 1180 cannot, possibly, by the *dissimulata ordinatio* mean "benediction," for whatever Dr. Killen, by dint of mistranslation, may endeavor to make out for the earlier centuries, it is certain that to a Roman Catholic clergyman of 1180 such a thing was inconceivable as that a mere abbot could ordain. It cannot mean "episcopal consecration," for the biographer expressly says that only after two years was Virgil persuaded "to receive the episcopal unction" at the hands of his comprovincial bishops, and "was ordained," that is, to the episcopate. It may mean his designation, for this came from the duke—prompted by the king—and he may easily have concealed it from the people, as if he had a mere temporary commission, until after two years he made up his mind to remain, and then at length receiving consecration, no longer needed the episcopal offices of Bishop Dobda, whom he established in a subordinate see. This gives a perfectly good sense, and is accepted by the learned Franciscan Pagi. Lastly, it may mean "sacerdotal ordination." If supposed a layman, he could still govern a bishopric, but could evidently slip out of it more easily than if known as a priest. It agrees with this that, if he really is the Virgil who quarreled with Boniface over Antipodes—which, as Pagi remarks, is far from certain—Boniface did not know him to be a priest, or else the archbishop must have been curiously negligent in his report to the pope; for Zachary says, "We do not know whether he has the style of presbyter." Dr. Killen says that, if he had been supposed a layman, he could not have acted as abbot. He could have acted perfectly well, then and for the two hundred and fifty years ensuing. He could do something much more, he could govern a bishopric. Laymen have often governed far greater bishoprics, sometimes for years together, only, like this supposed layman, using auxiliar bishops for necessary offices. Dr. Killen's argument, therefore, breaks down at every point. Whatever Virgil's biographer may mean by "*dissimulata ordinatione*," there is one thing which he cannot mean. He cannot mean ordination as abbot, for, first, abbatial ordination gave no such rights in the Latin Church; and, secondly, the biographer does not know that Virgil was an abbot, or a monk at all. So much for Dr. Killen's attempt to extend over Germany from Ireland monastic rights not existing at home.

Dr. Killen's strong card, however, is Iona. He is greatly helped, moreover, by a confirmed habit of his. In his *Old Catholic Church*, *Ancient Church*, and *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* alike, he is completely ruled by an unrelenting—we had almost said an unblushing—High Church Presbyterianism. Whatever facts interfere with this must reckon with a flood of suppositions and *a priori* assumptions that could dissolve anything or create anything. This is what makes his works so valuable as a type of a habit of mind still perniciously strong in the Church. Thus he tells us that Columba, in Ireland, being only a presbyter, was admired for his courage in resisting a bishop. Yet when he goes over to Scotland, Columba suddenly discovers himself to be more than a bishop, and begins to ordain and send out bishops. In other words, he becomes a revolutionary reformer, remaining wholly unconscious of the fact, while his brethren in Ireland remain wholly unconscious of it too. Moreover, he effects a revolution in polity in an age not at all troubled about polity, but quietly resting on traditional use. The very conflicts which ensued between the Roman Catholic and the Irish clergy rest on this quiet and firm adherence to tradition. Of a radical revolt against the settled doctrine and use of the Church as to the ministry, and of a reversion to a supposed New Testament model, as with the Presbyterians and Independents at the Reformation, there is not a trace among the Irish. The Romans never accuse them of it. The long separation of the two parties by a wall of intruding heathenism had developed a wide divergence of use and of important points of polity, leaving, however, the common basis—the threefold ministry—intact. The Romans, from their coming to England, in 597, down to the Irish Synod of Kells, in 1152, never impeach the Gaelic ordinations of invalidity,* but only of irregularity. They allege (1) that the Gael, in ordaining a bishop, only call in one bishop instead of three; (2) that they had no metropolitans to give their bishops due investiture. A third charge, which would in Roman Catholic eyes have absolutely annulled the Irish ordinations—namely, that they ordained bishops by presbyters—the Roman Catholics never bring. A solitary reordination of a Gaelic bishop by

* It would be more accurate to say that they sometimes insisted on a *confirmatio ordinum*, which may sometimes verge on reordination, but, as Professor Bright shows, seems rather to denote the rectification of an irregular but valid ordination.

a Romanizing bishop is found—that of Chad by Theodore. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as, all through the Middle Ages, invalidity and irregularity were perpetually confounded, the Augustinian doctrine that even a schismatic ordination, otherwise sufficient, holds good, not having been definitely established until after the great schism. We might therefore expect to find numerous reordinations of conforming Irish; yet we find, it would seem, only this one.* At the final submission of Ireland to Rome such a thing is not suggested. Even the English Synod of Celcyth, in 816, which shuts Irish priests utterly out of English churches, does not allege the invalidity, but the extreme uncertainty, and also the uncanonical irregularity of the ordinations of these wandering Levites, which ought not to be encouraged in England. Bishop Gillebert also, in 1105, having been consecrated by Archbishop Anselm, of Canterbury, addressing his countrymen, does not reproach them with invalid, but only with schismatical, customs. Even on the Continent,† where some regulations direct the Irish priests to be reordained, they are expressly designated as having been already ordained "by the bishops of the Scots." Nothing is said of any ordination by presbyters. Nay, the direction is extended to those ordained "by the bishops of the Britons," that is, of the Welsh. The common ground alleged is, for both nations, the uncertainty of the credentials produced by their wandering clergy, their irregular customs, but especially their schismatic Easter observance, which assuredly had nothing to do with their ordination. The annulment of their ordinations is simply a truculent expression of contempt for an utterly unassimilable class of irresponsible wanderers. Since then there have been ordinations annulled on far less tenable grounds, and still more inconsistently with St. Augustine's doctrine of order, to which Rome, since Constance, has reverted in theory although not always in practice. In the Britons, however, we find only one instance of such annulment,‡ and that apparently hesitating and provisional.

The evidence of Bede is of inestimable value. This great and good man, a North Englishman, never left the region in which the monks of Iona had labored. Living in the eighth

* That is, of a bishop.

† This rule, we find, was English, not continental. (See the explanation under note on the preceding page.)

‡ That is, of an episcopal ordination.

century, he was perfectly familiar—by fresh tradition, by wide converse, and by abundant reading—with the customs of Iona, which were still in full vigor in Scotland, although in his time repelled from England. A loving Christian, he was none the less a firmly orthodox and obedient Roman Catholic monk. The most learned man of his age, he knew perfectly well that, whatever shadowy rights presbyters may have had in the beginning, the whole Catholic Church, Eastern and Western, had for at least four hundred and fifty years declared heretical and void all attempts of theirs to ordain, even to their own order, but above all to the episcopate. Familiar with every application of Church Latin, he was of course incapable of falling into any of Dr. Killen's whimsical blunders over *ordinare*. Writing as a Roman Catholic priest for learned Roman Catholics, it doubtless never once occurred to him that when he spoke of the *ordinatio* of a Scottish bishop by a presbyter abbot anybody could suppose that these thoroughly orthodox, though highly irregular, brethren assumed for a moment, being only presbyters, to have the sacramental power of conveying even the presbyteral character, which the supreme jurisdiction of the Catholic Church had, before the very foundation of Gaelic Christianity, definitely withdrawn from their order. Still less could he suppose it possible that he could be taken to mean that these orthodox presbyters—as good Catholics as he, though of a widely different observance—imagined themselves to have the sacramental power, by the imposition of their own hands, of conveying the still higher episcopal character. He gently laments over their uncanonical, never over their invalid, ordinations. The constant accusation of the Romans against the Irish is that in ordaining a bishop they only summon one bishop. That they ever ordained a bishop without any bishop is never alleged. Bede's mind is not fixed on the self-understood imposition of episcopal hands in raising the saintly Aidan to the episcopal degree. It is fixed on the more important *ordinatio*—the solemn designation by which Aidan was sent forth by his abbot and his brethren as a missionary bishop to heathen England. Troubled as Bede is by the canonical irregularity of this monastic act of metropolitan authority, he recognizes its supreme Christian importance, and nowhere breathes a doubt of its validity. A Roman pope once

calls a much less important investiture even *consecratio*. Bede has not troubled himself to remember the name of the bishop who, under monastic direction, celebrated the consecration; for though his office was most honorable the mission did not proceed from him. Bishop Reeves remarks here that the jurisdiction for Aidan's ordination came from the Abbot Segienus, but that the essential function, the conveyance to Aidan of the episcopal character, must have been ministered through the hands of a bishop. To this Dr. Killen scornfully replies that it should seem then that "the essential function" of episcopal ordination was of very slight account—hardly worth the keeping. As he pleases. These good monks would have thought so too had they been Irish Presbyterians. But though gloriously Irish, it so happens that they were not Presbyterians, nor even Protestants. They were Gaelic Catholics, differing widely in observance, but not at all in doctrine or in fundamental use, from *Roman* Catholics. That which the unswerving tradition of the Church had for many generations declared essential to a valid ministry they, long so unswervingly faithful to an Easter tradition confessedly not fundamental and demonstrably incorrect, were not likely to reject as a superfluity.

The author next declares the functions of such an ordaining bishop, acting under direction, rather pitiable. Is, then, the discharge of a sacred and august function, under a higher authority, so very pitiable? Would a bishop summoned to consecrate such a man as Aidan have been likely to feel very much humiliated by the summons? Dr. Killen talks as if these subordinate bishops had been mere animated implements, allowed no exercise of their own judgment or conscience when summoned to ordain. There is not the slightest reason to believe this. Dr. Killen quotes, and does not repel, the comparison of these subordinate bishops to the Moravian bishops. It should seem, then, that he regards the position of these latter as "pitiable."* Protestant Christendom thinks very differently. It would indeed be pitiable if they were obliged to ordain every one presented to them, however well assured of his unworthiness. But the very thought is an insult to the *unitas fratrum*. And it is an equal insult to the godly monks of Iona to suppose

* *Old Catholic Church*, p. 294, compared with *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 104.

that they could not have bishops liable to a call for ordaining services without forbidding them the exercise of their manhood and conscience. Had that been the spirit of Iona she would hardly have evangelized northern and middle England. Even the Jesuit rule, however it may be applied in practice, expressly reserves to every brother the right to refuse to sin. In brief, neither Bede nor his Roman Catholic readers, believing as they did that Aidan and Finan were true bishops, can have supposed anything but that the ordaining monks called in the ministrations of a bishop.

Certain it is that bishops more or less subject in their functions to superiors have existed in the Church ever since Augustine was consecrated bishop at Hippo as helper to Valerius, and that the number has gone on increasing until it is now greater than ever. At present more than one fourth of the Roman Catholic episcopate is made up of titular bishops, who, except when vicars apostolic, can only act episcopally at the request of friends or at the direction of superiors, which last are often simple presbyters. Yet these titular bishops are not regarded, either by themselves or by other Catholics, as either "puppets" or "scullions," which last vulgarly abusive epithet, however, is not Dr. Killen's. He does not use such phrases. Bishop Hurst quotes it, with the just remark that it may be vituperation but is not argument. There is no argument in it. These titular bishops are reverenced as holding an august and sacred function, though, of course, unequal in rank to that of actual diocesans. Nor, being far from unfamiliar with Roman Catholicism, have we any reason to believe that a vicar-general, or vicar-capitular, or administrator, being only a presbyter, is accustomed to view an auxiliar bishop as a mere animated implement, not warranted to make any use, if required to ordain, of a possible better knowledge of his own. The very superiority of his degree, notwithstanding inferiority of jurisdiction, can never have failed of its effect on a member of the second order.

As to the case of Aidus and Findchan, which our author cites to prove that a Hebridean abbot could ordain, it proves that he could not. The bishop summoned, believing the prince and monk, Aidus, to be grossly unworthy, refused to ordain him, unless the abbot, Findchan, a man worse than the prince,

would first put his right hand on the head of the candidate, *pro confirmatione*. Notwithstanding this express distinction of the imposition of hands *pro confirmatione* from one *ad ordinationem*, Dr. Killen will have it that the abbot thereby ordained the young villain. Yet he says that thereupon the bishop "completed the ceremony." In other words, the bishop declared he would not ordain Aidus a priest unless the abbot ordained him first! The author thus represents the bishop as having merely consented to perform some supplementary ceremonies over the already ordained presbyter. If Dr. Killen will not admit this his interpretation is unintelligible. We would inform the author—what he does not appear to know—that to this day no bishop can ordain a monk a priest without the previous authorization of his superior. Whether this is given in writing, orally, or by significant gesture, is merely a matter of present use. In a worse than doubtful case like this the bishop might well require all three. The significant gesture, expressly declared to be *pro confirmatione*, must, of course, precede the ordination. That Columba's indignation descended chiefly on the head of the scandalous abbot is of course. It would be so to-day in any Roman Catholic abbey in a similar case. A vigilant pope would deal with the abbot, not the bishop. And if, as might easily be by ancient use, the abbot's *confirmatio* had consisted in an antecedent imposition of hands, a thundering rebuke of this act would certainly never be taken as confusing it with the entirely different meaning of the subsequent episcopal act.*

Dr. Killen's supreme and concluding argument, however, is yet to come. In his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* he writes as follows: "In A. D. 574 he, Columbkille,† performed a ceremony which the Churches of Rome and England have always reserved for their highest functionaries. He ordained Aidan king of the Scottish Dalriada. The minister who ventured to ordain a king would not, surely, have scrupled to ordain a deacon or a bishop." Now, what are we to think of the ingenuousness of this? The author knows that in English ears "or-

* Dr. Killen shows that, during the Irish penal laws, the bishop and his priests used to impose their hands so confusedly on the head of the candidate that he could not swear which had been the bishop.

† Columba *of the cell*, so called to distinguish him from his great namesake, who is usually called *Columban*.

dain" irresistibly suggests admission to an ecclesiastical ministry. He knows that it is no more requisite, nor indeed admissible, to translate *ordinare regem* "ordain a king" than to translate *ordinare consulem* "ordain a consul." Yet he thus mistranslates, evidently of set purpose, in order to avail himself of the unconscious effect of the word "ordain" upon English imaginations. And as the rank of king is supreme, he knows that by the same unconscious necessity, to those that are not on the watch, the supremacy of the regal rank will communicate itself to the supposed ordination, and minds will shape themselves in this way: "If the abbot of Iona could administer the highest of all ordinations, how much more easily that of a mere bishop!" And yet all this is a transparent sophism. A *rex ordinatus*, an inaugurated king, is admitted to not even the lowest ecclesiastical order. He remains absolutely a layman as before. A *regina ordinata*, an inaugurated queen, is incapable of order. Yet Dr. Killen, a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, which is indissolubly associated in doctrine and testimony with her mother, the thrice illustrious Church of Scotland, has dared, for the sake of bringing in a mere controversial fallacy of the grossest kind, to abrogate the steadfast testimony of Presbyterianism against all confusion of the temporal and the spiritual order. How unworthy of a fellow-presbyter of Knox, of the Melvilles, of the royally descended and more than royally minded Robert Bruce! Who was it that said to a usurping monarch: "Sir, there are in Scotland two kingdoms and two kings. Of one kingdom James VI is the head. Of the other Jesus Christ is the head, and James VI is not the head, no, nor yet an office-bearer, but a simple member?" And yet, for the sake of setting a wretched trap of mere words, the author is content to turn his back on the august and steadfast testimony of his own great Church! In the eyes of all Churches, from Rome to Edinburgh, the right of instituting to the supreme temporal dignity is a matter of purely variable and human use, not implying the right to admit to even the humblest office of the spiritual order. Even in the days—long past—when the regal unction was accounted sacramental it was expressly likened to confirmation, which, even in the Latin Church, is often deputed to a simple presbyter. Let a priest be chosen pope, and he would instantly be competent,

by virtue of his supreme dignity, to hallow any king or emperor in the Catholic world.* Yet he would not, until himself made bishop, have power to ordain even a subdeacon. Even the Church of England, so submissive to the regal authority, expressly declares that she does not attribute to the monarch the ministration of the word and sacraments. At a communion the queen receives after all the bishops, all the priests, all the deacons present. The youngest boy, just admitted to the lowest ministry, here precedes his sovereign. And with good right. Though highest in the temporal order, her majesty is, as a lay person, only fourth in the spiritual order. Nor is it otherwise in the nonsacerdotal Church of Scotland. When the queen joins in the communion at Balmoral, who receives the sacred elements first? The parish minister of Crathie. Who second? His assistant. Who third? Her majesty. The highest sovereignty on earth, in the eyes of every true Anglo-Celt and Anglo-Saxon, is hers. Yet in the spiritual order this daughter of a hundred kings has, even among these Puritan haters of Hildebrand, only the third place. So utterly unsubstantial is this author's supreme and conclusive argument, so utterly treacherous to the noblest traditions of the land of Knox.

In conclusion, the present writer wishes to remark that, as the Moravian Brethren say of themselves, the question of episcopal succession has for him not a doctrinal, but simply an historical, significance. Had Rome in the twelfth century really received a presbyterian ministry into the body of her priesthood, it would have indicated a great amount of spiritual enlightenment. This, however, appears to him to be strongly against historical probability and against multitudes of plain facts. If it is ever proved, it will have to be in some other way than through such a course of confused and confusing argument as that which Dr. Killen has not disdained to use.

* Usage commonly requires previous consecration; but usage only, not doctrinal necessity.

Charles C. Starbuck

Art. IV.—THE HUMAN BODY IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY.

The revival of the Olympic games during the last year in the city of Athens, and the award to the victors, made by the King of Greece, of the olive branch from historic Olympia, emphasize in the public mind the great esteem in which the human body was held by the ancient Greeks. All wars among the Greeks must cease while these famous games brought together in peaceful contests for physical supremacy those of pure Hellenic blood who, too frequently, were engaged in civil war. It was believed that the victories of Greece were really won in the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, and Isthmian games, as Wellington declared that Waterloo was won at Eton and Rugby. But while the Greeks established these games in the name of religion and dedicated them to Jove and Apollo and Neptune, and prided themselves upon the perfection of the human form which was secured, the bodies of the victors were subject at death to cremation as really as the bodies of the peasants. In fact, cremation was accounted an honor which only suicides, unteethed children, and persons struck by lightning were denied. Grecian regard for the human body after death was less than what was common among the Egyptians, who embalmed their dead, the Jews, who buried them in sepulchers, and the Chinese, who buried them in the earth. Aside from these three nations cremation was universal until Christianity taught such reverence for the human body that some form of burial was generally introduced, the very catacombs in Rome being used, if they were not excavated, for that purpose.

However much esteemed in life, the human body had no future to those who knew nothing of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection. Nor was it until the incarnation of our Lord that an adequate idea of the sacredness of the human body and of its glorious destiny ever entered the mind of man. Christ brought life and immortality to light, and made clear and unmistakable what had been before dimly conceived. But it needed his own resurrection to make this possible. After that, those who had doubted were so fully convinced that they boldly proclaimed the resurrection of Christ, "whom God raised

up, having loosed the pangs of death: because it was not possible that he should be holden of it." It is the right estimate of his body which alone renders possible a correct view of the teachings of Christianity respecting the human body. An erroneous view on this question has led many to doubt the reality of a future life and to deny the necessity of the atonement.

Our Lord put in the forefront of his teachings the final proof of his divinity which was to be given in the resurrection of his own body. His power over his own body, to raise it from the dead, challenges still the faith of the world. "What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? . . . Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. . . . But he spake of the temple of his body." No language used by our Lord so deeply impressed the Jews, who quoted it against him at his trial. The temple belonged to the whole nation, and to no one tribe, the boundary line between Judah and Benjamin running through the middle of it. Of those coming to Jerusalem "none ever lacked means of celebrating the paschal festivities, nor had anyone lacked a bed on which to rest." Such was the boast of the rabbis; and it helps to explain the desperate conduct of the Jews, who, while a trusted though unknown disciple could be depended on to furnish the upper room where Christ might celebrate the passover, themselves violated all the rites of their boasted hospitality by putting to death the Prince of Life. In his death agony on the cross he heard the railing of the multitude as they passed by and wagged their heads: "Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross." Was anything more unlikely than that the quivering temple of his body, racked with pain and burning with thirst, should ever live again? Yet, though he must shed his blood for his murderers, not one bone of that precious body could be broken, nor could his flesh ever see corruption.

The pencil of the architect has attempted the task of restoring on paper the temple which Julian the Apostate attempted in vain to restore in fact, and thus disprove the prophecy which predicted its final overthrow. The theme so inspiring to Fergusson has quickened the genius of many an architect until, following the minute descriptions given by sacred and secular writers, the noble structure as Solomon planned it and as

Zerubbabel and Herod rebuilt it has stood before us the most imposing temple of antiquity. When the emperor Justinian built the great Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople he brought columns from all the heathen temples of the world to support its dome, which rises one hundred and eighty feet above the floor. These one hundred and seventy columns of marble and granite and porphyry remain to-day to tell of the splendor of the temple which the emperor ever had in mind, as he sought, if possible, to surpass even the glory of the temple which Herod and his successors were eighty-two years in building. When Justinian had completed his work he was so impressed with its magnificent altar of gold and silver, adorned with all manner of precious stones, and with the stately proportions of the noble structure erected for Christian worship, that, rushing with outstretched arms from the entrance to the altar, he cried, "O Solomon, I have surpassed thee!" Like Solomon's temple, a king was its architect, and from afar came the costly stones which were to form part of the massive structure. So St. Mark's in Venice and the Washington Monument have been built of stones from distant lands or historic structures.

But the brush of the artist has attempted a nobler task than ever architect dared conceive, even to bring before us the matchless features of the body of the Son of man. From Leonardo and Raphael down to Dannecker and Hoffman this has been the lofty ambition of devout artists, to show us the Christ. They have succeeded in idealizing the human form as a vehicle of grace and truth, of noblest thoughts and tenderest sympathies. They have shown us what Christ is to them. But "there is a better Christ in every broken heart than can be found among the artistic treasures of man—a Christ full of sympathy, very pitiful and gracious, stooping with infinite condescension and counting no service mean."* There is a kinship, too, between the devout soul and its Lord, which has been recognized in all ages and among all nations. The blood of all the race was in the veins of the Son of man, who had only a human mother, and whose ancestral line included such names as Thamar and Rahab, Ruth and Bathsheba, David and Mary. Gentile Moabitess and saintly Jew, kingly psalmist and peasant maiden, were among the ancestors of Jesus. In him all distinctions

* Joseph Parker's *Paraclete.*

mingle, for there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, for we are "all one in Christ Jesus." The first Adam was no more made of the dust of the earth, so that his body represented all that preceded him, than our Lord's body ; the second Adam was made of the dust of our common humanity. From the ruins of the first great temple of humanity there was raised up this new temple, which did not need to be cleansed, because it was never defiled by sordid uses.

It was not manhood simply that Christ represented, but humanity. No more did other lands help to furnish the material for the great temple than had different people helped to fashion that body of the Son of man with its manly brain and womanly heart. In him we lose sight of time, of place, of earthly distinctions, of race and language. The wisest philosopher is instructed by his lips ; while a Magdalene, delivered of seven devils, throws herself at his feet and cries, "Rabboni." Nicodemus, the ruler of the Jews, comes to learn of this teacher sent from God ; while the nameless woman who was a sinner bathes his feet with her tears and is ready to sob, "Mother! Mother!" as she realizes more than a mother's forbearance and love from the friend of publicans and sinners. Old age, waiting for him in the temple, holds the child Jesus in its arms until his touch makes death easy, as the satisfied soul longs to depart in peace ; while mothers see their infants folded to his heart, as he says, "Of such is the kingdom of God." The bravest remember the iron hardness with which he faced the tempter in the wilderness ; and the most weary, his tired body resting at the well's mouth under a Syrian sun as he asks for a drink of water. He provided bread for the multitude with all of a woman's thoughtfulness, and with a sister's care calls his wearied disciples aside to rest a while, and yet faces a murderous mob with unquailing courage and calmly pronounces the doom of Jerusalem that stoned the prophets. The Lamb of God is the Lion of the tribe of Judah. Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, is the contemporary of all ages.

More than this : Jesus came saying, "A body hast thou prepared me." The body of Jesus, fashioned as a temple for the indwelling Holy Spirit, was prepared according to an ideal which had been in the mind of God from all eternity as the form in which his Son should become incarnate and which he

should bear back to the highest heavens. Jesus bore the human form not because men bore it; but men bear the human form because it was the form in which Christ was to appear when he should become flesh and we should behold "the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." It was a form fitted for the scenes of the transfiguration and the ascension that had been prepared for Christ. And it was a body such as was prepared for our Lord that was also prepared for Adam, a body which was to become a very temple for the divine shekinah; and while Christ comes in this body to show us what God is, he comes also to show us what man should be—man whose kinship is not with animals about him, but with Christ above him. Our true humanity is to be found in him. The purpose of God in humanity is to be found in the mission of the Son of man on earth. The destiny of humanity is to be traced as we see the ascending glorified body of our Lord, who is able to change the bodies of our humiliation and make them "like unto his own glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself." His brethren are no more made like him, in being permitted to wear just such a body as was prepared for him from all eternity, than they are in being destined to become like him when they shall "see him as he is." The risen body of Christ now glorified confers on all partakers of flesh and blood a patent of nobility. It is in his risen and glorified manhood that Christ exercises the mighty power of subduing all things unto himself and changing our bodies until they shall become like his glorified body. It is to this risen and living Christ that we pray that our souls and bodies may be preserved unto everlasting life. Our very bread of life is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is the living bread which came down from heaven.

We are led thus by the language of our Lord to consider what Liddon fitly called "the glorious destiny of the human body." It is a human body that Christ spoke of, which should become the first fruits of the resurrection and the pledge of our resurrection. If the first Adam became a living soul, with the power of continuing his posterity on earth, the second Adam became a quickening spirit, the very resurrection and the life. The human body was made for more than food, or clothing, or service in the industrial arts to some other animal made to have

dominion over it. It is a temple which, though connected with the earth and supported by it, lifts its head toward the stars and tells of the God who has built it and promises to make it his abode. Admire as we may the wonderful structure so many years in building, feast our eyes on the Beautiful Gate or on the vine of pure gold with clusters of gold, each of the height of a man, and all the votive offerings of a devout people, what is the Temple without an altar and offerings that tell of penitence and consecration, and without songs of praise that reach beyond its gilded towers?

The very completeness of the human body tells of higher uses than those which are simply animal and earthly. When an organism was reached through which thought was possible, nothing more was required of matter or was indeed possible to it. There are three distinct creative acts mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis; each is introduced by *bara*, to create, namely, the primordial creation of matter, the creation of animal life, and the creation of man. No scientific investigation has ever been able to find any shading off of the one into the other in such a way as to afford satisfactory proof that, however closely connected, animal life can come from that which is not animate, or that human life can come from any lower form of existence. Physically, man is the summary of all the perfections scattered through the animal kingdom, of which he is the head. He represents in his body, so fearfully and wonderfully made, the different forms of animal life which are below him. It would almost seem as if the Creator before modeling the human body had experimented on all conceivable adjustments of bone and muscle and nerve, to obtain the best that was possible when he should come to make man. It is not strange that, as in a great masterpiece we are reminded of the "studies" of the artist, so men find resemblances to the fish or to the higher forms of animal life which abound on the land when they study the human frame. They find seventy vestigial structures in the human body. Eminent anatomists like Dr. Cleland have been compelled to say, "Thus there is anatomical evidence that the development of the vertebrate form has reached its limits by completion in man." Nor have those who have made the nervous system a study been able to conceive of anything more perfect than our nervous organism. The propor-

tion of brain to the spinal cord rules the animal world, starting with the fish, with its proportion of two to one, until it reaches the mammal, with its proportion of four to one. Then, as if by a new creative act in fashioning man's physical frame, the proportion becomes twenty-three to one. It is not believed that any substantial difference will ever be made to appear. The dome of the human skull, with its curve of one hundred and eighty degrees from front to base, expresses the mind of the Creator as to the completeness of man's frame. With expansion of height or width would come a curvature or bending on itself, so that the base would be crumpled together while the roof is elongated. Abnormal development usually awakens great fear of attendant insanity, as a dwarfed brain is the badge of imbecility. Curving of the base of the skull involves a change in the position of the bones of the face which would require the cutting off the nasal cavity from the throat. There is such adjustment as shows that God has in the human body expressed his last thought in matter. The Greeks, with their love of beauty, found its highest expression in the human form. They saw the ideal face divided into three equal parts by the line of the eyes and the mouth. They saw the extended arms equal to the height of the entire body. They found such proportions as revealed the perfect harmony which is the essence of beauty, and that these proportions were not capable of disturbance in the interest of perfection. The human form cut in marble by the Grecian sculptor has served as the model for centuries, and to maintain these right proportions was ever kept before the contestants in the Olympic games. To the Greeks there was but one word for both the noble and the beautiful. A noble man, a perfect man, was an harmonious man. Religion degenerated into the arts. The artist who achieved a beautiful statue was almost worshiped. The very gods were sculptured in the likenesses of men, and not made many-headed or hundred-handed, as Hindu gods. It was the old story of the power of sensuous beauty, the witchery of form and color, of music, of architecture, to produce a semireligious feeling. It was doubtless the best, the most perfect of its kind, and it is the best which satisfies us. The Greeks worshiped humanity, of which the physical man is the type and expression.

But, under the conditions where mere animal life becomes

more luxuriant human life grows less so; that is, near the equator. In Africa four fifths of the country is in the tropics, and in South America, five sixths; and while ferns become trees and grass grows into bamboo forests sixty to seventy feet high, and while a single tree is a garden where a hundred different plants intertwine their branches and display their flowers, and while animal life is marked at once by lofty stature, variety, and brilliant colors, man is seen at his worst. The history of the race is the history of temperate regions. The tropics have only an exotic history, the history of conquerors from regions more favorable to the development at once of man's physical and intellectual nature. The dwarfs of equatorial Africa are so repulsive as to seem to belong to some other than the human race. But where is mere animal or vegetable life more luxuriant than where these beings shoot their poisoned arrows and dig their treacherous pitfalls? It is not physical nature which develops man, but the struggle against nature. A mere animal with the form of an Apollo Belvidere, if without a soul, could awaken only pity; while a scarred and maimed veteran, the hero of a hundred battles, would be borne upon the shoulders of a shouting multitude, who would proudly be eyes and limbs and ears to his martial soul. This shows the real purpose of the human body—it is the vehicle of the human soul, not of the mere animal soul, whose chief concern is food, self-defense, and the continuation of the species. In man the animal is arrested, that the spirit may grow. The highest possibilities open to flesh and bone, nerve and muscle, have been realized. Nature has come to consciousness in man. The soul comes to look upon the body as its tool and for holding other tools which human intelligence may devise.

Thoughtful men since Galen's time have long admired the human hand and the human eye. The hand of man seems made for the brush, the chisel, the pencil, the pen, the sword, the scepter. Jointed at the shoulder, elbow, wrist, how varied its uses as the handler of tools! The thumb opposite each finger endows the hand with its capacity. Man's is the ultimate hand. None better can be conceived. Henceforth it depends on its skill with tools in making man able to arrest the speed of the deer or subdue and control the strength of the horse. Wonderful as is the human eye, its achievements depend on the skill of the human hand. Future improvements

ge sight will not depend on muscle and nerve and tissue, with their liability to waste and pain. The hand offers its aid to the eye, with appliances of crystal and metal which may increase the power of vision, bring near the distant, and resolve mere points of light into double or triple stars. The body is thus complete as the vehicle and the tool of the human soul. It ceases to be an end and becomes a means. There is nothing more for the animal in us to hope for, aside from the soul. The real growth is that of the rational soul, and the very animal soul becomes a servant while none the less a partner.

But the human body is more than the temple of a rational soul. It is the temple of the Holy Spirit. Christianity teaches that through the human body the moral world is planted in the material world to subdue it and uplift it. Even Plato held that the soul was compelled to tenant the body as a sort of punishment. He saw the time of the soul taken in feeding the body, in warming it, in clothing it, and in resting it. The Gnostics and Essenes held that all matter was only evil, and were of the opinion that the soul was defiled by contact with a human body. It was only by constant bathings and purifications that the body could be tolerated. In opposition to all this hatred of the body Christianity comes in and teaches us to reverence it as the temple of the Holy Ghost, not simply the temple of a human soul. Burial was deliberately substituted for cremation throughout the pagan world, wherever Christianity went. Children who were deformed or diseased were no longer exposed to death. Sensuality and suicide began to disappear before the holy religion that taught the voluptuous Corinthians and the no less sensual Romans that "neither fornicators, . . . nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind . . . shall inherit the kingdom of God." It was not simply necessary to purify the body with water, but it must be kept free from all defilement through "fleshly lusts, which war against the soul." Because the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost it should be kept in temperance, in soberness, in chastity.

It was not only for the use of the human soul that Christianity taught reverence for the body, but for the use of the Holy Spirit. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile

the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." What appeals were made to our Lord by men possessed of devils—evil spirits which usurped the place of God in the human body, bestializing men until they made their abode in graveyards among the tombs, like wild animals, or were bound with chains. No more grateful disciple ever worshiped his divine Lord than the Gadarene whose evil possessions were numbered by the legion, and who exchanged his fetters and tormenting demons for liberty and peace, and published throughout the whole city how great things Jesus had done for him.

Why were nearly all of our Lord's miracles done on behalf of the human body? Why did he still tempests when men were in peril, and feed multitudes when they were faint? Why did the palsied and blind seek his healing touch, and sightless balls turn where his voice was heard, and importunate souls cry, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me?" Why did lepers beseech, "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean," and messengers hurry across the Jordan with the tidings, "He whom thou lovest is sick?" Why twice a miraculous draught of fishes for his hungry disciples, and why the feeding of five thousand, deemed of so great importance that it is the one miracle recorded by all four of the evangelists? Did our Lord teach us to despise the human body, or to cherish it? Did he come to destroy life, or to save it? When only the relatives of the dead touched the corpse, because of ceremonial defilement, our Lord's hand was laid thereon with its life-giving touch, and the dead rose at his command for new life and service. It was for this that he restored sight and hearing and health and reason and life, that we might glorify God in our bodies, which are his. No more was our Lord's own body a temple of the Holy Ghost, which came upon him at the Jordan and abode with him in all that wonderful ministry, than are our bodies temples of the Holy Ghost. The true shekinah is a holy man. "We will come unto him, and make our abode with him." It is for this reason we regard the world's great seers as inspired men, whose consecrated genius itself is called a spark of the divine fire. There is no divinity in nature without men.

Constituted as man is, the union of spirit and body is necessary to a perfect life. The alliance is a natural one between

body and spirit. For this reason we are repelled by a corpse; we are frightened by a spirit. The very spirits of the departed await the resurrection because, without us, they shall not be made perfect. Death is a disturbance of the relation between spirit and body so necessary to constitute man in his completeness. Christianity shows that relation reestablished through the resurrection of the body. Its defiant cry, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" is only another form of the Saviour's utterance, "Destroy this temple, and ... I will raise it up." We who have the first fruits of the Spirit "groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body." The soul first knows itself through the body, and even "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God" shines only "in the face of Jesus Christ." Perfect humanity becomes the vehicle of divinity to man. The adoration of the beautiful is not worship; we must reverence the good, the union of the divine and human, in Christ. God reveals himself, not in physical nature, but in human nature.

The Scriptures take peculiar pains to assure us of the continuance of the humanity of our Lord. We are permitted to see his risen body in all his ten appearances until his ascension. Our ascended High Priest, with a heart of human sympathy, but of infinite reach, can be "touched with the feeling of our infirmities." How much more than any father delights to give good gifts to his children will He delight to help us who wept with the sisters at Bethany, healed the spots of the leper, and was the universal friend of sinners! Our humanity, perfected and glorified, gives our best conception of heaven.

Just with what body the dead are raised up we cannot say, nor need we be much concerned. The soul which knows how to use the brain and nerves may find something of a yet more refined and spiritual substance in the spiritual body which it shall wear. Carbon has yet more brilliant combinations in the diamond than appear in the charcoal, but a worker in charcoal all his life may never have seen a diamond. The only two conditions of organized life are these: an organ connecting the individual with the past, and such a frame and such a universe that he has the power of varied action in the present. It is thus a question of the power of God over our bodies to change them from the bodies of our humiliation and make them like the

glorious body of the Son of God, which was endowed and interpenetrated with some of the properties of the Spirit ere its ascension. "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption." But it is the union between the soul and body that makes the perfect, the complete, man. Hence in every dispensation there was given a sample pledge of the resurrection. In the patriarchal age it was Enoch. In the Levitical dispensation it was probably Moses. In the prophetical age it was Elijah. In the Christian age, and for all times to come, it was the glorious body of our Lord. The principle of continuity and the doctrine of a future life go together. Nothing has been better established in our day than the conservation and correlation of force. Matter may undergo countless changes, and yet it cannot be annihilated. Out of the same dust whence was formed the original human body, the Creator can form such bodies as our spirits require for the completeness of our life hereafter. Our Lord gives to each seed a body as it pleases him, and much more will he give to us the right body, for it will be like his glorified body, "according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself."

Pope in pleasing numbers gives us the emperor Hadrian's address to his soul when dying. But it is not the body which takes farewell of the soul at death. Such a notion is essentially pagan. "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord." It is his real self which lights up with the very consciousness of immortality. We have bodies, but we are spirits. The invisible is the real and the enduring. We need therefore a Christian poet who shall write the soul's farewell to the body until the two shall be reunited to make the perfect man, as this mortal shall put on immortality. There is no divinity in nature without man, and man is divine as he is an expression alike in his soul and body of the very mind and purpose of God. The humanity of Christ is the Spirit's perfect work in creation, and exhibits how every faculty of our human nature, spiritual, intellectual, and physical, may be enlisted and vitalized by the divine energy. It is the perfect union of spirit and body, the body so responsive to the spirit, and both so obedient to God, that none of the slower processes of the laboratory of the grave are necessary to render the body more capable for

the heavenly duties, when the spirit shall be clothed upon with a spiritual body more quick to obey the behests of the Spirit than the electric fluid is to obey the will of man. Such complete union appeared between the spirit and body of our Lord, during the forty days after his resurrection, that the very laws of gravitation were reversed as the ascending spirit took the body, also, from Olivet, until the bright cloud received him out of sight.

The Christian religion thus teaches reverence for the human body as the most perfect of the divine creations and designed to be the vehicle of divinity itself. Part of the mission of the Son of man was to relieve its diseases and disabilities; and the credentials of our religion which have most impressed the heathen, as in the case of Li Hung Chang, are loving ministries to the sick and bedridden, the deaf and blind, the lepers and the insane. Christianity has lengthened human life, not only by proper care of the young and helpless, but by better sanitation, by more nourishing food, by more perfect knowledge of the needs of the human body, and more skill in ministering to them. Pestilence and famine have long since been virtually confined to the Mohammedan or heathen world, where medicines and supplies are eagerly sent from Christian lands. The horror of defiling the temple of the Holy Ghost has diminished in Christian lands the sensualities and nameless sins against the human body which Paul denounces in his Roman epistle. The belief in the resurrection of the body has led to greater care for its proper burial, until our cemeteries are like gardens where our Lord's body was laid awaiting the resurrection. The reunion of soul and body in our complete resurrection life settles for us the perplexing question as to the very possibility of any life after death, and becomes the inspiration of ceaseless activities here. It is only those who have felt the force of Paul's overwhelming "Wherefore" who are found "steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord," forasmuch as they know that their labor "is not in vain in the Lord."

Eugene R. Olmsted

Art. V.—WHY PREACHERS SHOULD STUDY BROWNING.

It is scarcely needful at this late day, after all that has been written and spoken about Browning, that we take up the general question of his place in the world of letters or the importance of his contributions to modern thought. This work has been well done during the past dozen years by a variety of most competent hands. The labors of the Browning Society in England, founded in 1881 and broken up in 1893, were especially effective in this direction; and in America men like Professor Hiram Corson and Mr. George Willis Cooke, together with others of similar high standing, have left the reading public no excuse for failing to know how mighty a genius passed from earth when Robert Browning went away, December 12, 1889. Among the brief tributes fitly paid him by the highest critical authorities we simply cite the following four:

The profoundest intellect, with widest range of sympathies, and with universal knowledge of men and things, that has arisen as a poet since Shakespeare.

Preeminently the greatest Christian poet we have ever had; a teacher who is as thrilled through with all Christian sympathies as with artistic or musical.

The poet of thoughtful persons, essentially the exponent of the best movements of English mind in this age.

Browning's poetry embodies the profoundest thought, the most complex sentiment, and, above all, the most quickening spirit of the age.

These culled characterizations, which might be indefinitely extended, may seem exaggerated to those who have not as yet come under the sway of the influence they so imperfectly portray. But, by those who have learned to love the productions of this great master, they will be recognized as in no way overdrawn. It is not our purpose, however, to attempt an elaborate discussion either of the poet or his poems, but rather, in a brief, quiet way, to note some reasons why ministers, in particular, should study Browning, and to point out some benefits which will accrue to them from the effort.

I. The study of Browning will enlarge their vocabulary. It

is mentioned by Mrs. Sutherland Orr, in her *Life and Letters* of the poet, that as a primary qualification for his literary pursuits he read and digested in early life the whole of Johnson's Dictionary. One can readily believe it. "People accuse me of not taking pains," he said in later years; "I take nothing but pains." He devoted the most conscientious labor to the perfection of his work, and the knowledge he exhibits of the capacities of the English language is certainly marvelous. No one can read him understandingly without a pretty frequent consultation of large lexicons. And it is not so much the unusual number of rare words that deserves emphasis as it is their subtle quality and the happy selection of strong, pictorial expressions which flash the thought and gleam with light. Browning was not satisfied with common terms. He picked out those choice, condensed vocables which hold whole sentences in solution, and live in the memory because they are windows through which a landscape laughs or stilettos that strike a victim dead. Specimens? Here is a handful:

"Stung by the splendor of a sudden thought." "Pedestaled in triumph." "The motley, merchandising multitude." "The puissance of the tongue." "Mute in the midst, the whole man one amaze." "Lamb-pure, lion-brave." "Cold glories served up with stale fame for sauce." "Some wonder of a woman's heart." "The straight backbone thought of a crooked speech." "Worn threadbare of soul by forty-six years of rubbing on hard life." "Not by the grandeur, God, but by the comfort, Christ." "A good girl, with the velvet in her voice." "Silenced the scruple between soul and sense." "The stone strength of white despair." "Lean, pale, proud insignificance." "Wormy ways, the indirect, unapproved of God." "Unimaginative ignorance." "Cloudlets scudding under the bare blue." "All one couch of crassitude." "Hell, eruptive and fuliginous." "Diamond, slipping flame from fifty slants." "Pearl, that great round glory of pellucid stuff, a fish-secreted round, a grain of grit."

One can scarcely read these, and hundreds of similar sentences, without having his verbal taste decidedly refined. He will be more apt in his choice of words, satisfied with nothing but the best. He may not think it worth while to read through the Century or the Standard Dictionary, but he will be on the watch, wherever he does read, for terms crowded with significance. He will become an artist in language, skillful in applying literary color, a discerner of the beautiful and the terrible in speech. To compass an acquirement of this sort one may

well spend laborious days and meditative nights. For it is the power of making one's thought pass with swiftness into the minds of other men, and hook itself to their souls.

II. It will beautify their style. Browning is no mere poet of prettiness, taken up with dainty devices and idle conceits. He is too great for that. He is not a maker of rhymes, or a turner of phrases, but an interpreter of life. He distinctly rebelled at the too prevalent demand for jingle to which many poets have unbecomingly succumbed, and he absolutely refused in any case to subordinate sense to sound. Thought with him was the main thing, and if matter or form had to be sacrificed, he always let the latter go. The popular clamor that everything must be smooth and sweet and easy was an offense to him, and he voiced his protest against this by a frequent ruggedness and harshness of verse that has been something of a stumbling-block to many readers. They complained loudly of his obscurity. Obscure—chiefly because of the great condensation employed, and the wealth of recondite allusion used, as well as the abrupt transitions—very much of his work unquestionably is. He says himself, in a private letter, in 1868:

> I can have little doubt that my writing has been in the main too hard for many that I should have been pleased to communicate with. But I never designedly tried to puzzle people, as some of my critics have supposed. On the other hand, I never pretended to offer such literature as should be a substitute for a cigar or a game of dominoes to an idle man. So, perhaps, on the whole, I get my deserts, and something over; not a crowd, but a few I value more.

But while in the general tenor of his poetry he is a seer rather than a singer, differing in this from the common run of rhymers, a painter dealing with the eye rather than a musician dealing with the ear, he knows well how to put rich melody into his lines when there is real call for it in the meaning which he would convey. His subjects are rarely such as readily admit of musical treatment. They more generally demand the grand, deep roll of the ocean instead of the merry tinkle of purling, babbling brooks. He does not sing of happy days in leafy June so often as of harsh December's pelting storms. Nevertheless, the "concord of sweet sounds" is very manifest and very attractive in many of the poems. So that both he who strives to grasp greater strength of expression and he who aims

at harmonious numbers, a liquid diction, and a fluid movement, will find abundant help in the study of Browning. What, for example, can be more mellifluous than the opening verses of "Fifine at the Fair:"

> O trip and skip, Elvire! Link arm in arm with me!
> Like husband and like wife, together let us see
> The tumbling troop arrayed, the strollers on their stage,
> Drawn up and under arms, and ready to engage.
> . . . . . .
> They pace and promenade; they presently will dance;
> What good were else i' the drum and fife? O pleasant land of France!

Note also the poem beginning, "Over the sea our galleys went." Indeed, from the immense mass of Browning's productions—the largest since Shakespeare—a good-sized volume could easily be compiled that should supremely illustrate beauty; and he who wishes to read mainly for the cultivation of this element can easily confine himself for a season to poems of this sort, for they are plentiful. And whoever thus trains his ear to appreciate the proper balance of a sentence and the true martial movement in words has distinctly added to his power, whether for writing or speaking. If the arrow of truth be feathered aright it will go the straighter to its mark.

III. It will stimulate their imagination and kindle their emotion. For these are chief constituents in all true poetry. It makes a demand upon the imagination in its perusal, because only by the vivid and prolonged exercise of that power can it be produced, and, similarly, the reading it arouses feeling, for only when facts are intensified and sublimated by feeling do they grow poetic. Rhyme and rhythm do not constitute poetry. The vehicle of expression is always of less importance than the thought expressed. If emotion and imagination are lacking, whatever the form of language, it cannot be called other than prose. The question with reference to any piece of writing which claims to be a poem is, What inspiring quality has it, does it stir to great deeds, does it reveal the inmost side of truth, has it glow and thrill, or comfort and sustaining power? If there be a creative spirit in it; if deepest feeling be idealized and monumentalized; if it be suffused with the white heat of passion, or so surcharged with sentiment that it transports us into the higher regions of human experience; if it be, as

Matthew Arnold says it should, "thought and art in one;" if it contain, as Wordsworth declares essential, "the breath and fever spirit of all knowledge," then we may call it poetry, even though the technical rules for such construction are audaciously or magnificently ignored.

A poet is thinker, feeler, artist combined. He is a man who "sees the infinite in things," who, by his imagination, gets nearer to the heart of life and penetrates closer to the core of truth than the cool reasoner or the scientific investigator. He is a man of intuition, insight, and genius, an inspired man in the best sense, magnetic to God, and a prime medium for divine communications to the world. A great poet must have a great intellect, capable of comprehending the deepest problems of man's relation to the universe; he must also have a very exceptional susceptibility to impressions from all conceivable quarters, together with such a command of musical speech that he can easily turn these impressions into durable, beautiful, and visible, if not vendible, verse.

Such, in the most emphatic sense, was Robert Browning. Is it not evident, then, that to con his conceptions, to think his thoughts after him, to catch the swing and sweep of his majestic pinions, must tend to develop those germs of poetry lying latent in nearly all of us, and give exercise to those highest faculties which are in no little danger of becoming dwarfed or shriveled by lack of use in the hurrying pressure of life's dull daily drudgery? Browning's imagination, it may perhaps fairly be said, did not soar so loftily and steadily as that of some other poets has soared, because he exerted it mainly upon real things, upon the thoughts and feelings of human beings. He was not visionary, but intensely practical. All the more, on this account, is it thoroughly wholesome to follow the leadings of his mind, and through the glowing golden gates of imagination and emotion enlarge one's acquaintance both with the world without and the world within.

IV. It will increase their knowledge of human nature. As just intimated, Browning dwells for the most part upon the internal, rather than the external. His main work is the analysis and portraiture of personal character, of human life, past, present, and to come—an analysis of the most subtle kind, reaching to the inmost impulses of the heart, and a portraiture that

brings before us the most vivid, as well as most picturesque, images. He is the "poet of psychology," from whom human nature has no secrets. It has been well said that the subtitle of most of his poems might be "incidents in the development of a soul." It was clearly his chief calling to paint the souls of men; to pursue, through all the winding mazes of the mind, the elusive motive; to catch the shifting fancies and celestial, or infernal, lights. The soul seemed to him the one thing best worthy of study, the one thing of intensest interest. He was fascinated by it, and by the spectacle of man seeking his destiny amid the countless combinations of circumstances and conditions that confront or surround him. He has been often likened to Shakespeare, because of this absorption in human nature with all its varieties of good or ill, and because of his power to throw himself into the most diverse individualities and to think and feel as they would in the situations depicted.

His favorite method, followed through nearly all the longer poems and many of the shorter ones, is monodramatic—not truly dramatic, where a number of characters appear upon the stage, each speaking in his own person and directly affecting the welfare of the rest; nor yet after the nature of soliloquy, where a single individual speaks to himself alone; but something between. In the monodrama, while one person does the speaking he speaks in the presence of others, addressing them, so that their thoughts and words as well as his own come freely out, in one way or another, during the course of the narration. The story is told, in every case, not for the mere incident, but for the unfolding of passion and the play of feeling. And the poet's preeminent genius appears in the wide range of characters through which, with consummate skill, he speaks. How broad must be the sympathies, how keen the observation, how deep the insight into human nature of one who can so completely identify himself with hundreds of separate and dissimilar persons, entering into their most private thoughts and ardently defending their doings from their own point of view! In his masterpiece, "The Ring and the Book"—which marks the high tide of his poetic insight, the zenith of his literary power, contains twenty-one thousand one hundred and sixteen lines, and is called by the *Athenæum* not only "the supremest poetic achievement of the time," but also "the most profound

and precious spiritual treasure that England had produced since the days of Shakespeare"—he tells the story of a Roman murder, as one half Rome sees it, then as the other half regards it; then he gives the medium view as to why the things happened thus; then sets forth the villainous murderer's side; then the side of the hero of the plot; next the heroine states her version of the facts; then the attorney for the defense takes up the tale, followed by the attorney for the prosecution, after which the pope as final judge reviews the case; and, lastly, the criminal once more pleads his cause. It is safe to say that no other single poem, perhaps no other equal number of verses, shows such close familiarity with the workings of the mind and heart of man, or contains such plentiful material for enlarging one's acquaintance with the human soul.

V. It will tighten their moral grip. Among the trials to which ministers are distinctly, if not especially, exposed is the temptation to lower their standard for the sake of heightening their popularity. The world around them constantly demands conformity to itself as the price of its favor. And while the young man starts out with a high ideal to which he proposes to lift others, confident that he will never show a white feather in the fight, it is found after a while that in most cases he weakens before the solid masses of the foe and consents to compromise, that he may gain peace or position or profit—a sad history, continually recurring. Browning was confronted by this danger. It stood squarely across his path. Did he yield? Not for an instant. There are few facts in the history of literature more remarkable and significant than the treatment meted out for half a century to this peerless poet. The British public, as he pathetically remarks, liked him not. All his earlier poems were published at his father's expense, and proved a financial loss. And many years subsequently, when he had found a publisher, the report from that firm for a certain six months was that not a single copy of his works had been sold. His friends, especially his devoted and gifted wife, were exceedingly indignant over this neglect. But it never seems to have troubled the poet himself. He made no complaints. Still less did it induce him to modify in the slightest degree that message and method which he profoundly felt God had in-

trusted to him for his age. Not till the publication of "The Ring and the Book," in 1868, was there any adequate recognition of his genius, even by critical minds, and his wide acceptance was still far in the future. But, as to this, he was little concerned. Writing to a friend in the last decade of his life, when larger praise had come, he says: "As I never felt inconvenienced by hard words, you will not expect me to wax bumptious because of undue compliment." On another occasion he wrote: "As I began, so I shall end, taking my own course, pleasing myself, or aiming to do so, and thereby I hope pleasing God. As I never did otherwise, I never had any fear as to what I did going ultimately to the bad." He never would consent to conciliate public opinion at the expense of what he felt to be the true principles of his art. He kept calmly on his way, and patiently waited for the justification which he was sure would eventually come. He was willing to bide his time. He maintained his right to be himself, not a pale copy of somebody else. He said straight out what was in his mind, in the way in which it presented itself and after the style natural to him, without inquiring closely whether the people would sustain him or not. His independence is refreshing. And he conquered, as every such man must conquer, give him scope enough. He cared nothing for success in the ordinary, worldly meaning of that term. To have a right aim, a lofty ideal, and to be unswervingly true to it under all circumstances seemed to him the only real success. No failure is possible to such. He counted that the only failure consisted in doing less than one's best. He held it "better to have failed in the high aim than vulgarly in the low aim succeed." "It is not what a man does which exalts him, but what a man would do," he said. And again, "What I am, what I am not, in the eye of the world, is what I never cared for much." He moved steadfastly on, regarding very little the praise or blame of his fellows, untouched by the world's voices, in a higher, diviner atmosphere. He has much to say about "the chivalry that dares the right and disregards alike the yea and nay o' the world."

> Aspire, and break bounds! I say,
> Endeavor to be good, and better still,
> And best! Success is naught, endeavor's all.

There is no duty patent in the world
Like daring try be good and true myself,
Leaving the shows of things to the lord of show
And prince o' the power of the air.

And still more beautifully comes out this thrilling thought, still more brilliantly flames this fervent faith, in his very last poem, the "Epilogue" to "Asolando," written just before his death-illness. After reading it from a proof to his daughter-in-law and sister he said, "It almost looks like bragging to say this, and as if I ought to cancel it; but it's the simple truth, and, as it's true, it shall stand." Here are the words:

What had I on earth to do
With the slothful, with the mawkish, the unmanly?
Like the aimless, helpless, hopeless, did I drivel,
Being—who?
One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

We see not how anyone can enter into the spirit of such lines as these here quoted, together with many others of similar import which he wrote, without having his grip perceptibly tightened on the fundamental moral axiom that duty is to be done, and truth spoken without faltering, whether men will hear or forbear. No preacher can lower his banner, or strike his flag to fear, who stamps these words upon his brain and drinks from the cup of him who first set them forth. Appreciated or not, recompensed or ridiculed, promoted or relegated to the rear, the genuine hero will stand to his guns and fire his last shot with as straight an aim as the first, cheerfully leaving his vindication to God. One might bend long over Browning and feel well repaid if something of this power passed into him.

VI. It will strengthen their religious faith. Browning's whole being is wrapped round the central thought of God. The most vital thing in his conception of man is his relation to duty. The visible universe is but a veil scarce covering the ever-present, all-important unseen world. Says one, "He never loses consciousness of the supreme eternal will, the intelligent first cause underlying all manner of systems of causation." Another said, "Take away the religious tissue from Browning's

tapestry with its vast variety of figures, and almost everyone would be a *caput mortuum*." "Forward to the infinite," is his cry; in this tabernacle life no rest can be found. He asserts the eternal reality of the soul as the most vital truth that can come within the ken of man. There can be no doubt that he is the most thoroughly Christian of all our great poets. Mr. James Thomson, an avowed atheist, belonging to the Browning Club, wrote:

> I must not fail to note, as one of the most remarkable characteristics of his genius, his profound, passionate, loving, and triumphant faith in Christ, and in the immortality and ultimate redemption of every human soul in and through Christ. Thoroughly familiar with all modern doubts and disbeliefs, he trampled them all under foot, clinging to the cross; and this with the full cooperation of his peerless reason, not in spite of it and by its absolute surrender and suppression.

Dr. Edward Berdoe, as he himself narrates in the beginning of his recently published volume, *Browning and the Christian Faith*, was converted from Agnosticism to Christianity by the study of Browning. He also relates that a student at one of the theological schools once consulted a divinity lecturer as to the best books on modern theology which he could present to a skeptical friend. And the prompt, decisive answer came, "Give him a set of Browning." Such a one would find blazing on almost every page of the voluminous works, in one form or another, the declaration, "I believe in God." And he would see that this life, according to the poet, could in no way be explained, except with close reference to the life beyond. The unity and continuity of life, together with its magnificent meaning as a place and instrument of discipline, everywhere shines forth. Browning never hesitated to say, or clearly imply, that God alone is responsible for all the trials and sufferings of our mortal existence, and that no one of them could be dispensed with in view of the end for which we were created. He will have it that no experience is wasted, that the perfection of character is the one result that never need fail; whether our work is to rule a kingdom, or sweep a crossing, or lie on a sick bed, character is ever being upbuilt. Hence life is well worth living, come what may. Failure here is a pledge of success there. Browning seems to bend all his energies to casting out the demon of pessimism. It is in this, perhaps, most of

all, that his influence has proved so gloriously wholesome and splendidly sane, a tonic of the healthfulest sort, full of refreshment, invigoration, and inspiration. One more persistently and invincibly optimistic in his faith, one more suffused with hopefulness and high trust, it would be very hard to find or conceive. He is perpetually saying, in substance, to the despondent and downhearted: "Courage, the battle shall yet be retrieved; dare seem to fail, for only thus, by calm endurance and loyalty to high aims, shall you reach true success and prove yourself a coworker with the Almighty; come not down from the cross till he gives the word, and you shall have the crown." Such teaching must make men stronger, more earnest, truer to their better selves, more genuinely Christian in the large, substantial, vital way which alone is of primary importance. We would like to fill many pages with quotations embodying these truths, but a few must suffice:

> God's in his heaven—
> All's right with the world.
>
> Let one more attest,
> I have lived, seen God's hand through a lifetime,
> And all was for best.
>
> I trust in God—the right shall be the right,
> And other than the wrong, while he endures.
>
> This world's no blot for us, nor blank;
> It means intensely, and means good.
>
> I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by the reason solves for thee all questions
> In the life and out of it.
>
> But where will God be absent? In his face
> Is light, but in his shadow healing too.
>
> I find earth not gray, but rosy;
> Heaven not grim, but fair of hue;
> Do I stoop? I pluck a posy.
> Do I stand and stare? All's blue.
>
> Then welcome each rebuff that turns life's smoothness rough,
> Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go!
> Be our joys three parts pain! Strive and hold cheap the strain
> Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe.

VII. It will acquaint them with a charming character. No space can here be given to an extended sketch of the poet's life; but when we say that the life was every way worthy of the

work, and stands squarely behind the poems, we have said very nearly enough. He is described by his biographer as having been, in early years, "passionately religious," and, though this feeling became modified later, God was throughout his days the center of all things to him. This strong religious bent came chiefly from his mother, born and brought up in the Kirk of Scotland, a thoroughly evangelical Christian, and, according to her son, "a divine woman." He loved her with an intense devotion rarely seen. His relations with his wife, the marvelously gifted Elizabeth Barrett, were of a similar ideal sort. They almost worshiped each other. He was capable of the largest self-sacrifice and the smallest self-denial, and would exercise either whenever love or duty clearly pointed the way. He was a Liberal in politics, fond of society, a brilliant talker, and especially at home with clergymen. He believed in a direct divine Providence and in making a virtue of happiness. There was no quality he so loved and admired as truth.

He will always remain, perhaps, the poet of the few, one for whom a love must be acquired by some study. He is too unconventional, makes too great a demand upon thought, mixes too little water with his ink to suit the many. He is not shallow enough to be popular. But one can scarcely understand the age in which we live who does not understand Browning. He is the best interpreter of our time, uttering our needs and our aspirations, our fears and our faith. He is a great prophet, who spoke in numbers because he felt that poetry is the appointed vehicle for all lasting truths and inspiring thoughts. He is a philosopher, profoundly interpreting the main problems of human existence. As a poet he stands apart, a unique figure, with no forerunner, no successor, an original force in literature. No one can read him diligently without great benefit to both intellect and heart. The profound personal indebtedness to him expressed by his admirers, and their intense devotedness, are most significant. The keynote of his teaching is love. Love and faith are the instruments of his analysis and the explanations of his wonderful insight into character. Love, art, and religion are his principal themes. How manly, robust, energetic, and wide-awake his thought! They who sit at his feet are helped by him to understand the meaning of life, are enriched in their sympathies and broadened in their views. He

always sees a soul of good in things evil, and shows how God's purposes are being wrought out by means the most unpromising. When he looks at criminals, of whom there are many in his pages, he looks deeper than their crimes. He finds evidence of the divine presence in all the various entanglements of human doings, and in individual souls of every sort. At the heart of much that passes for wickedness he perceives a germ of good, and notes the pulsations of the life of the Highest in all history. "Hardly any conception is more prominent in Browning's writings," says Professor Henry Jones, of St. Andrew's University, "than this of endless progress toward an infinite ideal; he recognizes that growing knowledge is an essential condition of growing goodness." In other words, he holds that perfect love would be perfect knowledge, and perfect knowledge perfect love, no separation being possible.

Says Dr. Alexander McLaren, the great Manchester preacher, who is an enthusiastic student of Browning: "In wealth of genius, in loftiness of reach, in intensity of creative imagination I know of nothing to compare with the highest work of Browning. The crowd of men and women, alive and tingling to their finger-tips, whom he has made, are only paralleled by Shakespeare's. There is nobody else that can stand beside him." And Owen Meredith has voiced the feelings of all who are best fitted to pronounce judgment, when he writes of him as one

> Than whom a mightier master never
> Touched the deep chords of hidden things;
> Nor error did from truth dissever
> With keener glance, nor make endeavor
> To rise on bolder wings,
> In those high regions of the soul
> Where thought itself grows dim with awe.

James Mudge

Art. VI.—THE PERMANENT AND PROGRESSIVE IN HOMILETICS.

According to some men the pulpit is an institution, and no more. As others look at it they see only an evolution. The former view, if pressed to its extreme limits of restraint of liberty, would have no message for the new day that it could understand; and the latter would abolish the pulpit when, on an evil day, the low-flying arrow of an unexpected foe had cut the vulnerable heel of the otherwise invincible warrior. But we need have little fear of this. For the "Achilles tendon" of the pulpit has been not bathed at the Styx but baptized at Pentecost. Yet the truth is somewhere between the two extremes. An institution may be none the less an appointed method for tremendous results, if at the same time it is to have an unceasing unfolding of powers, such as could not have been expected in the initial stages of the enterprise. The world is a changing one, and the old power must be supplied with new channels. We shall be sure of ultimate victory only as we give an ever-widening compass to the words of the Master, "into all the world." There is more to go into than when the order was first given.

Our duty is to watch the unfolding plans of God, and to make as plain to our day as possible the relation of the old that is ever new to the new that grows older and more useless each passing day. The old man with the scythe is evermore taking off the top and leaving the roots ready for a fresh growth. The green field of our race growth is in constant need of a removal of the surplus, and so is able to guarantee the larger crop to follow by reason of the new and unencumbered energy that fills every fiber of the fruit-bearing life. The question for the present-day pulpit is to find out what is the upper growth of homiletics that is to be discarded, and how to put to finer uses the homiletic matter and root principles with which we confront a day our fathers desired to look into and could not.

Is there such a thing as a "universal homiletic?" The complete answer to this would carry us beyond allowable limits; but one could scarcely measure a more fundamental question, nor one more far-reaching, to put to a man anxious to

preach the word of life to his fellow-men. In the effort to find the proper answer to what so much concerns us we stand up with the ruler of nations, the poet, the scientist. The man in the pulpit is the last man to allow himself to be dubbed a "back number" and not compel his opponent to either swallow or make good the fling.

The present-day pulpit breathes the oxygen of two texts, "The faith which was once delivered to the saints," and "Into all the world." It is evermore moving out into the young day with the memories of the old day. And these memories are to achieve the mastery of the coming ages. There is more momentum at the call of the man in the pulpit than for any other man on earth. He holds more truth for instant use than belongs to any other profession. If any man should be in quick touch with the passing day he is the man in the pulpit. The two sides of his calling—according to Spener, substance and personality; according to Brooks, truth and personality—must be ever in mind. He is the holder of the past for the use of the present. If now, looking at the latter of these, he exalts movement above matter, he should remember that movement implies not only change, but continuity of life. Dead matter moves only when it is carried, and not for the reason which must be assigned for the triumph of the Church of God.

So the question of the "universal homiletic" depends upon the meaning of the two halves just named, truth and personality. If the eye is fastened upon the first, we get an affirmative; if upon the latter, a negative. The unprevailing gates of hell have tested the permanence of the Church of Jesus Christ. There have been at once unity and continuity of faith. "Certain fundamental ideas of the Gospel have never been lost, and have defied all attack." So says Harnack. In the emancipation of the human soul the chief agent from a human point of view is a changing yet continuous homiletic; not the protean witchery of the Greek myth, but the power of God unto salvation. Below all change is fundamental life. This is the stay of every unpracticed builder. All other considerations are of minor worth compared with this. This is the guarantee of our permanent embassy. The preacher is sent with a revelation. If there is to be any sort of an evolution it will be in the line of the better understanding of that revelation, and not in that of any substan-

tial additions thereto. Any so-called "preservative additions" will prove to be like the "fool's" gold with which the voyagers laded their vessels, only to be made the laughingstock of their fellows at home.

Yet a highly refined articulation of this revelation in creed form is not needed for triumph over error and sin. We have the strongest evidence that a short creed will be able to work out a loving life and a lasting reformation. The grip of the creed that is lessening in quality but growing in power is mightier in our day than ever before. In the effort, however, to throw aside confessional elaborations of faith as the basis of advance some may harm their cause. We are liable to have reproduced in the pulpit effects similar to those in art, wherein "impressionism" seeks the reproduction of scenery in its larger and less defined outlines; no more the twig and leaf, but the dim and distant view as it melts into the far-lying horizon. Some pulpits mistake the gloaming of sentiment for the glory of spiritual power. It may be that this is another way man has of straining for the true method, and that in the pulpit "impressionism" is a sort of declaration of independence against literal elaboration. In wise following of the Aristotelian "middle way" the pulpit will combine both spirit and letter. In one way we may portray God as unapproachable by syllogistic process, as the undescried One who dwells in eternity; but, on the other hand, let us bring him into the very closest touch with the morose and wounded lives of the embittered all about us. It is plain that we are moving to a drumbeat in human progress which our fathers would have disowned, and that the present pulpit is more disposed to grant to each individual more rights of faith in details than formerly; but we shall not sigh for the restrictions of other days, in the shape of uniformity acts, to give us a surer hold upon the hearts of men. It is no just reproach against the preaching of the times that it allows much freedom to the private conscience in the matter of creed building. As to matters of faith, the compulsory swallowing of food, when the food offered is indigestible, is puerile in homiletics and untrue to human nature. The practice of a score of virtues is bound up with the belief in a mere handful of articles of faith. In ethics, many goods; in creed, few articles. A short creed will serve for a long life. Lake Itasca starts the Father

of Waters. In the flow of the mighty stream there are supplies for a million acres. The golden rule will do for the divine standard to measure off goods to clothe a hundred thousand waifs, and to insure just judgment between embittered nations whose hostile interests force them apart as do the waves of the restless seas that roll against both shores.

If John Wesley were living would he not chide us for mint, anise, and cummin homiletics? On the one hand, no one would deprecate a creedless Church with more emphasis than he. But the essential truths of the revelation of grace are not hard to find in the book—God manifest as a Trinity through the God-man and the mission of the Comforter; man taken out of sin and introduced into a state of holy living through the pardoning grace of the suffering Saviour; man made a colaborer with God in bringing about the consummation of the desires of the Son of God for an eternal kingdom of believers out of which shall be formed the new heaven of the Father's purpose.

The struggle between the old and the new will work out good in the end. The pulpit simply takes its share in the general movement. Here, as elsewhere, there is something to be dropped and something to be carried forward. There is also a foreshadowing of the truer thought and of the wiser evangelism of to-morrow, in the unwillingness to pinch the growing foot of the swifter herald of to-morrow in the tiny toy of a past day's pride in custom, tradition, or rule. Faith will have its increase, both in quality and quantity. If our movement is a vital one, and not a mechanical one, we shall without a shadow of doubt see more faith when the Son of man comes. For there is no power in which there is not also much of prophecy. Power is itself prophecy.

Only thus can we fairly represent the Master. The vitality of the pulpit is blood kin to its power of vision. Its three words are, "anchorage," "adaptation," "advance." As any circle can be drawn by means of three points, so the world may be included in these three. Harnack has a significant passage in his *History of Dogma*, in which he shows how the early Church planted itself on Christ, aimed for the whole world, and used the Græco-Roman world for its agent. "The Gospel became a world religion in that, having a message for all mankind, it preached it to Greek and Bar-

barian, and accordingly attached itself to the spiritual and political life of the wide Roman empire." In all this the anchorage is none the less firm, though the adaptation demands change; it may be confidently asserted that modification of statement is often a declaration of the mastery of essential principles. It may be said that error is an effort at adaptation. Yes; but error steals a little stock, and then waters it into manifold size. Not so with truth. The chameleon versatility of unbelief, that creeps with credulous eagerness upon each new substitute for the truth and absorbs the hue of every last guess at truth, serves to make plain that error becomes visible and attracts notice only as it fastens itself to some distorted or fractional discovery. One error gives way to another, to be in turn displaced. For instance, there are two kinds of fatalism, the Calvinistic and the scientific. They differ in this, that the former does not allow a man who is doomed to know his fate, while the latter oppresses him with the feeling that this is about all the knowledge he can claim. The old-time denial of free will has had its day, and another is passing. Until of late much emphasis has been put upon the scientific doctrine of heredity, and many have enlarged upon its gloomier phases. It is an important truth, but not all-explaining. Some who, as experts in penology, gave in their adherence to this gloomy fatalism, have of late renounced their former belief, and are now denouncing the pessimism that lurked in the doctrine they once advocated. In a late paper Mr. Round, Secretary of the National Prison Association, argued that criminals are not the victims of heredity. "I wish to put myself on record," he says, "after a study of the criminal, and contrary to my previous utterances, as going squarely back to the doctrines of free will as laid down by our fathers." Dr. Williams, of Randall's Island Hospitals, holds to the same view. Heredity is not the transmission of conditions so much as of tendencies, and environment has more to do with the formation of character than inheritance. So the latest science gives new force to the old faith, and we may confidently assert that no living appeal of the pulpit will be permanently poisoned by the mischievous notions of the foes of truth. The basis of the "universal homiletic" is divine.

When we address ourselves to the other side of our question

we find a tremendous burden of responsibility rolled upon the living pulpit. Not the least reason for this is that there is here no "universal homiletic." For the preacher must be first of all a witness. No sorcery, no charm of speech, no wealth of knowledge, can transform the man who is not a witness into a preacher of the Gospel. The wisdom must be both of the head and the heart. It is as true now as ever that the distinction of St. Augustine holds good between *sapientia* and *eloquentia*. *Sapientia* without *eloquentia* will do good; *eloquentia* without *sapientia* will do no good. In the union of the two there is the world-transforming pulpit. Induction never yet made a true preacher. Inspiration alone can do that.

Nor can we hope that the office will do for the man what nothing else on earth has ever done. Officialism and efficiency are not destined to the highest sort of union. Ordination papers are a poor substitute for the oracles of God. The man must be authorized, as well as his place. Yet even here there is peril. Hence the true witness is always loath to bolster up his sermons by a too ready reference to his own personal experience of the truth which is taking hold of the world. The emotion of the passing day is too small a mirror for the sun of truth. No one should be stripped of his well-grounded conviction of the power of his personality in the pulpit, but he should beware of making too frequent trips to that storehouse. It will give out before the truth which embraces the world. One's own life cannot be the standard of God's dealings with men. God is at work upon a world problem in which one man's life is a small fraction. The too frequent use of autobiographical material is apt to seduce a man from the hard study of the age-long purpose of the Redeemer. Autobiography errs in substituting the feeling of the day for the philosophy of the ages. The present day is not to set up the petty tyranny of the day over the truth of the centuries. God has a thousand ways of affecting men, and it is our duty to follow him out on the lengthening pathway trod by the saints of all ages. The man is not the first thing in the sermon. He is the first thing the sermon is to flow through in order to achieve its expected end. Corot's devotion to his art suggests a most important lesson: "Truth is the first thing in art, and the second, and the third." One may not tell the whole truth in one sermon, but what is

told must square with all other truth in the universe, so far as one may hold the two in equipoise. The imperative need is system in our thinking if ever the pulpit is to become the Moses of Red Sea crossings of the twentieth century, stretching a mighty wand over defiant waves and drying a way for the safe passage of even little children.

The true witness will not misuse his place of power. The practice of pulpit tricks and the violence of pulpit acrobatics suggest to all sane and devout souls the circus antics of a clown, and the church becomes a ring where song and sawdust are inextricably mixed. High duty is travestied, and the whistling strokes of rapier scorn justly circle the head of the man whose only halo is a fool's cap. If one man errs on the side of a strained originality, the man whose ambition is to duplicate a brother's splendid efforts turns the pulpit into a cage where the parrot reigns supreme. It is hard to decide upon the proper penalty for these two opposites, the parrot plagiarist and the clownish original. Men are not so much to blame for enduring a homiletic harness as when, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the clergy were compelled to abstain from their own sermonic efforts and to use those ordered by the rulers, all of which was contrary to the judgment of Archbishop Grindal, who was sequestrated for his importunity; but when the preacher is himself the victim of his own conscious surrender to the homiletic helps on his shelves the case is pitiful indeed. The advance of the kingdom is not to illustrate the Master's willingness to give premiums to pulpits erected upon ready-made sermons. If in any man's library there be a volume that looks as if its title should be—no matter what it is—*Preaching Made Easy*, let him start for the encomium which the men of Ephesus won in Holy Writ for their brave firing of their old volumes of magical prescriptions, and add heat, if not light, by a kindred conflagration. It is to be feared that some without these various homiletic helps would be like the Ephesian wrestler who, lacking the incantation of the mystic scrap of parchment on his person, was worsted by his opponent. The recipe for pulpit power is not in homiletic confections. They are rather the sweet poison of pulpit giants. There is a definite increase of logical skill, of imaginative insight, of substantial exegesis, of wholesome sympathy for the flock, in a manly preference of

one's own second-rate skeleton to the first-rate one of the ablest preacher on earth. Imagine the good to come from a sermon upon "Thou shalt not steal," taken bodily from another's sermonic coop. Emerson's definition of a scholar, "man thinking," is yet more true of the real preacher. Some such motto should spur us to fresh effort, as that which on the walls of the old Winchester school in England fired the boys to their tasks: "*Aut disce, aut discede; manet sors tertia, caedi.*" The mind that turns to the world of action, of letters, that watches the tides of social life, that feeds the imagination and fashions according to living methods the message for the day, scorns with joy the fear that haunts the man whose path some braver pilgrim has had to "blaze." It is a woeful waste of hard-won cash to invest it in any sort of "homiletic helps." The mental independence which wastes no time in unshelving dusty illustrations is one with that originality which spurns the offer of an unchanging homiletic, with as much pride and far more sense than Johnson showed when he hurled from his door at Pembroke the shoes some friend had laid there for the indigent scholar.

Homiletic folly is never so absurd as when it cherishes the hope of discovering an absolute standard of homiletic art. From the standpoint of art the sermon is not a piece of sculpture, but a tool of might, with which men are sent of God to carve his name upon the forefront of the ages. The sermon is too much coupled with its time to attempt an absolute standard. There is both limitation and liberty in this. The very close contact of the poem and the sermon with their time is evidence of life. We are not to count this necessary "orientation" as weakness. The permanent vitality of the Gospel is the bride of each new age, arrayed in the evermore radiant garments of the bettered art of the last thought man gets of God's will and purpose. A real preacher of the Gospel cannot be content to seek that far-off absolutism of an artistic and unchanging form when his hearers are dying for lack of bread. The very power that seems flawless is a failure. Emerson's discovery of weakness in the "Iliad," because of the freedom with which Homer lays on the local colors and indulges in constant allusions to the petty things of his day, is hardly worthy of the name. The "localisms" of the poet, are they not the proof

that the crown of Grecian art was won when it refused to waste its vigor upon the misty generalities of the farther East? So the great pulpit thinkers have followed a goodly throng of giants in art when they have turned from the griefs of the Goths to the struggles of socialism. The power of God is the permanent thing. The power of the devil is the ever-vacillating thing. It is of small use to fire into the ranks of the Hittites, Perizzites, Amorites, or other available ancients, when the hypocrisy of sham, the pride of place, and the avarice of the saloon are joining hands to inaugurate a dominion of demagogues, while the *dilettante* patriotism of the day declines to rule save by the vicarious authority which each reeking caucus assumes only to profane.

We live in an age in which the poet and the preacher are united by a common sympathy against an unjust criticism. The scientific iconoclast has played the part of the highwayman against their peace. Huxley, in speaking of poetic expression, called it "sensual caterwauling," and Stedman justly calls him to account, and as a poet looks forward to the time when men shall not give attention to the analysis of tears, but shall endeavor to create them. The heart must have its food. Poetry and preaching are not to become obsolete influences in the scheme of progress. If the German poet be right in declaring that the last man is to be the last poet, then the last man is to test the uplifting power of two wings, one of them poetic and the other sermonic. If the seers who stand on tiptoe behold the day of reconciliation between the scientist and the poet, so may we, who have been classed down with the poet in a day of loss of power in which the analyst is the fore, behold our day rising in the new east of a better knowledge of the proper relations we sustain toward all the classes and all the masses of mankind. The world is far from being done with us. The very ship that bore the Indian sage, Dharmapala, back to India had on board a band of Christian missionaries. A great day is about to dawn. The hour is ringing its optimistic chimes. We are on the verge of vaster domains to be won to Christ than ever in the past. So our own Haven was convinced, and so Whittier sang:

> The day is greatening to the dawn;
> The century's aloe flowers to-day.

Now are we able to see in what true originality consists. That pulpit which puts itself in the hand of God for the lifting of this dolorous time out of its selfishness into the finer service of the coming age is the original pulpit. It may be unable to point out the details of the new struggle or show the splendor of the new morning in all its freshness. What of that? It is none the less original. The sun that smiles over the sea cliffs of the east is none the less original because our fathers washed away the stains of their sleep in the mellow radiance of his beams. He is to us the new light of the new day, and as he climbs up the steep of the sky to stir the world to action he is as original as when he called Abraham to his tent door.

It is a small ambition that a man of God should be anxious to merely keep up with his time; let him rather go ahead of it in every good word and work. The fly on the axletree of the chariot, in Æsop's fable, saying, "What a dust do I raise," is too often the man content to share the unearned victory and to claim all the honors. Like the fly, such a man is too small to be thrown off; if he were heavier he would either fall to the roadside or go to the front. The great chariot of the Captain of our salvation is moving on with quickened speed; but it is a matter of regret that its velocity should become a test of the tenacity with which insect incumbrances hold on, with heads too small to be dizzied and with feet more used to adhesion than to progression. Not to hang on, but to hasten on, should be the aim. We must hasten. We have come too far not to go farther. Our power is not a meager revenue we get by taxing the glorious memories of the dead, but the capital of God's omnipotence which feeds with its compounding interest the hungering hosts of the unsaved. The real pulpit is not weakening. Its very limitations are an evidence of magnificent endowments and a surety of mightier triumphs. The philosopher's stone of the pulpit is not a "universal homiletic," but an ever-changing, Christlike charm of the adaptable message, in whose all-comprehensive service the travel-stained feet of pilgrims without number find washing and the pulseless forms of the dead find life.

Just now we are the witnesses of a phase of social unfolding that indicates the necessity of the adaptation of permanent principle to a new need. We are in the midst of a tidal move-

ment toward a fuller recognition of the corporate life of the human family. This is a comparatively new thing. There are several causes for this. The impersonal laws of the scientific realm, the new and combining efforts of the industrial world, the widening democracy of the political world, all tend to increase the sense of the mutual responsibility by which the world is being drawn together. The humblest reporter has a higher notion of the "people" than even Shakespeare could have had. His standard was concrete and individual, and he had no praise for the impersonal "many-headed monster." The one thing for the pulpit to grip firmly is the new idea that has forged to the front, and to show clearly that, as it has had the Gospel for the one man, so now it will not fail with a Gospel for the composite social estate that is rising up all about us. It is for us to offer an anticipatory attitude toward every new ill, that we be not caught napping, that we believe in the cure we proclaim. It is an ominous thing when men, stirred by an intense desire to know the truth, and knowing no anchorage save the effort that holds them to their daily task, turn away from the Christian pulpit and look to the ephemeral counterfeits of eternal verities for satisfaction. Not all the blame can be put upon the restless nonchurchgoing crowd, sadly prodigal of powers which, if they were trained in righteousness, would give the King his kingdom in a day. Are we in default? Is our culture a clog? May it not be a lever? Is our place to be trusted with scholarship? Are we ever inclined to trust to inheritance, and not to try achievement? Is not the pulpit set here to illustrate how much of a burden God can afford to put upon men's shoulders? It is the Atlas of all time, not bearing the great round burden as a penalty of angry deity, but as the honored colaborer of the loving God who would save men through men.

We are in line with the utmost advance of the new day, as well as in touch with the certified principles of the Founder. We ought to make it plain that we know no poison for which we lack the antidote, no misery for which we lack an anodyne, no waning vigor for which we lack the tonic of life. Homiletic literature, at its best, very brightly mirrors the passing day. If the spirit of the age emphasizes the individual, the sermon notices this accent. It may even be drawn to excess in

its accent of the prevalent idea. Only vigilance will enable it to hold a firm course between the rock and the whirlpool. But it should not allow the new need to run too far in advance of the supply it alone is able to offer. It has been said that there has been a threefold issue of dogma as represented in Romanism and in Socinianism and in Protestantism. May we not add another, about to take shape due to the efforts of the great blind giant men call Socialism, which struggles to get the race a little further on its way? Can it be that the prospects held out before men by street-corner oracles are utterly without recognition in the basal attitude of the Gospel toward the future of society?

We must admit two things, first, that Jesus has exhausted the idea of a perfect religion; second, that the future is needed to bring its accumulations of effort to be measured by the Carpenter's rule. His very vastness of comprehension of plan precludes the possibility of our seeing clearly with our fathers' eyes; in order to see Jesus our own eyesight must grow hourly keener. For he rises to new levels with the evolution of each new age. Jesus is first revelation—we should say, *was* first—then he was redemption, then regeneration; we now see him in his latest manifestation of might as the regulator of society. No homiletic can hold the ages to their various destinies without the kaleidoscopic personality of Jesus Christ. The ability to propagate truth comes from him. He prefers the life of an enthusiasm that has blemishes to the deadness of a restraint that is flawless. Men will be led to say with Arndt, "When I am thirsty I prefer a troubled spring to a dry well." The *abandon* of a courteous, courageous, scholarly pulpit is the "desire of the nations." Such a pulpit need have no fear that the power of the Lord of the world will become less through effort to cover vaster territory. A constant inspiration lies in the feeling that all progress is permanent which has Jesus for its monumental file-leader. It is as Freemantle has said, "When the Church is seen to be the constant inspirer of human progress there will be no skeptics but those to whom human progress is indifferent." When it comes to pass that worship shall go with Christ to the house of God to hear him read the lessons; and the family shall repeat the scenes of the Nazareth home; and knowledge shall learn of the great Teacher, and art ask how

the Carpenter in the little shop of the hill town toiled; and trade be not compelled to absent itself from the Lord's table because it has the money of the land; and society shall have no feast to which the chief Guest is not invited; and statesmanship shall make no war without the Captain; and philanthropy shall break no bread till it has his benediction; and the pulpit shall ignore its commission and doubt its inspiration unless from him—then it may be known that the King has come to his kingdom.

Let but the pulpit covet a passion for reality in preaching the Saviour akin to that possessed by Holman Hunt in his paintings. Ruskin has a significant contrast between Rossetti and Hunt:

> To Rossetti the Old and New Testaments were only the greatest poems he knew; and he painted scenes from them with no more actual belief in their relation to the present life and business of men than he gave to the "Morte d'Arthur" and the "Vita Nuova." But to Holman Hunt the story of the New Testament, when once his mind entirely fastened on it, became what it was to an old Puritan, or an old Catholic of true blood—not merely a reality, not merely the greatest of realities, but the only reality. So that there is nothing in the earth any more that does not speak of that, there is no course of thought nor force nor skill for him but it springs from and ends in that.

Shall the perishable canvas tell to few generations the tale of such devotion, and shall the preacher fritter his time away in the passionless pastime of giving pleasure to a select few, when he might be fashioning a vast volume of "living epistles?"

The world is to be saved by preaching. A mere matter-of-fact obedience to the divine call has its fair reward. But there is a richer quittance in store for the man who, out of his partial successes and painful failures, out of mingled fears and hopes, out of the tremulous utterances of tremendous truths, has learned to count his place of power far beyond his deserts, and to rejoice that the largest accumulations of knowledge, the severest training, the most sinewy skill, can never be hampered by the size of the position he is striving to fill. If the young preacher be a true man, the sense of the worth of the few square feet set apart for him in front of his fellows, the feeling that here is no common bush but one "aflame with God," and which he dare not approach with sandaled feet—this sense can never grow dull with the passing years, and he afterward

comes to chide himself, when amid new marvels and sterner struggles to achieve his ideal, that his early wonder had no wider horizon. He who does not find his conception of the pulpit growing as the other influential factors grow, and outgrowing them, may well be alarmed.

Preaching—a man's standing before men, and by force of mind and grace of address and heat of soul trying to put God's thought into their lives—this shall have evermore its own crown as chief among the princes of progress. Neither familiar acquaintance nor furious antagonism can ever diminish the colossal size of the pulpit. Here the rarest souls win rarest triumphs. He who clings to the surpassing value of his calling, and with the true preacher's double passion—now for truth and now for souls—never fails to scan new skies, and to try untrod paths, and to answer the freshest challenges of his foes with more than their daring—he will know no "dead line" save the one in the city of the dead. Of such men may say, as was said of Moses, "No man knoweth of his sepulcher." Of others—well, no matter.

The pulpit is a chariot, not a hearse. What a difference between the man who, a few years ago, left the pulpit for the stage, and the man, now dead a hundred years, who hewed his desk of stone with the same hands that wrought the immortal *Checks*, and found his dying couch transformed into a flaming phaeton such as even the heat of the pagan poet's frenzy never fashioned for the madcap of the mythic sky! Milu thought to find in the drama an educator more engaging, more wise, and more enduring than could be secured in the Christian pulpit. Fletcher cried out with failing breath: "Shout! Shout aloud! I want a gust of praise to go to the ends of the earth!" Who knows of the preacher-actor? Who has forgotten the preacher-seraph?

R. T. Stevenson

Art. VII.—THE ATMOSPHERE AND THE PERSONNEL OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

If one has a real love for English literature, or for English Church history, he must also have an appetite more or less developed for Oxford. We say less, as well as more, developed, because there are many men of true literary instincts whose longings for Oxford are not at all pronounced. But, if these were once, by chance, to drink at this fountain head, their whole soul would cry out with unwonted delight.

The true university is before all things a vast conservatorium, a treasure-house of human achievements already wrought. It is a broad, lofty platform reared upon the unshaken pillars of established truths, where the laborers of to-day may accurately lay down their base lines, and from which they may confidently project their angles, deducing legitimate conclusions concerning the things not known from the things which do appear. Such a university is Oxford, rich in its historic traditions, which are as old as the English people, rich in its endowments of books and buildings, and ever rich in its cultured society of earnest scholars.

It is difficult to write with any degree of satisfaction about Oxford, it is so large, so varied, and so unique. If one can imagine a score or more of Wesleyan universities or Princetons all clustered together in convenient proximity, in the center of a city of fifty-five or sixty thousand inhabitants, he may get some idea of its size. Then, if he can imagine that each of these several groups of college buildings bears a marked individuality or style of its own, including kitchens, dining halls, dormitories, libraries, chapels, museums, observatories, conservatories, laboratories, churches, a great publishing concern, and an ancient cathedral, he may get some idea of its variety. As for uniqueness, Oxford is purely unique; there is none other of its kind. Cambridge is entirely different, though in its way quite as interesting, both in history and spirit. In the minds of those who are acquainted with Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown* there already exists a picture of Oxford. A truer portrayal of that famous seat will never be made; and who wishes anything modern to surpass the Oxford of fifty years ago?

Instead of "going up" from Paddington in a Great Western express train—time one hour and twenty-five minutes—and "getting down" in one of the most dismal stations on the "line," whence one has to elbow his way through one of those everlasting English underground passages before he is privileged to set eyes on the most unsightly part of the city, let us leave London on top of an old-time stagecoach, behind four nervous, well-groomed cobs, and take the whole of a long October day to cover our sixty-odd miles. Thank fortune, one can still reach Oxford either from Warwickshire or London in the same respectable fashion that was good enough for Samuel Johnson and Thomas De Quincey, Joseph Addison and Jonathan Swift. Let no one persuade himself that he has ever seen England at her best until he has viewed her rural shires from something better than a car window. But here we are rounding Shotover Hill, and behold what a valley spreads out before us! It is the upper Thames, where the river Cherwell joins it. And there in the vale between the rivers, anciently accessible only by those fords from which it has taken its name, lies Oxford, "that lovely city with dreaming spires." Just before entering the town we pass the Cowley Cricket Grounds and Christ Church Tennis Fields, and now we roll over Magdalen Bridge and enter what to us, with the exception, perhaps, of High Street, Edinburgh, is the most interesting street in Europe. Sir Walter Scott said even more of it in his day, and Mr. Ruskin says as much of it now; and that ought to settle it. Hear him: "The stream-like winding of 'the High,' with its magnificent vista of Queen's, University, and All Souls' Colleges, and the churches of St. Mary the Virgin and All Saints, combine to form an architectural *tout ensemble* surpassed by no other city or town in the world."

Just before reaching the center of the city we pull up at the "Mitre," the most famous hostelry of middle England. It is a well-preserved old-time English inn, with all the traditions and aroma of the best Oxford life during the past five hundred years, and it is not superannuate yet. During the past summer it was rumored that an American capitalist had purchased the "Mitre," with the intention of replacing it with a modern hotel on the American plan; but, thanks to the good sense and pride of the community, such a piece of high-handed vandalism

has not yet taken place. It is bad enough to have "the Crown Inn," so intimately connected with the visits of Shakespeare and the early days of Sir William Davenant, give place to the greed of a modern banking company; but as long as the "Mitre" can so comfortably shelter and provide for its guests palsied be the hand that removes her time-beaten tiles.

For him "who in the love of nature holds communion with her visible forms" it were difficult to imagine more inspiring haunts than those to be found in the gardens and by the lake of old Worcester College; or among the water walks and deer parks of Magdalen; or in the almost endless mazes, called "Mesopotamia," of the university gardens along the Cherwell; or on the broad city commons stretching away as far as Wolvercote on the upper Thames; or in Merton Fields, and Christ Church Meadows, and Bagley Wood, and all the other woods and fields and meadows that lie along the Isis, as the Thames is classically called below the city, as far as Abingdon. And one will certainly want to climb Shotover again, and read on its brow the legend of its naming; and some day climb to Cumnor Hurst, on the opposite side of the valley, and read Matthew Arnold's "Scholar Gypsey" beneath Arnold's "signal elm;" and make a detour, on his return, through Cumnor village, and read the epitaphs in Cumnor churchyard and in the church, together with a few verses from the chained Bible there—a copy, by the way, of the first edition of King James, and the basis of the English text of the celebrated Oxford Bibles ever since. And he will, of course, sentimentally study the Latin tablet to virtuous Anthony Foster, and wish there were a monument half so well done to poor Amy Robshart, who often worshiped here. And, if he has learned the stiles and gates and paths through the fields, he will come back to town by way of Abingdon Abbey and Godstow Abbey, in the former of which Amy Robshart, and in the latter of which "Fair Rosamund," were once girl graduates. Then there is Iffley for another afternoon's stroll, with its quaint and indescribably pretty little Norman church and its ancient yew trees; and there is Littlemore, a mile or so farther on, with its living monuments of John Henry Newman's "years in retreat;" and there is Dorchester, with its cathedral ruins, dating back to the time of Saint Birinus, the second great missionary bishop to

Britain, who followed Augustine of Canterbury after an interval of only forty years. And there is South Leigh, where John Wesley began his preaching as an Anglican deacon in a beautiful parish church which contains some of the rarest mural painting in all England. One can also visit the Castle Prison in Oxford and the lodgings in New Inn Hall Street, where the great itinerant began his preaching as a Methodist. Then there is a holiday drive out to Woodstock, for a view of the lodgings and the landscapes of Geoffrey Chaucer and the marvels within and around Marlborough House, where Henry II and Henry III and King John held court; and if the driver of the "trap" favors the plot, as he surely will for an extra sixpence, he may take in good King Alfred's boyhood home at Wantage, and give us a glimpse of the White Horse Vale, and bring us back through rose-embowered Marston, where Fairfax brought the king's commissioners to terms for Cromwell. By this time, if one is not ready to exclaim, with Nathaniel Hawthorne, that "it is a despair to see such a place and ever to leave it," he does not deserve an introduction to the librarian of the beautiful Bodleian, nor the privilege of knowing any of the inner delights of this wonderful city of colleges.

But let us pay a visit to Christ Church, which is the name of perhaps the leading college and of the cathedral of Oxford. We will enter by Canterbury gate from Bear Lane, just opposite Oriel College, whose common room has been so intimately connected with the academic discussions of Sir Walter Raleigh, Bishop Butler, John Keble, Dr. Arnold, Bishop Wilberforce, Archbishop Whately, Dr. Pusey, John Henry Newman, and Thomas Hughes. Passing under the lofty arch supported on either side by fluted Doric columns, we are in "Canterbury Quad," after the old Canterbury College which stood here, founded by Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1365. John Wyclif, at that time fellow of Merton College, was made first warden or president of Canterbury. In the open space behind his college, now marked by a fountain and the very center of the great "Tom Quad" of Christ Church, Wyclif began his open-air preaching, and from thence sent forth his itinerant Lollards, forerunners both of the English Reformation and of Methodism. Geoffrey Chaucer studied at Canterbury, and doubtless found in the great warden his true ideal of the priest of God.

Sir Thomas More was another great mind educated here, and when he left Canterbury College to take office at the court it was with the stipulation that he should first look to God and after that to the king. About a century and a half after its founding Canterbury College developed under the ambitious lead of Cardinal Wolsey into the foremost school of Oxford, being renamed first for Wolsey himself, and, after his disgrace and death, for his royal master, Henry VIII. It was not until 1546 that it finally received its present title, since which time, as before, many of the most eminent names in English history have been associated with it. To those who have not reached the time when they are no longer susceptible to such things there is exquisite pleasure in walking the courts and climbing the staircases and knowing the lodgings and lecture rooms, the grand library and chapel, and dining hall and buttery, where Wellington and Robert Peel and Philip Sidney and John Locke and William Penn and Ben Jonson and Dr. South and Francis Atterbury and Peter Martyr and the Wesleys and the Puseys and Gladstone and Ruskin and Liddell and Liddon and a host of others have taken their first steps toward greatness.

The Hall, as the college dining room is called, has the name of being the finest refectory in all beef-loving England. Its grand mediæval windows, its lofty oak-ribbed ceiling with pendant armorial bearings, its capacious fireplaces, its broad black old tables for undergraduates stretched along either side, and the table for the dons and dignitaries on a platform across the upper end; its four walls adorned with the portraits of its distinguished foundationers from the hands of such masters as Van Dyke, Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Kneller, Holbein, and Millais—all these are a liberal education in themselves. Here Charles I assembled those members of his Parliament who remained faithful to him in his extremity, and here maintained his forlorn court during that historic winter of the royalists in Oxford. Henry VIII was banqueted here when head of the college, and here Elizabeth came from Woodstock to witness her earliest plays. Descending the grand stairway beneath Wolsey's Tower, remarkable for its roof of fan tracery, we enter the cloisters on the right side of the cathedral and reach the ancient chapter house. This room has

recently been restored, and, what with steam heating and comfortable red hangings covering a portion of the bare walls, is now the most popular lecture room in the college. One cannot help remarking the novelty of his situation as he sits quietly observing his surroundings, while a fully robed and bonneted canon calls the roll of his variously gowned divinity class. And one may, perhaps, be pardoned if he indulges the hope, while he nibbles his quill, that he may be sitting among the Wesleys of the twentieth century. The cathedral is a beautiful pile in mixed Norman and early English architecture, though dating back to Saxon times. It has the most ancient spire in England.

But to a nonchurchman the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, in High Street, is far more interesting than Christ Church Cathedral. St. Mary's is the university church. Its main entrance is through an attractive porch of the Italian style. During the days of the Puritan supremacy its twisted columns, together with the Virgin Mary, with Jesus in her arms holding a crucifix, were the subject of much criticism; and at the trial of Archbishop Laud the building of this porch formed one of the chief grounds of his impeachment. It was in St. Mary's that Cranmer, when brought to proclaim his adhesion to the Roman Church on the morning of his martyrdom, October 16, 1556, boldly repudiated all he had before said in favor of "Romish assumptions as contrary to the truth." It was but a few paces from the sanctuary to the stake, from the temple of God to the ditch without the city gates, where Latimer and Ridley had suffered but a few months before; and there did Cranmer "light such a candle by God's grace, in England, as shall never be put out." It has often been said that Cambridge educated and Oxford burned the martyrs, but it cannot be shown that Oxford University as such exerted any particular influence in this great tragedy. The commissioners of inquiry were chosen by the Convocation of Canterbury, and included, among others, the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, while the trial of the martyrs was conducted by Pole and the pope irrespective of either university. The pulpit of St. Mary's has been the pivot on which English Church history has turned since Wyclif's time. Catholic, Puritan, Anglican, Ritualist, Methodist, Tractarian, Most Reverend, Very Reverend, Reverend, and only

"rather" Reverend have thundered their doctrines, opinions, interpretations, expositions, impositions, excommunications, and anathemas above her sacred cushion; and, strange as it may appear, the Church of Christ our Lord still lives. Nevertheless, no more orthodox, or evangelical, or practical sermons have ever been preached there than those of the Bampton Lectureship, during the winter and spring terms of 1890, by the venerable Archdeacon Watkins, on the Johannean authorship of the fourth gospel.

But the crowning utterance of that year, and of the past decade, in St. Mary's was the last sermon of the now sainted Liddon, preached on Whitsunday. The great canon was always greatest in Oxford. Here he was educated; here he held a professorship in New Testament Greek for years; here his best sermons had been preached; here he held his lodgings as a resident fellow of Christ Church until death. For seven years he had not been heard in St. Mary's. He was out of all sympathy with the too progressive, or liberal, wing of his own High Church party. But he seemed to feel that before he died he ought to raise his voice in no uncertain manner against it. At London his message had already been delivered. For the last time the great dome of St. Paul's had reverberated with those silvery, searching tones. It was a beautiful Sabbath morning, the most beautiful of that entire summer term. We were told by Canon Paget, now Dean of Christ Church, then one of the regius professors, that the old university church had not been so crowded in a generation. At precisely half past ten the beadles, bearing their huge gold and silver maces, began the procession from the side chapel down the nave. They were followed by Dr. Bellamy, the vice chancellor, with Canon Liddon on his left. At the top of the aisle Dr. Bellamy made a respectful bow of dismission, and the preacher of the day ascended the high pulpit. The gowned and hooded line advanced to its stalls—doctors, proctors, masters, wardens, and heads of houses. All pray in silence; all sing in solemn harmony; all stand in reverence, while the Bidding Prayer is read, and devoutly kneeling join in the prayer of our Lord. Then the text is announced, and England's greatest preacher of the present generation is at home again—"Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he

will guide you into all truth." The theme was the "Inspiration of Selection." The sermon was a discussion of the Holy Spirit's influence, (1) in the guidance and work of the apostles; (2) in the foundation and conquests of the early Church; and (3) in the inspiration, selection, and preservation of the sacred canon. It was fervent, cumulative, and convincing. The main force was given to the last head, in which the inspiration, selection, and preservation of the canon of Holy Scripture was boldly proclaimed. Unhallowed criticism was rebuked, irreverent liberalism was silenced, and the great throng, with moistened eyes and glowing hearts, again and again thanked God that their Daniel had come to judgment. We left St. Mary's that morning, as we had often left it before, convinced that still "the foundation of God standeth sure," and that Liddon would live when *Lux Mundi* should have been long forgotten.

Oxford does not any longer belong to the English Church, nor to the English nation alone, but to all English people; and to charge one born with a bias for Oxford with the affection vulgarly called "Anglophobia" is about as childish as to pronounce a man a rationalist because he has been to Berlin. Everything in Oxford is open to the serious seeker, except the two degrees in divinity; but all the honor of the work for these is freely granted, and that is all that any serious scholar wants. When once the somewhat terrifying, but exceedingly harmless and wholesome, barrier of red tape has been passed, one finds himself in the midst of surroundings the only embarrassment of which is their delightful cordiality. To receive repeated calls, and those not in the least formal, from the professor whom you esteem to be the most Christian and scholarly gentleman in the university, and whom you know to be the most indefatigable worker; to be given a special appointment; and then to be met and conducted about and introduced to men and things by another of the most revered and lovable of Oxford's professors, who tells you between times of his pet notions regarding the East Indian tongues—of some of which he is the only living English master—with the enthusiasm and clearness of a true instructor, and who insists upon hearing your opinions, if indeed you can command any in such a presence, and inquires about America with the genuine interest and sympathy

of a father; to receive marked social favors where you had supposed the most artificial exclusion prevailed—these are some of the things that deepen one's sense of obligation and of respectful attachment to what he considers to be the leading center of English life and letters.

Permit us to sketch a scene or two in outline, portraying a pair of lecturers who but three years since easily stood chief among Oxford's list of princely instructors, and both of whom to-day are numbered with the great majority. Here is Benjamin Jowett, as he lectures on Plato—a fresh, ruddy gentleman well past seventy, full but not stout; with beautiful white hair, clean shaven face, and the most cultivated voice and manners; simply and dispassionately talking on, with the utmost ease and deliberation, about the Greek philosopher and what he said and thought and meant. Our lecturer is the honored master of Balliol College, and has been for generations, and while he speaks he frequently looks through the half-opened window into the college garden and seems unconsciously to imbibe a sweetness and calmness that well-kept gardens always appear to have for philosophers. We are sure that garden, and everything, in fact, about Balliol, liked to have Jowett look upon it, because Jowett was a gentleman and a scholar. When the hour is half done a servant quietly brings in a cup of tea and a bit of bread and butter for the master; and when the servant retires and bears away the empty tray he seems as proud, if possible, as the garden.

Here is Professor Edward Augustus Freeman, as he lectures on the "Rise of the European States." He is a short, thick-set man, who has well-nigh reached his threescore and ten, with a big and reddish beard. He appears to be suffering from chronic asthma, which trouble makes it difficult for both lecturer and audience, especially as he tries to read rapidly from manuscript what you wish he would give, in substance, extempore and more slowly. His appearance impresses one as a little grotesque, for he always wears his black academic cap and gown above a suit of gray a little too well worn. When we saw him bearing down the street for his lecture room he invariably reminded us of a retired and scantily pensioned sea captain.

But to the present reader no names shine forth in the entire

list of Oxford worthies so illustriously as those of John and Charles Wesley, felicitously called "the head and the heart of Methodism." For the last three hundred years the name of Wesley has probably been inscribed upon the roster rolls of Oxford University as continuously as that of any other English family. Bartholomew, the great-grandfather of the Wesleys; John, their grandfather; Samuel, their father, and Samuel, Jr., their elder brother, as well as Dr. Samuel Annesley, their maternal grandfather, had all preceded them as holders of advanced degrees in the great school, and, without exception, had gone forth as able divines in the Church of Jesus Christ. Bartholomew was skilled in medicine as well as in theology, and it is said that his great-grandson, John, inherited his medical tendencies from this source. John, the next in the line, was profoundly learned in the oriental languages, and was the first of the Wesleys to develop a marked talent for keeping a daily journal in which he described all the events of his outward life, as well as the workings of his heart. Samuel, the son of this John and father of the greater John to follow, was a member of Exeter College. It was in him first that the poetic gifts of the house showed themselves. One of his poems, written immediately after the battle of Blenheim, so pleased the first Duke of Marlborough that he made its author chaplain of one of his chief regiments, and promised him a prebend, which last was foiled by controversial disputes with the Dissenters, who were then very powerful in Parliament. This same gifted Samuel wrote an elaborate Latin commentary on the Book of Job, and projected a polyglot edition of the Bible in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin, and with the help of his son John, then in Oxford, finished a considerable portion of it, as we find in his letters, though we are unable to say whether he ever actually carried any of it through the press. The three famous sons of Samuel Wesley, namely, Samuel, Jr., John, and Charles, succeeded one another in the order named as members of Christ Church College, the first being entered in 1711, the second in 1720, and the third in 1726.

It was during this period, or perhaps, more broadly speaking, during the entire first half of the eighteenth century, that the University of Oxford, when measured by the ideal standard of a great Christian school, sounded the lowest depths of her

history; and it is most instructive to note, as one of Wesley's biographers has already done, that the greatest evangelical movement of modern times "took its rise in the attempt made by an Oxford tutor to bring back to the national institution for education something of that method which was at this time so disgracefully neglected." The condition of morals throughout Great Britain was deplorable. The utmost licentiousness prevailed at court, and the vices of the first two Georges had a baleful effect upon the nation. Political honesty was a thing unknown among parliamentary leaders. It is sober history that even the most eminent men had their price, and that those in power maintained themselves there by well-placed bribery. The leisure classes delighted in drunkenness and debauchery, and gloried in their shame. Infidelity ran rampant, and those writers were most popular who adopted a style in accord with the debased and coarse tastes of the day. Among the people generally the same flagrant immorality prevailed. The streets were continually disturbed by riots. The public-house signs offered to make men drunk for a penny, and dead drunk for twopence, with straw to lie upon! In the rural districts real barbarism reigned, and in the mining counties brutal savagery. There was darkness in high places and darkness in low places; darkness in the court, the camp, the Parliament, and the bar; darkness in country and in town; darkness among the rich and among the poor; a gross, thick religious and moral darkness; a darkness that might be felt. Nor was the Church much better. Says one of the least impassioned of Wesleyan historians:

> The fires of martyrdom destroyed the early leaders of the English Reformation. The imperial will of Elizabeth made the Anglican Church subject to state tutelage. The agents employed to carry on the work were both impious and ignorant, and so the work of reformation lacked both efficiency and spirituality. The Puritans for a while blew a clear blast from the Bible trumpet, but political bias and statecraft damaged the spiritual character of their work, and they sank down into a condition very little better than that of the Establishment itself.

Such was the condition of both Church and country at the time when Mr. John Wesley, Fellow and Moderator of Lincoln College; Mr. Charles Wesley, King's Scholar and Student of Christ Church College; Mr. William Morgan, Commoner

of Christ Church College; Mr. Robert Kirkham, Member of Merton College; Mr. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College; Mr. Thomas Broughton, of Exeter College; Mr. John Clayton, of Brasenose College; Mr. Charles Kinchin, Fellow of Corpus Christi College; and Mr. John Gambold, of Christ Church College, set seriously before themselves the task of seeking and practicing personal holiness. Although the name of the elder Wesley is usually mentioned first in a list of the Oxford reformers, it must always be borne in mind that to Mr. Charles Wesley the opprobrious term of "Methodist" was in reality first applied, and that the epithet "The Holy Club" was first derisively given to the little gatherings of twos and threes for religious inquiry in the apartments of the same classical gentleman. It may be also interesting here to recall the fact that the "strangely warm" feeling which John experienced in Aldersgate Street, London, on the evening of Wednesday, May 24, 1738, had already been enjoyed by his younger brother, Charles, for an entire week.

Of all the attractive corners in all the classic wynds and cloistered quadrangles of Oxford there is none which compares in interest with the lodgings which Mr. John Wesley, Master of Arts, occupied as fellow of Lincoln College—for it was in those lodgings, and during that occupancy, that an Oxford movement was born the momentum of which is destined to accelerate as the square of the distance therefrom increases; and if Oxford is anything in the sight of Almighty God, she is such as the mother of moral movements, and of such movements beyond question the chief is that of Methodism. Let us visit Lincoln College, and especially the apartments of Lincoln's leading don. Turning out of Turl Street, right next to Exeter and opposite to Jesus College, we enter a venerable tower gateway, with groined roof, and stand within the first quadrangle, which was founded in 1427 by Richard Flemyng, Bishop of Lincoln—the shire, by the way, to which Epworth belongs, and in which John and Charles Wesley were born. On our left is the hall, the exterior of which remains nearly in its pristine state; the interior was remodeled in 1701, two years before John Wesley was born. Here the members of the college dined with the dons and doctors at the upper end, and the commoners at the long tables extending down the room. Here,

also, Mr. Wesley conducted the daily discussions at which he presided as moderator. Next to the hall in interest comes the chapel, which is one of the rarest relics in Oxford. It is wainscoted with cedar, and the heavy roof and screen are of the same wood. The seats are surmounted by carved figures of the apostles, said to be the work of Grinling Gibbons. In the windows there is some remarkable stained glass, brought from Italy, and held to be at least five hundred years old. The east window, at the end of the nave, is particularly fine, being an allegorical composition in which Old Testament incidents are placed alongside their New Testament antitypes—as, for instance, the temptation of Eve, and that of our Lord; or the brazen serpent lifted upon the pole, and Christ raised upon the cross. In the inner quadrangle is a luxuriant grapevine, said to be cultivated in consequence of the heart of Bishop Rotherham having been so touched by a sermon of Dr. Trisloppe, the rector, from the text, "Behold, and visit this vine," that he was moved to build the second quadrangle. As this same vine clambers the wall and clusters about the windows of Wesley's lodgings, it is usually called by the enterprising porter when showing Americans about the college, "John Wesley's vine." Entering a narrow passage to the right, we ascend a flight of stairs to the second story and, on opening the door at the top, step at once into a plain room about sixteen feet square, the sanctum of the saints of the Holy Club. A small sleeping apartment opens off of one corner, and here the father of Methodism saw many an apocalyptic vision and dreamed many a prophetic dream. This is the spot where gathered, and whence issued, that devoted band of Oxford itinerants whose highly cultivated minds and deeply stirred hearts were the real source of the great evangelical revival of the eighteenth century.

But a closing word about the recent movement toward making Oxford's influence more widely felt among the English people. This movement began in 1877, with the abolition of all churchly tests of membership in the university, and the opening of all degrees except those in divinity to nonconformists. Conservative Oxford had scarcely recovered from this wanton proceeding on the part of a liberal Parliament when the so-called "University Extension Scheme" was formed and put into successful execution, a plan which threw open her

priceless treasures to hundreds of ambitious and worthy provincials during the summer months. To think of Professor Max Muller making the inaugural address at such a meeting, and of many of the best lecturers and readers in the university gladly giving their services toward its success! It is a veritable Oxford Chautauqua. Then came the lifting of the latch to woman and her successful wrangling, as at Cambridge, with the best college men; for Oxford is not behind her sister school in this respect, though the fact has not been quite so widely advertised.

But, more important, if possible, than any of the foregoing facts is the very recent founding in Oxford of two distinctively nonconformist institutions, Mansfield College and Manchester New College. These represent respectively the extreme wings of English nonconformity; the one is the leading college, or, more properly speaking, theological school of the Congregationalists, and the other that of the Unitarians. Mansfield is already one of the finest college properties in this famous city of famous colleges. After many years of honorable history in the neighborhood of Birmingham the faculty and students removed to their beautiful foundation in Oxford only five years ago. This was indeed pushing the battle to the very gates, and it was one of the wisest moves the Independents have made in England during the past century. Dr. Fairbairn, who is widely known in America, is at the head of the faculty, and his school has already attracted the attention and admiration of all Oxford. Canon Ince, in his course of divinity lectures which we had the pleasure of taking in Christ Church, was constrained to speak in the highest terms of the quality of the work performed in Mansfield, frankly admitting that its standard was above that required of the theological candidate in the university—a fact which is beyond question. Dr. Broderick, Warden of Merton College, in his lectures on the "Place of Oxford University in English History," paid Mansfield an equally high tribute, and quoted her success to point an instructive moral for the grand old university to which he has given the best years of his life. Manchester New College was also just being removed to Oxford, having completed its first year in residence in temporary rooms rented in High Street. But it is now firmly rooted and well manned, with Dr. Drummond and

the Rev. F. E. Carpenter on its learned board of instruction. At its first commencement Rev. Brooke Hereford, of Boston, Mass., delivered the address welcoming the graduating class into the Unitarian ministry. He called upon all to give thanks to God that it had become possible for the free churches of England—nonconformists of nonconformists as they were, in the rejection of every demand for subscription to articles of faith—to establish at Oxford their college for students for the Christian ministry. Here, within the precincts of this great university, every intellectual and spiritual factor of the age was alive—keenly, eagerly, passionately alive. Here, therefore, was a training ground for the large-mindedness and large-heartedness which in this college were esteemed as of far more worth than any particular opinion that might be adopted by the students. They were charged not to look upon liberal Christianity merely as a collection of doctrines more or less heretical, but as a religion by which this passionately sectarian world might be redeemed from its sins.

What Methodist could listen to such things unmoved, or behold what glorious beginnings Mansfield had made, without feeling his heart strangely warmed? And what nobler monument could the great Wesleyan body raise to the memory of their founders than there in Oxford to establish a strong and living school for the maintenance of the faith once delivered to the saints?

Art. VIII.—HELEN HUNT JACKSON.

The genius and work of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson are of such quality as to place her among the best of America's literary workers. She wrote poetry of the purest order, and was a most attractive writer of clear-veined prose fiction. Emerson, in some respects the finest soul of American literature, in the preface to his anthology, said: "The poems of Helen Hunt have rare merit of thought and expression, and will reward the reader for the careful attention which they require." Thomas Wentworth Higginson marks her higher than Augusta Webster, Jean Ingelow, or Christina Rossetti, saying: "Her poems are stronger than any written by women since Mrs. Browning, with the single exception of Mrs. Lewes. . . . Mrs. Jackson soars to your estimate loftily as a bird." Dr. A. B. Hyde, of Denver, says: "My estimate of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, both as poet and person, has increased with longer attention, and I believe that even if slightly crowded from view by the throng of good, not better, poets, she will not fail of good and abiding repute in our literature." It is certain that hers was a rare intellectual genius, holding a choice place among prose and poetic writers because of the fresh originality of her conceptions and the power with which she wrought her ideals into form.

The life and beautiful scenery of Colorado have been given by her pen a lasting place in the world of art, yet she put but little of the descriptive quality into her creations. Her poetry mostly occupies a different realm, telling usually of feeling, and thinking, and being. She runs the entire gamut of human emotion, from the wildest ecstasy of joy to the deepest and bitterest sorrow. She is a diviner of the tenderest, most sacred impulses which throb and burn and long for expression.

She has been written of as a brilliant, dashing woman of the world, who had traveled in many lands and was familiar with the manners and customs of many peoples; as one who had a passionate fondness for the wild flowers that bloom in special beauty in the fastnesses of mountains; as a fearless and graceful rider, at home in the saddle, happy with the wind in her hair and the healthy blood in her face. She was also the embodi-

ment of social charm. Her refined manner, her ready wit, her literary culture, enabled her to meet the demands of society life, and she had the tact to become the friend of the privileged as well as a sympathizer with the disadvantaged and distressed.

The effusions of her mind and the tracings of her pen plainly indicate the experiences of her heart. It is almost always so with literature which has power and charm. J. Howard Payne never had a home. It resulted in what? In those precious words from the opera which have sung themselves into the whole world's heart:

> 'Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
> Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home.

Harriet Beecher Stowe needed not the name of her gifted husband, nor that of her illustrious brother, or still wiser father, to give immortal luster to her name. Her own soul's passion vibrated through the world's heart, voicing the cry of the bondsman, calling loudly to his brethren who loved liberty. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did more than any other one thing to smite slavery with its deathblow. In Mrs. Stowe God gave the negro just the friend he needed then. So, too, the red man of America, driven back, oppressed, and almost destroyed, needed a champion, and Helen Hunt Jackson became the pleader for his cause, throwing the whole might of her influence in his favor until her appeal was heard in every part of this great commonwealth. She entered mind and heart into the "Indian question," and the Indians found in her such an advocate as never before had moved the public heart in their behalf. She visited them in their wigwams, followed them on their trail, and interested herself especially in the Mission Indians of Southern California. With stirring and indignant words she made known the facts of their unhappy fate in the newspapers and magazines of the country. The result of her investigations she published in a volume in 1881, entitled *A Century of Dishonor*, which made such an impression that the notice of the government was attracted by it, and President Arthur appointed her one of a commission to examine into and report the true condition of Indian affairs. She made her first report in 1882, which gave her friends great satisfaction. She had done a faithful work. Her interest in and knowledge of the history and state of these sons of the

forest furnished the material for her last work, that prose classic, *Ramona*, the most worthy product of her genius. Her own feeling about her labor on behalf of the Indian is expressed in a letter to a friend, bearing date of July 27, 1885, only a few days before her death: "I feel that my work is done, and I am heartily, honestly, and cheerfully ready to go. In fact, I am glad to go. You can never fully realize how for the last four years my whole heart has been full of this Indian cause—how I have felt, as the Quakers say, 'a concern' to work for it. My *Century of Dishonor* and *Ramona* are the only things I have done of which I am now glad. The rest is of no moment. They will live, and they will bear fruit."

The life story of this noble-minded, great-hearted woman shows her to be one of those who "learn in suffering what they teach in song." Sorrow and anguish kindled the fiery furnace which purged her dross and refined her gold. She was born in Amherst, Mass., October 18, 1831. Helen Fiske came of good stock. Her father, Nathan Welby Fiske, was an eminent Congregational minister, a native of Massachusetts, at nineteen a graduate of Dartmouth College, a tutor for the two years following in his *alma mater*, and a theological graduate of Andover. From 1824 to 1830 he filled the chair of languages, and then was transferred to the chair of intellectual and moral philosophy in Amherst College, which position he held up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1847. He died in Jerusalem, whither he had gone in quest of health, only to be transferred to the heavenly Zion. He was the author of several works, one of which passed through many editions, a translation of Eschenburg's *Manual of Classical Literature*, a work used extensively in college study many years ago. This book he translated from the German in 1836. He was a clear thinker, with a philosophical and linguistic bent of mind, whose life at Amherst had much to do with laying foundations for the work so successfully carried on at that educational center to-day. Her mother was a woman of literary tastes and sunny temper. The two sons of this strict Calvinistic family dying early, only the two daughters remained. Anne, now Mrs. Bamfield, resides in Wolfboro, N. H. Their mother died when Helen was twelve years of age, and their father three years later.

The best that wise forethought could devise was done for

Helen to secure that culture of mind and heart which would fit her for noble and capable living. Versatile, full of life and sparkle, she was even as a girl quite a character in that quiet New England town. Her naturally brilliant intellect, ready wit, and discriminating judgment found still higher direction and cultivation by the privileges afforded at Ipswich Seminary and at Abbotts, N. Y.

At twenty-one she was happily married to Major Edward B. Hunt, a gentleman of excellent literary and scientific attainments, and an enthusiast in his devotion to his country. And so her wedded life became an army life. Graduating at West Point Military Academy July 1, 1845, he had risen gradually from the rank of brevet second lieutenant to that of major. His services were in demand for various posts and undertakings, from a professorship at West Point to the construction of important fortifications along the coast line from Connecticut to Florida. Their domestic bliss was hallowed by the gift of three sons and a daughter. But their unshadowed happiness was brief, for it was not long before three little sodded mounds lay side by side in the military cemetery on the banks of the Hudson. Major Hunt was killed on the morning of October 2, 1863, while firing a submarine torpedo, an invention of his own, as his naval ship lay in port in the harbor of New York; and at the age of thirty-two Helen Hunt stood leaning upon the arm of her first-born, her dark-eyed Rennie Warren, beside the open grave of her husband. Her stricken heart clung with tenacity to the only remaining tie with such tender affection as only the heart of a mother can know. The image of his father, the stay of her widowhood, the ambition and hope of her future, in that boy all her life was now centered. Imagine the awfulness of her desolation when only two years later her splendid boy, her earthly all, was snatched away by diphtheria in 1865. On his deathbed he made her promise not to take her own life in order to follow him. He even pledged himself to revisit her in spirit that he might share with her the burdens. But just so sure was she that reappearance and communication from the world of spirits was from the very nature of the case impossible that, while spiritual realities were familiar to her thought, the special doctrine of "spiritualism" she utterly disavowed.

In thirteen years she was *fiancée*, bride, mother, widow, and childless! Was ever brightness overwhelmed in deeper gloom? Did ever joy vanish more completely from a human life? No wonder that for long, weary months she was unseen even by her nearest, dearest friends. In her ruined and empty home at West Point she sat moaning bitterly, "I alone am left, who avail nothing." But after many months of solitary mourning, alone with her own heart and with God, she reappeared among her friends. She had felt that life with her was done. But gradually a new sense of duty and of privilege came to her. Outwardly, she made no show of her grief; she shut her sorrows down in the recesses of her own heart. What she learned in the school of sorrow she sung in song and poesy. Her sufferings were for herself, while the blessedness which accrues from suffering she gave for the cheer and uplifting of others. Out of her own sorely afflicted soul, as with a pen dipped in her heart's blood, she wrote those pathetic lines entitled "The Loneliness of Sorrow:"

Friends crowd around and take it by the hand,
Intruding gently on its loneliness,
Striving with word of love and sweet caress
To draw it into light and air. Like band
Of brothers, all men gather close, and stand
About it, making half its grief their own,
Leaving it never silent nor alone.
But through all crowds of strangers and of friends,
Among all voices of good will and cheer,
Walks Sorrow, silently, and does not hear—
Like hermit whom mere loneliness defends;
Like one born deaf, to whose still ear sound sends
No word of message; and like one born dumb,
From whose sealed lips complaint can never come.
Majestic in its patience, and more sweet
Than all things else that can of souls have birth,
Bearing the one redemption of this earth
Which God's eternities fulfill, complete,
Down to its grave, with steadfast, tireless feet
It goes uncomforted, serene, alone,
And leaves not even name on any stone.

As years went on Helen Hunt grew dear to many. Hundreds of obscure men and women in farmhouses and factories culled her poems from the newspapers, memorizing them while at work, or pasting them into homemade scrapbooks, or pinning them fast to the leaves of the family Bible. One of these,

with the title "Best," has comforted many a weeping Rachel, grieving over the loss of her little ones whose laughter had made music in the house and whose arms around mother's neck had been a more blessed ministry than words can describe. The rich pathos and gentle resignation are wrought out sublimely:

Mother, I see you with your nursery light
Leading your babies, all in white,
To their sweet rest;
Christ, the good Shepherd, carries mine to-night,
And that is best!

I cannot help tears, when I see them twine
Their fingers in yours, and their bright curls shine
On your warm breast;
But the Saviour's is purer than yours or mine—
He can love best!

You tremble each hour because your arms
Are weak; your heart is wrung with alarms,
And sore oppressed;
My darlings are safe, out of reach of harms,
And that is best.

You know over yours may hang even now
Pain and disease, whose fulfilling slow
Naught can arrest;
Mine in God's gardens run to and fro,
And that is best.

You know that of yours the feeblest one
And dearest may live long years alone,
Unloved, unblest;
Mine are cherished of saints around God's throne,
And that is best.

You must dread for yours the crime that sears,
Dark guilt unwashed by repentant tears,
And unconfessed;
Mine entered spotless on eternal years,
O, how much the best!

But grief is selfish, and I cannot see
Always why I should so stricken be,
More than the rest;
But I know that, as well as for them, for me
God did the best!

It was only after she had been called in her sad young widowhood to give up the last tie, her beautiful and gifted Rennie Warren, on whom she had lavished an almost idolatrous affection, that her whole great nature went out in tender words

and philanthropic deeds to other lives as crushed and lonely as was hers.

But Helen Hunt's writings do not all breathe the air of sadness. They abound with lovely word-pictures of the grandeur of the mountains; of the exquisite wild flowers, the gentian, the purple asters, the golden-rod, and her favorite, the clover blossoms; of the wild songsters of the woods, rippling brooks, and the happy innocent days of childhood. There are poems of the days, and the months, and the seasons; there are exquisite portraitures of biblical and modern characters. There are dream scenes and pictures of real life. She knows, too, the zest of action and the joy of doing good. It was at Newport, R. I., that she began what proved to be a brilliant literary career. Her writings came to be in wide demand. The *Nation*, the *Independent*, the *Century Magazine* sought them, and made her known to all the world. In 1872 she was an invalid in California. Obtaining small relief, she came to Colorado, and spent the winter of 1873–74 at Colorado Springs, where she met William Sharpless Jackson, a Quaker of quiet and dignified Christian character. On October 22, 1875, she changed her name to Helen Hunt Jackson. Here, in one of the most beautiful cities of the Centennial State, on a sightly corner lot their home was built to her liking, and for ten years was the center of sunshine and love. She died in San Francisco, August 12, 1885, after a four months' painful illness. Her mortal remains now rest in the beautiful Evergreen Cemetery, near Colorado Springs. Her home is preserved just as she left it. Her library, writing desk, pictures, and all, are there to receive a silent reverence from those whom her personality or her writings have made her friends. Such persons visiting her home to see where she dwelt are treated with becoming courtesy. In the town her memory is deeply revered. The social circle in which she mingled, though not large, was bright with many a charm, she herself being its center and principal light.

Augustine W. Armstrong

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

What Matthew Arnold abominated most in American life was our daily newspapers, which he regarded as a terror, a really "awful symptom." The solidarity of the daily press has been a very serious obstacle to the reform of that part of it which is reckless and lawless. For, no matter how much newspapers have differed in character, the better class has for the most part extended the protection of silence over the worse. This silence has been broken at last, and the press has undertaken the office of self-purification. The sharp criticism of "yellow journalism" by such papers as *The Sun* and *The Tribune* of this city is encouragingly significant. For a long time the line between decency and indecency was left to be discovered by the readers of newspapers, and journals which took pride in their own honesty had no word of rebuke for the dishonest sheets—none on the score of their tricks, lies, and shamelessness. The purification of the press is assured by the enrollment of high-class papers in the reforming ranks. "The power of the press" has not been in recent years a subject for unmixed gratification—so much Satanic power was included in the phrase, and so doubtful has it been that the good exceeded the evil. A hope has now sprung up in good men's hearts that the balance of power will soon be unmistakably on the right side.

It always has been, and will be, true that no paper can be a great one without the patronage of decent people; and the better readers have always had it in their power to enforce decency in the journals they patronize, either as advertisers or readers; but the standard of decency needed definition, and editors are, in the very nature of the case, the best judges; and so long as they rendered no judgment readers might be excused for giving the viciously "enterprising paper" the benefit of a doubt. The expression "yellow journalism" is a verdict in itself, a verdict rendered by the most competent authority in the premises. Yellow is the color of the flag raised over a pesthouse or a ship which has on board some contagious disease, warning off all who

do not wish to catch the plague. The crime of the yellow journal is: Telling lies for truth; putting gossip on a level with facts; painting insignificant things in gaudy colors to make them seem important; invading the privacy of men and women for bad purposes of many kinds; printing in glaring type the prurient details of crimes or scandals; exercising a kind of immoral police power over citizens weak enough to fear "the papers" more than they fear to do wrong and to evade doing right lest such conduct be construed clean from its purpose. One of the dangers of life in a great city is the yellow journal, a wild beast worse than any in an Indian jungle. It is worthy of note that at the time of the prize fight which some months ago disgraced the State of Nevada the *New Yorker Staats Zeitung*, the leading German daily of this country, having an immense circulation, contained not the slightest mention of it, shutting it out even from its news items, while the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* only included the fight in its condensed summary of events, treating it as it would any repulsive and corrupting crime.

Henry Drummond was a blending of Dwight L. Moody and Herbert Spencer, steeped in modern science and at white heat of evangelic fervor, a college professor of physical science and a revivalist at home and abroad. Whatever one may think of the reasonings in his books, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* and *The Ascent of Man*, he was a standing proof that ardent spirituality and the scientific spirit are not incompatible, but can dwell together and interfuse in one and the same man, each intensifying or at least not nullifying the other; that a fearless thinker may be a devout and humble Christian. Criticised as he was by both scientists and theologians as unscientific in believing in the voice of the Spirit and as unsound in laying undue stress on the revelations of nature, neither scientist nor theologian can deny that intellectually and spiritually he was a sweet, intense, and radiant personality whom to know was to love; in his way and measure a burning and a shining light. In no other land, perhaps, was such a man more likely to arise than in Scotland, where a searching, debating, and testing mental activity works over profound religiousness and fervid convictions. Drummond began his public religious work by accompanying Mr. Moody for nearly two years as assistant evangelist in a tour through Great Britain; and ever thereafter his soul was aflame with zeal and his lips pleaded with men to be reconciled to God. His greatest work was among

young men, especially students. From the wonderful religious awakening which came down upon Edinburgh in 1884, when the Odd Fellows' Hall back of the university was crowded with a thousand Edinburgh University men in quiet, solemn, and powerful revival services conducted by Professor Drummond, until sickness disabled him two years ago, he never lost his power over the students. It is said in Scotland that, more than any man of his time, he influenced intellectual young men for Christ. The fine, frank, keen, earnest, uplifted manliness in him appealed to the aspiring possibilities of manliness in them. His calm, face-to-face, peremptory message was, "Brothers, Christ is your King. Surrender to him here and now. Choose him, submit to him, love him, live for him, die for him, serve him forever;" and so keen and piercing was his appeal, so straight home to the vitals, that the strongest frames quivered, the brightest spirits bowed to the summons, and went forth by hundreds, some to the ends of the earth, brilliant, athletic, eager, and militant for Christ. Modest, pure, and brave, Henry Drummond was the Chinese Gordon of evangelism in the religious life of Scotland, with a similar magnetic moral mastery and power to subdue not merely the weak but the strong. The fervent ministry of this unordained preacher had all spiritual signs of the true apostolic succession; but in its form, argument, tone, and accent, it was a variation of type from those of the elder day. In the substance of a large part of its truth his message to his time was as old as the sun; in attitude, address, and cadence it was all as modern as this morning's sunrise. It points to a coming time when the Holy Spirit and the scientific spirit will walk together, leading man between them in the way of life and light and glory everlasting. Some things which he discussed we cannot see as he saw them, but the fact that we differ with part of his teachings does not prevent us from recognizing that he made a sincere effort to interpret old truth in the light of new knowledge for his generation. Such work, done even by the wisest, has its risks; but, in the interest of intelligent, honest, and living belief, it must continually be done.

THE SUPREMACY OF SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

No other questions interest the modern world more than social questions. Some profess to see in this fact a proof of social disorder and a symptom, perhaps a prophecy, of revolution; but they hardly establish their inference. No one believes that in

the heart of Africa social conditions are perfect; but the black citizens of the Congo have never so much as heard of social questions. Life is certainly hard among the Eskimos; our least fortunate fellow-citizens would not willingly become Eskimos; yet social discontents are unknown in the arctic circle. Wherever life is hardest there is the least thought or concern about social problems.

Perhaps the truth is that social questions are taking their turn as subjects for general consideration. The old controversies have relapsed into silence. In religion a general peace prevails. In government most enlightened men easily agree about principles. In science, after expecting everything from exact knowledge, we have come to expect nothing of an order higher than the utility of things—nothing different in nature from the oldest and simplest bit of knowledge—and, therefore, science is not as inspiring as it was thirty years ago. Something new was to be expected as the common mental plaything of mankind living by steam and electricity. For moments we get diversion out of a book on decadence or a novel about a magdalen; but such play is short, and a large and long game of intellectual football is a promise of rare pleasure.

There can be no doubt that the changeful elements introduced into life by invention have contributed to raise social questions to the first place; but these elements were here forty years ago, when science, slavery, parliamentary government, and "the testimony of the rocks" commanded all our attention. Then voices which claimed apostolic powers—Fourier's, for example—were barely heard and swiftly forgotten; now a crazy fanatic may have the world for an audience if he declaims against social wrongs; and a madman's scheme of social regeneration will be candidly and thoroughly considered. Probably we shall exhaust the subject, looking at it from every point of view, weighing the merits of every reform proposed, whether by rational people or by madmen—and then take up some new form of intellectual occupation.

This is not written in jest or to disparage the seriousness and enthusiasm of believers in social regeneration through some new system. This enthusiasm, this quasi-religious devotion, is a beautiful manifestation of the human soul; and from the new dreams of golden ages to be unrolled by social changes there may come the sober thinking and chastened feeling which old truths clothed with divine authority are adapted to develop in good

men's souls. The indestructible truths are waiting for us; and they are not new.

The problem of problems in social humanity is how to promote —as Lamennais expressed it a good while ago—*the mutual giving of man to man.* We shall come back to the convictions of Lamennais that this end cannot be reached by any material constraint, by any political method, by any "lay preaching;" that nothing less than a religion of self-surrender to the common service will promote the high social health which we desire. Or, put in a different way, the social problem is, how can we completely subject the individual to the service of society and at the same time give to the individual his highest development? The two ends are one end in this respect, that society gains nothing from the service of weak and servile individuals, that the individual will be subjected in vain if the subjection reduces his value to that of a common and routine drudge. The outflashings of genius, the power of invention, the gift of combination, the apostolate of leadership—when will the world cease to need them?

Now, then, the old truths which are waiting for us are in part summaries of experience, purporting that the free man is worth more than many slaves, and purporting much more in the order of practical human life. But the larger and more inspiring truth awaiting us—when we shall have played out our game of social reconstructions—is that *the mutual giving of man to man* is the very end of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the very heart of our religion. This Gospel is the only thing in all our human history which flatly and absolutely negatives living to oneself, which unequivocally commands and unceasingly constrains us to the mutual giving of man to man. One of its most suggestive precepts is, "*Freely* ye have received, *freely* give."

THE LAW OF PARSIMONY.

The decree has gone forth that expenses must be reduced throughout all systems of thought. The agent of a modern consensus is going through the entire range of our intellectual operations discharging supernumeraries, issuing orders to dispense with superfluous theories, postulates, and doctrines, saying, "This, that, and the other is unnecessary; I'll show you how to do without it." The agent of this general reduction walks in among the theologians and says, "In order to enable your theology to meet the demands of reason and fact you must cut off various extrava-

gant doctrines; if you do not, bankruptcy impends; you are indulging in unjustifiable luxuriousness of belief." To evangelical Churches the agent says, "You must aim at greater terseness in your creeds by wiping off superfluities; faith must be more frugal, more circumspect, circumscribed, and abstemious in its affirmations." From various pulpits and printed pages the devout are told that they have believed too much about God, Christ, and the Bible. It is announced that hard times, a period of depression, with panics and crashes, is at hand for Faith, and she is warned that the shrinkage of securities has so cut down her income that she must reduce her style of living and practice rigid economy. The law of parsimony is pressed upon our intellectual and religious life from various directions, by physical science, by antichristian philosophies, and by rationalistic biblical criticism. Our interpretations of the Bible, of human nature, human life, and the world are bidden to use lower and cheaper theories. One voice or another orders us to dispense with views which regard the Holy Scriptures as the product of special divine inspiration, or in any respect supernatural; to dismiss our ideas of a divine Providence, or of the value and reasonableness of prayer, or of the influencing of the human spirit by the divine, or of the imperishability of man; to surrender the miraculous, including the supernatural Christ and his deeds, and to postpone, retire, and if possible do without a divine Creator.

The law of parsimony requires that all investigations in science, philosophy, or theology shall ask at every point, "What are the fewest number of data which, being granted, will explain the phenomena of experience?" In scientific study, for example, nothing short of necessity justifies the framing of a new hypothesis. Only when known data fail to account for phenomena does science tolerate the supposition of a factor not as yet defined, identified, registered, appraised. Only when chemistry is unable to account for a compound by any possible combination of known elements does it admit as probable the presence of a new and undiscovered element. Not until astronomy is at a loss to explain the perturbations of Uranus does it suppose the existence of Neptune.

It is only fair to say that the animus of physical science is sometimes misjudged, its habitual attitude being construed as essentially hostile to faith and religion. Naturally enough, natural science holds no brief for theology; indeed, it has no license to practice in that circuit; its province is the natural and not the

supernatural. Physical science appears skeptical for the reason that it labors strenuously to reduce belief to a minimum, to diminish the necessity for it by substituting knowledge for belief as far as possible; thus its push is in the direction of driving faith out of the world. Physical science appears antisupernatural for the reason that it holds back from consenting to suppose supernatural interference or action wherever and so long as it can possibly explain observed facts by natural agencies and processes. Physical science seems atheistic because it fights off the necessity of admitting the active presence of a God wherever and whenever it is able to show that Nature can keep house and do business without him. With a territorial ambition equal to that of Russia, it contends against theology over every foot of ground, saying to itself, "I'll see if I'm not strong enough to seize and hold this region for myself." But in all this there is no malice. Science is only pursuing its vocation and magnifying its natural function, holding lawfully enough that all things which it can cover in under its explanations rightfully belong to it and not to theology. There is no necessary irreverence in the effort to find out how far new species are developed out of those already existing without the expense of fresh interventions of creative power; and if science even pushes on to see whether all things may not have evolved from one primal germ, we see no reason for opposing or denouncing its effort, although, and inasmuch as, faith in its success remains optional with us.

Without inveighing against, but, on the contrary, approving every lawful application of the law of parsimony, it is yet proper and necessary to remark that there are numerous postulates, assumptions, and beliefs which cannot be dispensed with under any such law, because human nature cannot do without them. To begin at the beginning, the most economical reasoning cannot dispense with a sufficient Cause; and to postulate back of all secondary causes a great First Cause is a sheer necessity of human thinking. Behind all possible explanations is a great inexplicable Somewhat beyond which the mind cannot go—which cannot be merged into, derived from, or explained by anything precedent to or greater than itself. What is the nature of that supreme, original, independent Fact? The materialist answers, "Matter alone, containing in itself the promise and potency of all things; matter from which mind and spirit are effluences like the flame from the candle." The pantheist replies, "The universe as a whole, including both mind and matter indistinguishably

mixed in a mysterious unity." The spiritualist says, "Spirit alone; mind independent of and superior to matter; spirit by which all things have been caused and produced." But no answer is quite so satisfying to man's total nature as the theist's explicit and positive affirmation of a self-existent Personal Intelligence as the primal Fact and great First Cause.

Science and philosophy join with common sense in pointing to the necessary priority of mind as the only entity or mode of existence which is real in its own independent right. To-day physical as well as mental science moves straight and fast toward the conclusion that there is no motion without mind. The most advanced knowledge confirms the unquestioning belief of primitive man that it is his spirit which animates his body, and also the validity of the further inferential belief that as the movements of his body are caused and controlled by his mind and its volitions, so the movements which he sees in the world of nature must be due immediately or remotely to the volitions of a mind. Is any conception saner than that which sees back of or within all physical processes a psychical energy and regards "natural causation" as only the observable aspect or result of an invisible volitional action, tracing all things up to an Absolute Volition, to one divine Will? The ultimate, basal, insoluble mystery is One who is beyond our comprehension but not beyond our knowledge—of and to whom we say, "Before the mountains were brought forth or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God;" and who can himself give to us no account of his own being except in words like these, "I am that I am."

In the simple admission of one original Cause, itself independent, with all else depending upon it, more is involved than appears. Herbert Spencer says that our belief in a First Cause is the most necessary of all beliefs, having demonstrably a higher warrant than any other, the existence of such a cause being the most certain of all certainties. Later he says that the nature and attributes of that First Cause are unknown and unknowable, but in so saying he contradicts himself, for in his very statement of its existence he assigns to the First Cause these three attributes, causal energy, omnipresence, and eternity; and afterward, when he declares that the cosmos is undeniably regulated by law and to manifestly beneficent results, he implicitly attributes wisdom and love to the First Cause, to whose nature he thus with positive affirmation gives features so many and lineaments so distinct

that we Christians recognize our God—omnipresent, eternal, almighty, all-wise, and all-good—in Mr. Spencer's description of his great First Cause. The professor of agnosticism gives us a broad as well as definite warrant for our faith in God.

The lowest reduction alleged to be justified under the law of parsimony is materialism's theory. The materialistic explanation of the cosmos would be "dirt cheap" if it were thorough and honest, but it is not, for the professed materialist does not really dispense with a God: he only makes believe, for in attempting to account for things from his standpoint he is obliged to endow matter with the attributes of mind. The materialist's matter is most amazing and incredible stuff. He explains the intelligible order of the universe by attributing intelligence to the atoms, and shows us each monad deporting itself like a little god, guiding itself by an omniscient intelligence which foresees and adjusts with the action of all other atoms the universe through. This is a very costly theory, far more expensive than the theistic hypothesis; it lays on human credulity a tax heavy enough to bankrupt faith entirely. The materialist is an impostor, a sleight-of-hand man with a god up his sleeve. Into his material universe he clandestinely imports a concealed deity, and thus his pretended materialism becomes essentially pantheistic. If the universe is not the creation of an eternally self-existent divine Being, then the universe is itself self-existent and eternal, and, we are obliged to add, intelligent. Any theory which dispenses with a transcendent, personal First Cause practically lands us in pantheism, the first difficulty with which arises from our inability to conceive of mind, spirit, and will separate from personality; although this, we are told, is not a real difficulty, arising out of the nature of things, but only apparent and due to the necessary limitations of finite human minds. In parenthesis, it may be admitted that pantheism is not the worst of beliefs and solutions. Though beset with difficulties, formidable and to us insurmountable, it is rationally, at least, as much superior to positivism as the whole is greater than a part.

The law of parsimony makes it an unjustifiable extravagance for science or philosophy to keep a God unless there is something for him to do. But when materialistic thinkers have done their best to prove this living universe to be independent and self-supporting they are, after all, obliged to admit that there are several places where a Deity may be in hiding, with perhaps some useful function to fulfill, some legitimate occupation to employ his ener-

gies upon while the ages roll. At several critical points, indeed, a God still seems quite indispensable; for example, at the origin of matter, the origin of life, and the origin of man. No wise person has come anywhere near explaining how these origins came to be without resorting to that ancient, yet ever fresh, immensely capable, and in fact all-sufficient theistic hypothesis. For matter, life, and man science can write no Book of Genesis; and the prospect is that it must accept essentially the account given in the first pages of Holy Scripture, or be like that staircase on the top of Milan Cathedral, which starts from the marble roof but ends in vacancy without a landing. It grows plainer every day that any study of origins necessitates God. At every real beginning one is compelled to posit a divine Creator. The theist need not fear to accept any or all of the mechanical explanations furnished by science, inasmuch as those explanations do not account for the existence of anything. Physical science talks learnedly of development, but origination is hid from its ken. The processes of growth and unfolding from and after any beginning may be open in a measure to its study, but beginnings remain absolutely inscrutable to its search; of them it can only say, "I have not seen, neither can I understand." All real origins lie beyond scientific knowledge. They are due not to matter but to spirit. To account for them mechanical explanations fail and natural causation is inadequate. All natural causes are secondary causes. The great First Cause is a supreme, almighty Spirit, the author and sustainer of what we call Nature. The geneses of matter, life, and mind, of sentiency, instinct, rationality, self-consciousness, morality, religion—these origins remain, despite all claims and theories, essentially inexplicable to science. Around the borders of those inaccessible primordial regions baffled human research blindly gropes, finding no thoroughfare; and when above each of those dense, impenetrable, genetic mysteries an august Voice is heard saying, "In the beginning God," there is no speech or language with which science or philosophy can answer back against the sublime sufficiency of that rationally authoritative declaration. Renan may call the Book of Genesis a myth, but the plain alternative for him and for all men is Genesis or nothing. In the nature of things certain secrets can never be uncovered by natural science. Man can no more explain the world than he could make it. Only Omniscience can fully understand that which only Omnipotence could create.

If the extreme evolutionist, in his effort to reduce the number

of beginnings to a minimum, could trace all things back to the protoplasmic or primary cell, he would there be obliged to admit a divine Creator. And so the most radical theory of evolution keeps at least one room reserved for the Deity, a little chamber on the wall wherein not only the man of God may rest in faith, but the God of man may permanently dwell. But a God cannot be kept locked up in a cell any more than God's Son could be kept locked fast in a sepulcher with a sealed stone and a Roman guard; if God is anywhere he is everywhere by the mere fact of being God. Every enterprise of reasoning that sets out to exclude the Deity from anything is bound to end by confessing him to be in everything, the omnipresent, all-sustaining, all-animating God. Aubrey Moore says, "Darwinism has conferred upon philosophy and religion an inestimable benefit by showing us that we must choose between two alternatives: either God is everywhere present in nature or he is nowhere." And since the most resolutely atheistic science could not possibly prove that God is nowhere, Darwinism itself must affirm and insist that he is everywhere, that what is called natural causation is only the mode in which the divine Being is omnipresently and eternally operating, and that it is absurd to talk of "mechanical necessity" as an explanation of anything that comes to pass.

The creative intelligence which affords the only explanation of origins manifestly animates and guides the originated universe. "Wherever we tap organic nature," says an eminent scientist, "it seems to flow with purpose." Common sense insists that this seeming shows a genuine reality; nothing less than intelligence could cause anything to simulate intelligence. Along with the operation of intelligent purpose there is everywhere evidence of some one supreme integrating power pervading the cosmos and giving observable unity thereto. This universally coordinating power can be nothing less than spiritual. Cosmic unity and the uniformity of phenomenal sequence in nature are effect and proof of the omnipresence and consistency of one supreme and controlling Volition. In the presence of the perfect correlation of natural laws and processes in the production of cosmic harmony the newest thinking finds the old-fashioned theistic hypothesis a very great convenience, for no one is able to suggest or imagine how that universal correlation can be otherwise accounted for.

As every line of scientific investigation finally runs into a *cul-de-sac*, so all metaphysical inquiry ultimately strikes against the inexplicable, halts there, and all its after effort in that direc-

tion is only marking time, not marching. Metaphysics fails to explain entirely the nature of beings, their laws and actions. After it has done its best there is always an unexplored remainder, an unmeasured and unanalyzed residuum. All its equations contain the symbol of an unknown quantity, the value of which must be ciphered out before the problems of metaphysics can be solved. The metaphysical X stands for the signature of a Deity who makes his mark, and, for aught the metaphysician can say to the contrary, the Christian's personal God, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be behind that X. At any rate the metaphysician cannot complete his work without calling in some kind of a Divinity. Even when he attempts to dispense with the anthropomorphic God of Christianity he is obliged to postulate some other sort of a divine Entity. To us it is clear that in the inn which the scientist and the metaphysician keep there is room for God the Father and for Jesus Christ the Son.

The law of parsimony cannot shut out Christianity. One of our necessities, in order to be at peace with the system of things, in order to believe life worth living, in order to keep ourselves out of the madhouse, in order to keep from regarding the universe itself as one vast madhouse, is that we find some respectable and measurably intelligible meaning to our human existence. This our moral and our rational natures demand. Now, the fact is that no worthy rationale has been suggested for the world, no decent justification of human life, except on the Christian theory that we are in a sphere of moral probation and a school for discipline; and from that point of view one of the most inveterate skeptics of modern times acknowledges that we cannot conceive a system of things better adapted to the ends of such a school than is this life of ours, and that it is not possible to imagine a better master of such a school than Jesus Christ. From which confession it appears that Christ and the world stand together in furnishing perfect satisfaction to the demands of our rational and moral being; and, since such satisfaction is obtainable from no other source, it follows that Christ and the Christian interpretation, being indispensable, are justified even under the law of parsimony.

A marked and dangerous feature of our time is that the law of parsimony is variously misapplied and pressed to unwarrantable and impoverishing extremes. Under its reduction we have lately been presented with an expurgated New Testament. Count Tolstoi eliminates the supernatural from the four gospels and

publishes the result in a volume entitled *The Gospel in Brief*, in which Christ appears as simply a noble man, a wonderful teacher, a gentle martyr. A self-conceit bordering on insanity leads men to an exaggerated estimate of their ability to do without. Grant Allen, the freethinker and freelover, author of *The Woman Who Did*, dispenses with hymns, Scriptures, and religion as things he has no need for. With audacious self-sufficiency he wrote: "I never needed help other than physical or monetary. My own philosophy has always amply sufficed me." He is satisfied to live and die, with Professor Clifford, "under an empty heaven upon a soulless earth." He carries to the last extreme and widest extent Emerson's idea that "the height of elegance is to have few wants and to serve them yourself." Such ascetic independence inflicts upon itself a stripped and squalid destitution. It is the action of a miser depriving himself of the necessary comforts of life, reducing his legitimate wants to an unnatural minimum, in the insane and indecent ambition to see how little he can possibly get along on, the result being degradation, emaciation, and starvation—parsimony crossing the dead line. Unitarianism has gone so far in the negations of which it is principally made that Stopford Brooke says a belief in God is about all that is left unsurrendered. Liberal theologians also, in other communions, are talking in a way which makes Unitarians claim them as properly belonging in their camp. It is time to warn them all, as Mr. Brooke does, that liberal theology will have to turn about and return to a few clear faiths if it wishes to do anything to meet the needs or promote the happiness and welfare of mankind. This theology has carried its parsimony of faith too far; spiritual inanition, impotence, and imbecility result from the withdrawal of nourishing beliefs. The fact that Unitarians are pointing out to each other that orthodoxy has the larger life gives hope that some of them at least may presently perceive that the larger life is due to the larger faith, and that liberal Christianity is dying of unbelief. There is no mystery in the failure of the Unitarian body to grow. "Over the hills to the poorhouse" is the dismal invitation of the liberal theology, and the hungry souls of men do not find it alluring. We prefer to dwell as our fathers did with abundance of faith in the house of the Lord, who, from the exceeding riches of his grace, giveth us all things richly to enjoy; we will remain where we can delight our souls with fatness and be fed with the finest of the wheat by Him who prepareth a table before us in the presence of our enemies.

THE ARENA.

"DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?"

THE jaunty air with which Professor Richard Parsons disposes of the criticisms passed upon his article in the *Review* for July, 1896, justifies, we trust, the writer's apparent temerity in continuing this discussion.

"I was on the hill," the professor says, "almost daily for a year, and should know." That settles the question, of course. But one is puzzled to know why he needed to go so many times to become convinced that "there is no reason . . . to claim that the apostle made his immortal address on Mars' Hill." Dr. Harman, too, has been on Mars' Hill, and he gives us a careful description of the place. Poor man! Had he visited the spot "almost daily for a year" he might have made the richest find of his laborious life. As it is, he is permitted to sit at Professor Parsons's feet and "look a little farther in the lexicon from which he so conveniently cites references."

Just here the reader may recall Neander's words: "They took him to the hill where the first tribunal at Athens, the Areopagus, was accustomed to hold its sittings, and where he could easily find a spot suited to a large audience." But Neander had not observed the "discriminating nicety" of St. Luke's prepositions! One can easily fancy Professor Parsons quoting Scripture to the great historian, and saying, "Dost thou know Greek?" Professor Thayer, of Harvard, eminent among lexicographers, stumbles as sadly as Neander, saying, in his monumental work, "To that hill the apostle Paul was led." And the word that trips him is ἐπί. John Wesley, also, makes the same lamentable slip, in his famous translation of 1754, a work which for accuracy equals the revision of our own day, while often greatly surpassing it in felicitous expression. For he says, "And they took him and brought him to the Areopagus," and in his explanatory note adds, "Or Hill of Mars." To this he appends, translating the twenty-second verse, "Then Paul, standing in the midst of the Areopagus," and calls it in his note "an ample theater!" But this unhappy expression he had never made had he been permitted to be "on the hill almost daily for a year."

The fantastical fashion of Professor Parsons's review makes it difficult to follow him as closely as we would wish. The writer is not an adept at dust throwing, nor does he claim the high honor of exact scholarship. Nor is it necessary for the case in hand. Professor Parsons objects to our quotations from John and Mark, alleging, by implication, that Luke's use of εἰς and ἐπί is exceptional, if not unique. Unfortunately for Professor Parsons, this is not the fact, and his effort to make it appear so is almost pathetic. For the latest illustration of the vast disparity

> 'Twixt tweedledum and tweedledee,
> See Brother Parsons on ἐπί.

Dr. Harman, whose criticism the scholarly readers of the *Review* cannot have overlooked, expresses the exact fact when he says, "The language of Luke is altogether appropriate to the conducting of the apostle to a hill (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον), ἐπὶ with the accusative." This was our sole contention in the *Review* of November, 1896. Professor Parsons admits that ἐπὶ sometimes means "unto;" why would he have us infer that it never means "up to?" Because it implies an ascending motion, and that would upset his theory. Both in the gospel and in the Acts, Luke frequently uses ἐπὶ with the accusative, in the sense of "to," or "unto," interchangeably with εἰς and ἕως. So, also, do Matthew and Mark, John and Paul; which scarcely supports Professor Parsons's theory of Luke's singular nicety in the matter of prepositions.

Nevertheless, Professor Parsons insists that ἐπὶ, in Acts xvii, 19, means "before," citing Luke xxiii, 1, in support of his position, since the same verb is in both passages. Is that conclusive? Granted that ἐπὶ, with the accusative, is here properly rendered "before Pilate," it is, none the less, with Luke an exceptional use of the preposition. Six cases out of Acts can be cited to show that Luke's rule was to use ἐπὶ with the genitive in such a case. When he did not, he chose either ἐμπροσθεν or ἐνώπιον. When St. Paul mentions the appearance of Jesus "before Pilate" he chooses ἐπὶ with the genitive, ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου.

That the same verb is used in Acts xvii, 19, as in Luke xxiii, 1, settles nothing in the point at issue; for, in Acts xxv, 26, the very same verb is found in connection with ἐπὶ governing the genitive, διὸ προήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὑμῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοῦ. "Search the Scriptures" yourself, if you please, Brother Parsons.

Concerning our critic's confident assertion that John was "in heaven" when he "saw the city descending out of heaven" we have nothing to offer in reply, except to say that the exposition discloses an acquaintance with the vision and its topographical features quite in keeping with Professor Parsons's phenomenal familiarity with Mars' Hill. A word, however, may be expected concerning this passage in Rev. xxi, 10, wherein, as in the case of Luke xxiii, 1, 33, and Acts xvii, 19, the preposition plainly implies an ascent to the place or person named. Professor Parsons grossly misrepresents the writer in the repeated charge that we hold to the notion that ἐπὶ "signifies 'up.'" That it frequently means "to," and "up to," with the accusative, every novice in Greek well knows. What sense is there in attempting to obscure the fact in the scholarly columns of the *Methodist Review?*

Professor P. appeals to Luke. To Luke he shall go for the settlement of his claims concerning Rev. xxi, 10. See, then, the account of Peter's vision while in "a trance" upon the housetop in Joppa, Acts x, 9, 11, 16, and, by the way, Professor, it reads, ἀνέβη Πέτρος ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα. Compare the same in the original with Rev. xxi, 10. The meaning is obvious. A glance at the Greek is enough to prove the weakness of Professor Parsons's position.

BENJAMIN COPELAND.

Perry, N. Y.

THE HUMANITY OF JESUS.

ALL Methodists agree that Christ is divine, but, judging from opinions that have appeared in the *Review* within the past two years, they are far from being agreed as to his human nature. One writer affirms that his humanity "was not only truly human, but warped and biased and weakened by transmission through seventy-five generations of sinners." Another exclaims, "O, thou sinless, unsinning, and incapable of sinning Saviour, glory be to thy holy name!" Yet, if the present writer has the right conception, both views are incorrect and far from the truth. As the doctrine is a matter of divine revelation, human *dictum* is of little force and no authority on the subject. Only the plain teaching of the word, or that which may be logically deduced from it, has any weight in settling the question.

That Christ was possessed of a pure nature is certainly taught in the New Testament. The angel said to Mary, "That holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." Note the exact language. It is the "holy thing" which should be "born" of Mary. One writer argued that, since Christ had a human mother, he must have partaken of her depraved nature, unless the Roman Catholic doctrine of the immaculate conception be accepted. But this does not follow. It is conceded that the birth of Christ was miraculous. Did divine power exhaust itself in the conception? Might not the same power guard the holy seed and preserve it from defilement? The writer to the Hebrews must have understood that Christ's human nature was so preserved, or he would not have declared him to be "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens."

Moreover, Christ's mission demanded that he be free from depravity, that he might be free from the claims of the law and from the penalty of death. Paul says that "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Not actually. An infant of days has committed no actual transgression; yet, being depraved, death claims it as his victim. So, also, if Christ had a depraved nature, death had a claim on him; and he must have died, in order to pay the penalty of his own depravity. In that case his death could by no means have been vicarious. Nay, he himself would have needed a redeemer. But Christ's declaration implies clearly that death had no claim on him. He said: "No man taketh it [his life] from me. . . . I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." It is declared of depraved humanity, "None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him." But that Christ was specially fitted to make atonement is clearly indicated by the inspired writer when he says: "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared for me. . . . By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all."

In opposition to the view here presented it is said that Christ must have been depraved, or the declaration that he "was in all points

tempted like as we are" could not be true. It might as consistently be affirmed that he must have occupied all the positions and relations in life which men and women hold, or he could not have been tempted in all points as we are. For, it is certainly true that every several relation has trials and temptations peculiar to itself. But we know Christ did not hold all, even of the ordinary, relations. He was not a husband or father. It is not probable that he engaged in trade, or in professional duties, or governmental service. Hence he could have had no experimental knowledge of the temptations incident to these relations. It is plain, therefore, that this, like many other declarations of Scripture, cannot be made to go on all fours. The meaning of the text, however, seems simple and plain. A temptation is an unholy incitement of the will to the putting forth of a sinful volition. Psychologists tell us that the will is influenced through the sensibilities, that is, through the emotions, the desires, and the affections. These are the only avenues of approach to the will; and, if Christ was tempted through these several channels, then he was tempted at, rather than in, all points "like as we are." The declaration of the apostle implies neither that his nature was depraved nor that he experienced every possible form of temptation, but that the tempter sought to incite his will by unholy appeals to his emotions, desires, and affections. Everyone who has thoughtfully studied the life of Christ knows that he was assailed at all these points. The comments of Dr. Adam Clarke on this text, Heb. iv, 15, are pertinent.

The theory that Christ could not have yielded to temptation is scarcely worthy to be considered. All Arminian scholars recognize that the will, or power of self-determination, constitutes the true ego. If Christ did not possess this power, instead of being the highest type of man and a true model he lacked the essential characteristic of manhood. If it was not in his power to have yielded to the solicitations of evil, then there was no virtue in his holiness, for real virtue inheres only in a free being. As Dr. Whedon tersely remarks, "The veriest devil might say, 'Make it impossible for me to sin and I will be holy too.'" If men fall before a Saviour who could not have yielded to the solicitations of evil, and was therefore necessarily holy, surely a profounder reverence will be inspired for one who "did not sin, neither was guile found in his mouth," not from necessity but from choice.

W. H. SWEET.

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THE DEADLY PARALLEL.

No one appreciates more highly than does the writer the services of Mr. Moody as an evangelist and his high personal character. But neither his services nor his high character should blind our eyes to his errors in doctrine, some of which are dangerous, in direct conflict with Holy Scripture, and subversive of a genuine Christian experience.

Recently, in a discourse delivered in Carnegie Hall, New York city, upon the new birth, Mr. Moody—if correctly reported in the New York

Times—taught that the "old nature of man" is not taken away, though a "new nature" is given. After the new birth has taken place "he (the new convert) has a nature that reaches up to God, and another that is corrupt and reaches to carnal things." It is not my purpose to make a reply to this erroneous teaching, but to let Paul, whom Mr. Moody so greatly reveres, give the answer. We place Moody and Paul in parallel:

MOODY.

When God converts a man he does not take away the old nature of man. He gives him a new nature. Then he has a nature that reaches up to God, and another that is corrupt and reaches to carnal things.

When I was converted I thought at first my old temper would have gone, but I found I still had my temper, and I had a good many things I thought I had got rid of. Then a conflict and warfare came, and I couldn't understand how things were. . . . There has been a conflict right along with me—the higher nature against the lower, the spirit against the flesh. When I become a partaker of God's nature I have a nature that reaches out after spiritual things. The conflict comes when the corrupt nature wants the things of this life.

PAUL.

Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new (2 Cor. v, 17).

That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness (Eph. iv, 22–24).

Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin (Rom. vi, 6).

But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life (Rom. vi, 22).

Passages of the same character could be multiplied, but these are sufficient. Moody or Paul, which?

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DR. CROOKS AS SEEN BY HIS STUDENTS TEN YEARS AGO.

ONE of the most impressive memories of Drew Seminary life, ten years ago, centers in the prayers which Dr. Crooks offered daily in the classroom before beginning his lecture to the juniors. They were very brief, not over a minute or so in length, wonderfully concise and comprehensive, and suffused with reverence. They made one think of what the prayers of the Master must have been to his disciples, and of their spontaneous request, "Lord, teach us to pray."

Dr. Crooks in his lectures showed himself a thorough master of his subject. Although going over the same course year after year, he never relied on past attainments, but was always studying Church history afresh and with the most painstaking care. And how he made the past live again! The apostles in journeys and labors abundant, the martyrs at the scaffold, the councils formulating the creeds of Christendom, the great leaders of Christian thought—Paul, Origen, Augustine, and all the rest—spoke through him again. Dr. Crooks was no antiquarian. He cared nothing

for the rubbish of the past, but was devoted to history for the light it sheds on to-day and on the years to come. He possessed in an unusual degree the judicial mind in dealing with the men and events and doctrines of Christian history. Yet once in a while the fire of a prophet would blaze forth in the indignation with which he would speak of some colossal wrong. Even William Watson might have sharpened his lightnings a little if he could have heard Dr. Crooks on the unspeakable Turk.

Dr. Crooks not only knew Church history, but also how to inspire enthusiasm for its study. It was an unfailing delight to him to direct the reading and research of all who cared to follow out the lines suggested by his lectures. In the classroom he had the reputation of being a hard taskmaster, at times very severe, but he was always ready to deal justly and kindly with his students. He had, in fact, a very genial nature and a heart to match his head. The kindliness of the man fairly beamed from his face as he sat in his large library on Friday afternoons with his students about him and spoke familiarly of the masterpieces of English literature. In his study and in the delightful hospitality of his home he never failed to endear himself to those who in the classroom stood a little in awe of him. Dr. Crooks inspired all who came under his influence with a high ideal of scholarship, and was one of the best illustrations to be found anywhere of the supreme wealth of Christian character and culture. Like the grammarian that Browning tells of, he deserved to be carried by his students and buried on a mountain top.

> Here, here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form,
> Lightnings are loosened,
> Stars come and go!

For our great teacher was much more than the mediæval grammarian,

> Still loftier than the world suspects,
> Living and dying.

Litchfield, Conn. GEORGE C. BOSWELL.

THEORIES OF THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

OF the two conflicting theories of the divine government only one can be true, and the line of separation is so distinct that there is neither neutrality nor compromise.

The divine government is by law. By this term we mean that law is the rule which fixes the standard of relationship between God, the supreme Ruler, and his subject, man; and that law furthermore prescribes the proprieties of this relationship in the intercourse of those two parties. Law implies individual freedom. It cannot exist except in connection with volitional responsibility, and the fact of its existence demonstrates the fact of alternative choice both with the administrator and with his responsible subject. The other theory is, "There are no alternatives with God, consequently there can be no alternatives with man."

We formulate one proposition, based on these facts. The divine government is under his supreme personal direction, subject to the environment of law, with dual possibility or *bona fide* alternative choice on

the part of the administrator and subject; or it is coercive, and without alternative or possibility of change. Only one of these can be true.

Therefore, if there is no alternative power there cannot be any law, and if there is no law there cannot be any voluntary violation of personal authority, and consequently no offense is committed against the majesty of God. Under such circumstances it is absurd to talk of atonement; for where there is no *bona fide* injury done to the authorities atonement is neither necessary nor possible. A coercive system of government may be imagined as existing at the will of the divine Being, and as being under the direction of his personal presence and supervision; or it may exist as the product of the impersonal forces of nature acting by the power of evolution, or of continuous procession from some sufficient but unknown original center. In either case there is no amenability to law, no guilt is possible, and there is no salvation, as in either case, whether by prearrangement, without alternative choice, or by evolution, which means by continuous procession, that is, without a break, there is no infraction of law. Nothing is forfeited, and there is nothing to redeem; nothing is lost, and there is nothing to save. It appears to us that the scholasticism of this age should correct its vocabulary or conform its theology to the facts in the case.

WILLIAM JONES.

Butler, Mo.

"OUR BIBLE AND OUR FAITH."

DR. VAN PELT'S well-balanced and altogether admirable discussion of the above subject in the January number of the *Review* seems to me to be open to some criticism. Without specifying the page and express language, unless I have misapprehended him after several careful readings, the discussion conveys the idea that the Bible, being only a medium, and not the object of our faith, has not the importance that recent discussions have given it. All must admit that Christ, and not the Bible, is the object of saving faith. But, while the Bible is only a medium of this faith, the inference that it is only of secondary importance to that faith is not, we believe, in accordance with fact, and departs from the recognized tenets of evangelical theology.

The canvas and paint in a Michael Angelo are only mediums through which we catch the divine ideas of the artist; and yet they are absolutely indispensable to the perpetuation of those ideas. Any tinkering with those mediums mars the idea. The only Christ we know is the Christ of Scripture. The only Christ we can teach to others is the Christ of the Bible, and that, too, after some formulated doctrine at the hands of fallible men, increasing daily in knowledge and wisdom. But is it not reasonable to suppose that, since we are in our present state so utterly dependent for a medium for the knowledge of the divine Christ, we should have from God a medium of absolute perfection? Such is our only primary source of knowledge. To me the Bible is that perfected medium, the *sine qua non* of our faith.

CHARLES L. BOVARD.

Albuquerque, N. Mex.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

NEW METHODS OF MINISTERIAL TRAINING.

THE best method of educating those destined for the learned professions, especially for the Christian ministry, is now a matter of discussion. It is somehow assumed by those who write upon the subject that the old method has proved a failure, or at least only comparatively successful. Looking at this subject from the standpoint of Methodists, however, it is clear that our first preachers were eminently successful in practical work. It is true they were revivalists, mostly without the training of the schools, but somehow they attracted all classes to their ministrations. Certainly no charge of failure to reach the masses could be laid upon them.

As the Church grew it became necessary to provide an education for her ministry, and it has therefore been the aim of the Church to secure for those who occupy her pulpits the best possible facilities. At first this education was confined largely to the college work. Later it came also to include a theological course, until now it is recognized as best that the student shall pass through an entire course of academic, collegiate, and theological training. Such is the condition of things to-day, and it is against this order of things that there is a kind of protest, because it is supposed that our preachers fail to reach the masses as they did formerly.

Yet no one would charge this failure, if it be a failure, to ministerial education; for certainly one cannot assume that an educated ministry would be a powerless ministry. It is claimed, therefore, that the difficulty lies in the want of knowledge of the conditions of the so-called "submerged classes." Hence the demand for what is called a new form of education. The recent visit of the senior class of a theological school to the charitable institutions of New York, including its slums and its lowest places, has been largely noticed by the public press. We may well consider whether such a visit should be counted as a part of the education, or whether it should be an incident and illustration in education. That some knowledge of the conditions of society is desirable for a young minister no one questions. But that it should form an integral part of education is the matter that we ought to consider.

The first requirement for ministerial training is that it shall provide discipline, that is, the culture of the powers and faculties of the student to their highest possible limits. The practical work of the ministry is nothing more than the normal exercise of one's faculties. No training, therefore, can be considered adequate for the ministry which is not essentially disciplinary. It is safe to say, therefore, that Latin and Greek and mathematics must be fundamental. Other discipline, it is true, is affirmed by many to be equally productive of mental culture. If, however, we take into consideration the specific culture required for the ministry,

Greek at least is essential for his practical work, and therefore should be required both as a discipline and as an acquisition of necessary knowledge. The present courses of study in our colleges and universities in these particulars is, for the ordinary student, sufficiently limited. The training of a minister must also include a study of the subject-matter of his teaching. This is the peculiar work of the theological school. The ordinary divisions of theological study are exegetical, systematic, historical, and practical theology. Neither of these could be well omitted in any thorough course of ministerial training, and these constitute the present sphere of the labors of theological professors.

It is necessary, however, to consider the attitude of mental training in relation to modern or experimental work. There is, at this time, a manifest distrust of old methods, and a tendency to education entirely by lectures of a character adapted to popular audiences. We cannot hesitate to admit that the ministry of to-day must meet the wants of to-day. The sociological developments of the age form a special subject of study for the ministry, and the university settlements and other organizations have taken a prominent hold on our modern philanthropic life. The institutional Church has come into existence, and what we desire to insist on is that, while a study of these things is desirable as a part of ministerial education, it should not be pursued to an extent which would interfere with the other studies of general discipline and information. In other words, it should be subsidiary and not occupy too much of the time. The training of the head and the training of the heart are so vital that no studies of a practical character, however important, can be substituted for them. The new method has a measure of value. We would, therefore, urge a strict adherence to the old methods of training, and supplement them by courses of lectures on topics of modern progress and the ordinary means of success in the ministry at this time. But we would protest against the new as a substitute for the old.

THE INTELLECTUAL VIGOR OF OLD MEN.

One of the fallacies current in our time is that of attempting to fix an absolute line dividing maturity and old age. It is specially mischievous when the line is drawn by years. Observation will teach us that some men in effective work, in all lines demanding intellectual vigor, are old at thirty, while others are young at seventy. But there now seems to be an increase in the age to which intellectual vigor may be continued.

The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of all England, who on state occasions ranks next to the royal family, is certainly one demanding the services of a man in the fullness of his strength, and especially mental strength. The dignity of the office is further shown by the salary attached to it, this being about seventy-five thousand dollars a year and the use of the episcopal palace at Lambeth. The present Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed to this high office when

he was seventy-five years old. The recent bugle blast of Mr. Gladstone, from his resting place at the Riviera, on the relations of the European powers to the island of Crete is an astonishment to mankind. It is in line with the other intellectual labors of this distinguished statesman. At an age between eighty-five and ninety he has done a wonderful work in his annotations on Butler's *Analogy*, placing himself side by side with one of the most acute thinkers and reasoners that the centuries have produced. Now, in behalf of Crete, he has awakened the conscience of the world in an appeal to Europe which for fire, logical force, elegance of diction, and eloquence recalls the palmy days of the foremost speaker and statesman of the nineteenth century. In this view the press is a unit. We must not forget the pope at Rome, a few months younger than Mr. Gladstone, who still sends forth his encyclicals abounding in learning, and yet governs the Roman Catholic Church with a clearness of perception and a wisdom in statesmanship which we would expect of a man twenty-five years his junior. The fires of intellect still burn freshly, though the bodily powers have become weak. Bismarck, too, over eighty years of age, still has the vigor to speak to Europe and to instruct the nation in its crisis, and his words are still heard. The *Systematic Theology* of Dr. John Miley is the standard for the training of ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. This work was written between the seventieth and eightieth year of its author, and during his full performance of his duties as a professor at Drew Theological Seminary. It may be said that these are the few; and yet one who would take the trouble to study the mental achievements of the world would find a result not unpromising to the intellectual vigor of men and women, even down to extreme old age. Our youth must not be overproud of their achievements in the presence of such facts as these.

The question before us is, How shall this intellectual vigor be promoted? For whoever aids in lengthening the usefulness of a life is adding another force to the elevation of our humanity. Intellectual vigor may be maintained partly by a care of the physical health. Wasted strength in early life will bear its baneful fruit in old age. So far as is known, the persons whose names we have indicated have lived moderately, indulging not so much in the luxuries as in the necessities of life; in other words, they have taken care of their health. Again, those who have maintained intellectual vigor to old age have mainly been persons who have prepared themselves thoroughly for the work to which they were called. They have developed their faculties by gradual processes, and attained in early years information and discipline which lay at the foundation of their lifework. With this preparation one's profession can be carried on by normal labor, rather than by extraordinary, spasmodic effort. It is not the regular work which wears out a life, but the overpressure which grows out of emergencies for which one is unprepared. The men who have not been prepared for their position by slow and gradual processes find it harder to summon their powers in an emergency, and consequently the strain upon them is greater. Besides, they have the disadvantage of

having to make extra preparation for all emergencies, while one who has been thoroughly and properly trained is not easily taken at a disadvantage. It will be found, in most cases, that persons who maintain intellectual power in positions of prominence for a long period are those who have fitted themselves for it by such gradual processes as have been indicated.

Further, intellectual vigor will be maintained by keeping oneself in constant sympathy with the onward movements of mankind. The world does not stand still. It cannot stand still. One who sits himself down at forty years of age and takes no account of human progress will soon get out of touch with the forces with which he has to do. He will lose sympathy, and will consequently lose intensity, and becomes a follower, and not a leader. The persons to whom we have already referred seem to be awake still to all the problems of life, and hence their ability to speak with authority. Mr. Gladstone is known as a profound student of Greek and Greek literature, and it is not wonderful that his old Hellenic spirit wakes up when he sees little Greece come to the front as a leader and win the respect of the world. He remembers the days of Marathon and Salamis, and somehow sees them repeated in the attitude of the Greeks of to-day. This memory of his early studies has no doubt awakened his sympathies and called forth the intellectual vigor of which we have been writing. We believe that there has been no period in the history of the Church when the worth of old men to the world was more apparent than now; and it is well worth the while of young ministers to ask how they may preserve their intellectual vigor down to the latest period of life.

UNSOUND CRITICISM ON MATT. XII, 40, 41.

"For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here" (Revised Version of 1881).

The Book of Jonah has recently been summoned afresh to the bar of criticism, and great learning and research have been expended to show its unhistorical character. Thus far there has been one answer to all attacks on this and many other parts of the Old Testament, namely, that our Lord and Saviour has put upon it the seal of his own authority. It cannot be denied that attempts have been made to invalidate Christ's testimony, without denying his divinity, such as the doctrine of the Kenosis; but they have been recognized as inadequate to explain fully his unqualified utterances.

The most recent effort to set aside the testimony of Christ to the historic accuracy of the Book of Jonah is reported to have been made in Philadelphia. An eminent preacher had given his reasons for his views of the Bible, when he was met by a request to explain in harmony with

his views of the Book of Jonah the passage in Matt. xii, 40, 41. The answer given by the preacher is reported to have been that he did not think that our Lord had said it. He declared that there were many interpolations in the gospels, and that this was one of them. In other words, he took the bold position that the testimony of the most ancient witnesses to the sacred text is not valid, as against conjectural criticism. It is an abandonment of the position of modern scholarship, which demands that we accept the authority of the great manuscripts as final.

The position alluded to, as regards this utterance of Christ, is so extraordinary that it will be important to notice the evidence of the manuscripts with reference to the passage under consideration. The revisers of 1881 have varied from the version of King James only in substituting "Jonah" for "Jonas," "stand up" for "rise," and "for" for "because." So far as the Greek text is concerned the variations are so slight and so slenderly supported that the text of all the great critics is substantially the same. Not a scintilla of evidence exists to disprove our Lord's employment of this language. It is so well attested by manuscript versions that, on the basis of pure criticism, its authority is absolute and final.

It is clear, therefore, that any suggestion of its being an interpolation is purely subjective. This view would involve the abandonment of the laws of textual criticism. Instances are frequent when scholars of highest repute reject a reading which has all internal probability in its favor, because of the character of the external evidence.

This paper is not intended to enter into a formal defense of the historical character of the Book of Jonah. The narrative bears the marks of a veritable transaction, with Jonah and the Ninevites as real characters. To give an allegorical or parabolic meaning to the Book of Jonah is absolutely inconsistent with our Lord's statement in the passage now under consideration. If we apply such a method of interpretation to these words we must also apply it to the other reference in the same connection to the queen of the South who came from the ends of the earth "to hear the wisdom of Solomon." It is apparent that, if the text is assumed to be genuine, there can be no doubt that our Lord recognized the Book of Jonah as a real history.

Two courses only seem to be open to the rejecter of the narrative in Jonah. One is to explain how it was possible for our Lord to have been mistaken in his knowledge of the cases to which we have already made reference; and the other is the method adopted by the preacher to whom we are now here referring, namely, to deny that these words were ever employed by Christ, and to claim that they were interpolations by another person. The far-reaching character of such a method of criticism is at once apparent. If, on the mere assertion of any individual, however scholarly, such a passage of our gospels can be stricken out, against all the testimony of the manuscripts, we are embarked on a sea of uncertainty entirely without chart or compass, and it is impossible to tell whether we shall ever reach a harbor. It would be far better to let inconsistencies stand than to defend the truth by methods so subversive of all right thinking and of true critical procedure.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE BABYLONIAN FLOOD LEGEND.

EVERY great nation has its epic. So had the ancient Chaldeans. This is the great poem of Gilgamesh, king of Erech, which, according to Sayce, assumed its present form during the *renaissance* of Chaldean literature under Khammurabi, B. C. 2356–2301. The entire poem consists of twelve books, "the subject of each book corresponding with the name of the zodiacal sign which answers to it in numerical order." The eleventh canto, having the deluge for its theme, very naturally corresponds with Aquarius, the eleventh sign of the zodiac.

A new translation by Professor Haupt of the Babylonian story of the flood, with comments more or less favorable to the Bible, has of late been published, wholly or in part, in many of our secular papers. As it has been known that the Johns Hopkins professor has been making, for many years, a critical study of the great Babylonian epic it is quite natural that this last version of the ancient song should attract much attention. This new translation, though doubtless in some regards an improvement upon most of its predecessors, contains nothing essentially new, and does not throw any additional light either upon the cuneiform copy or biblical criticism. This is not strange, for every Assyriologist of repute has tried his hand upon the decipherment and exposition of this fragment from the works of Gilgamesh, who till recently was called Izdubar or Gishdubar. We have translations by George Smith and Pinches of the British Museum, Oppert and Lenormant of France, Jensen and Jeremias of Germany, Muss-Arnolt of Chicago, and by others less known.

Though Berosus, the Babylonian historian and priest of Belus, who lived B. C. 330–262, gives a long account of the deluge in his writings—which, however, comes to us second hand through Eusebius, who in his turn had taken it from the works of Polyhistor—it was reserved for the late George Smith in 1872 to prove beyond contradiction that the Chaldeans had literature bearing upon the deluge. One day, while pursuing his work at the British Museum, his heart was made glad when his eye fell upon a large fragment of a tablet from ancient Nineveh bearing the following words: "The mountain of Nizir stopped the ship. I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went down and turned, and a resting place it did not find, and it returned." Mr. Smith saw at once that he had the story of the deluge before him. Thus encouraged, he kept on faithfully at his work and examined carefully thousands of fragments. Among the endless number of tablets he found a large number treating of the same subject. These, when pieced together, though far from forming a perfect tablet, formed a connected whole. Having called the attention of the learned world in a lecture to his great discovery, he was

induced by the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, in London, to undertake at their expense an expedition to Kouyunjik, that is, ancient Nineveh, for the purpose of making systematic excavations on the site of Assur-bani-pal's palace. The result of this, and of another expedition shortly following, was the discovery, not only of many scraps of brick referring to the deluge, but of other numberless tablets, chiefly mythological in their nature, such as the creation, the fall of man, the tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, the war in heaven, the fall of Satan, etc. We might add here that many fragments, with portions of the deluge story, have been discovered since the death of Mr. Smith.

Such, in brief, is the account of these ancient inscriptions. As excellent translations of the deluge tablets are accessible to all,* we shall not try to reproduce the whole story, but shall simply emphasize the principal differences and coincidences in the Babylonian and biblical accounts. The biblical story is purely monotheistic, that of the tablets being polytheistic, anthropomorphic, and grotesque. In the latter we have Bel and his followers, Ramman, Nebo, Uragal, Adah, Eunugi, and other inferior gods, bent upon the annihilation of the human race, while rival god, swear bitter vengeance upon their fellows for having brought such a calamity upon the sons of the earth. The reasons for the catastrophe are the same in both accounts—rebellion against heaven and the great moral corruption of mankind. The deliverance of a very small remnant of the race is accomplished in the same way, namely, by means of a huge vessel called an ark in Genesis and a ship on the tablets. The latter, if the translations be correct, was much larger than the former, but both are pitched within and without, and are furnished with a window, door, and roof. The names of the two heroes cannot be made to correspond according to any version. The Bible has Noah, the son of Lamech, while the name on the tablets has been deciphered variously as Shamashnaphistim, Sitnaphistim, Parnapistim, Adrachasis—which inverted reads Chasisadra, and corresponds to the Greek form, Xisusthros. This man lived at Shurippak, on the Euphrates, and his father's name was Ubaratutu. Noah embarks with his own family only, with food, and with many animals; but the man of Shurippak takes also, besides his own immediate family, slaves, artisans, handmaids, as well as all his possessions, including, of course, his silver and gold. Noah himself has charge of the ark, but the Babylonian hero employs Buzur-Sadurabu as captain or pilot. According to the Gilgamesh legend the storm rages only seven days and nights, while the storm which produced the Noachian flood continues forty days and nights. Noah sends out two birds, a dove and a raven. Xisusthros sends three: in addition to the dove and raven, a swallow. Sacrifices are offered according to both accounts. Noah, having lived a number of years, dies a natural death, but the Chaldean hero and his wife are made immortal, and "become like the gods who dwell

* *Literary Digest*, February 20, 1897, Haupt; *Biblical World*, February, 1894; Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 107, *ff.*; Davies's *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, pp. 111, *ff.*

on high." Xisusthros and Noah were both supernaturally warned. But as Ea could not disclose the secrets of the gods to mortals, not even to the favorite Xisusthros, the god resorts to a ruse: he divulges the decrees of heaven to the reeds, which in turn sing them out to the man who was to be saved. But here another difficulty arises. The *protégé* of Ea, afraid of ridicule from his fellow-men, hesitates to build a ship or to speak of the impending calamity; but the god once more comes to the rescue, and suggests the following plausible evasive speech:

> Bel has banished me and hates me.
> Therefore I cannot stay in your city;
> On Bel's earth I cannot remain,
> To the sea I shall go, to remain with my Lord Ea.

The storm is described in the following highly poetic language:

> The dark clouds rose on the horizon,
> In which Ramman lets his thunder crash.
> While Nebo and king go before,
> And the destroying angel strode over mountain and valley,
> Uragal lets loose the elements,
> Adar passed scattering woe,
> All the light is changed to darkness.

The violence of the storm is so great as to terrify not only frail and sinful man, but many of the gods, as we see from what follows:

> Brother regards not brother,
> Men trouble not about one another,
> Even in heaven the gods fear the flood.
> They escape to the (highest) heaven of Anu.
> The gods crouch like gods, cower behind heaven's lattices,
> Ishtar cries like a woman in travail,
> The sublime goddess cries with a loud voice.
> . . . . . .
> The gods were prostrated, sat there wailing with woe,
> Their lips were pressed tight together, all were paralyzed.

The description of the sacrifice offered to the gods at the close of the flood is quite anthropomorphic and realistic:

> The gods smelled the savor,
> The gods smelled the sweet savor,
> The gods gathered like flies about the offering.

These tablets are very interesting from a literary standpoint. As they are copies of still more ancient ones it is impossible to more than conjecture the age of the original. They are in their present form nearly seven hundred years older than our era. We know this from the fact that they were prepared for the royal library of Assur-bani-pal. From a remark on one of these tablets we further know that the originals from which they had been copied were assigned to the time of Khammurabi, or about seventeen centuries earlier. If, therefore, the Chaldeans possessed such elaborate written accounts of the flood at so early a date it seems folly for the divisive critics to say that any portion of the story as given in Genesis is of exilic or post-exilic origin. Why could this

ancient tradition, found in the beginnings of all history, not have been known to Moses? There is certainly no good reason for tracing the Hebrew account back to Babylonian literature or tradition? The analogies and points of difference between the two, though very striking and numerous, are not of such a nature as to warrant the inference that either one was derived from the other. Though evidently both refer to the same catastrophe, yet they are quite independent; and, as Kalisch has wisely remarked, they and multitudes of other deluge legends "are the echoes of a sound which had long vanished away." It is much more reasonable to think that the story of the flood went along with the early settlers to all countries, and that the account as given in Genesis was substantially known to Abraham and his immediate descendants.

The divisive critics have made much of the difference of style in the composition of what they call the Elohistic and Jehovistic versions of the deluge. The one is said to be prosaic and matter-of-fact, the other poetic and elevated. We notice the same peculiarity in Babylonian literature, no matter how far back we go. This is especially true of the deluge tablets. Must we therefore infer a dual authorship for them? Or, to come down to our own times, must we because we find such a variety of styles and of poetic merit in Goethe's "Faust" conclude that it is the work of several writers united into one composite whole?

But, finally, no one can read the Babylonian deluge story without being at once impressed with its inferiority to that of the Hebrews. How is the superiority of the latter to be explained? The simplest way is to recognize in Genesis a supernatural element, which guided the thoughts of a special people selected for the transmission of religious truths for the enlightenment and moral elevation of mankind. This people had, in addition to the traditions common to the race, extra illumination which enabled them to reject the false notions that had crept into the mythologies of the surrounding nations.

THE TIME OF THE EXODUS.

One of the last conjectures on the date of the exodus is by Professor Flinders Petrie. In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology for December, 1896, he fixes the event at about 1204 B. C. His reasoning is twofold: First, from the inscription of Merenptah, he infers that the Jews were not in Palestine on the occasion of Merenptah's victory over them, or the strife would have been recorded in the Book of Judges; and, secondly, there is no account of a campaign by Ramessu III in Palestine, and that the Jewish invasion of that land must therefore have been later than the last campaign of Ramessu III, which seems to have been between 1180 B. C. and 1148 B. C. This would make the Jewish entrance of Palestine about the year 1164 B. C., or the departure from Egypt about 1204 B. C. Whatever the value of this argument may be, it is worthy of consideration, and will doubtless open up the way for a fuller discussion of the chronological problems which are involved.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

PROTESTANTISM IN MADAGASCAR.

THE French have ventured to abolish slavery in Madagascar, an act which has been held for many decades to be perilous because the Hovas, the most vigorous race on the island, are the slave masters, and it was thought dangerous to legislate thus boldly against them. This is but one of the good things the French government has done in Madagascar, but unfortunately the Jesuits dominate its religious movements, possibly laying claim to do so because of their agency in bringing the island to France.

The directors of the London Missionary Society have felt constrained to issue a circular stating the case of the native Protestant Malagasy Church, in which they say that the Protestant natives of Madagascar are in sore straits. They write of them: "In the 'dark days' of persecution (1835–61), to which they often touchingly allude, they had to undergo long-continued cruelty and injustice at the hands of their own sovereign. Last year, again, on the outbreak of rebellion and antiforeign feeling following upon the French annexation, it was the leaders of the native Protestant Churches who chiefly suffered. Their friendly relations with Europeans and their prominence as Christians, together with their refusal to join in heathen rites, rendered them specially obnoxious to the rebel bands which at that time were devastating large districts of the central province. Consequently they, more than all others, were the objects of attack. Their houses, chapels, and schools were burned to the ground; their property was looted and destroyed. Were it necessary, the directors could furnish a detailed narrative showing what these Malagasy Protestants then endured." The Protestant world must recognize the right of the London Society thus to express its poignant disappointment, after having spent many millions to civilize and Christianize this island.

The position of Protestant missionaries in Madagascar is exceedingly precarious. They are exposed as Europeans to the wrath of the native tribes in arms against French rule, who do not distinguish between foreigners, and on the other hand the Jesuits seem to have control of French colonial policy. It is enacted that instruction in schools must be given in the French language, and the London Society has handed its schools over to the Protestants of Paris; but their ownership of property is now jeopardized, the Jesuits by trickery and misrepresentation attempting to obtain places of worship raised by Malagasy Protestants. The Jesuits are in many cases the only interpreters to which the government officer has access. The Friends (Quakers) Foreign Missionary Society is in trouble over the loss of their hospital buildings, on which they have spent some thirty-five thousand dollars, besides meeting two thirds the annual cost of support. The French took these buildings for military purposes, as they had a right to do, and the missionaries nursed their sick and wounded

soldiers; but the queen, having been made a Roman Catholic, asked the Mission to relinquish the property under a legal technicality of which she avails herself. The London directors say that this Jesuit persecution, "though differing in form, is carried on with a bitterness, audacity, persistency, and unscrupulousness equal to anything that has marked persecutions in days gone by."

THE FAMINE IN INDIA AS A MISSIONARY OPPORTUNITY.

THE largest area in India ever affected by famine at one time within the present century is that of the territory now under distress. On the authority of the government of India the statement has been published that thirty-seven millions of people are in districts where the scarcity of food is so great that life cannot be maintained, while there are in addition forty-four millions of people in districts where there is not sufficient food to maintain health. This makes a starving population equal to one and one third times the population of the United States. This does not mean that the whole of the thirty-seven millions will die of starvation, or that all of the forty-four millions will fail in health from want of food. But it does mean that death by starvation and by diseases superinduced by poor food threatens probably one in ten, or perhaps eight millions of people, while the death rate among twice as many millions more is greatly advanced.

The government of India is expending a vast sum of money, and the officials are working beyond their strength in their effort to save life, but it is absolutely beyond the power of the government to keep the people alive. A penny a day is the wages paid on the relief works, food is at famine prices, and large numbers are unable to go to the relief works. There is great difficulty in getting food to the homes of the people where starvation stalks, many being too feeble even to carry it to others. The injustice with which it is distributed by dishonest native agents or seized by the strongest among the villagers, without regard to claims of equity or necessity, also contributes to increase the dire distress which prevails. There is here a large field for private charity, and God seems to call on the Christian world, which has long prayed for the conversion of India, to supplement the subsistence rations provided by public funds, specially among the sick, the infirm, and the little children. The duty is pressing to provide for the maintenance of orphans, and to help those who shall survive, but have lost all, to make a fresh start in life.

It would be far from easy to name a government that has, within the same period and under similar conditions, done so much to become an "earthly providence" to so many millions of people as the British government in India. It has constructed vast systems of irrigation, of water storage, and of railways to prevent the occurrence of famine on a large scale; but all are dependent on the "rain from heaven," and when that fails no human providence can command the conditions. Some slight relief in food supply may have been realized since the first of April, with a harvest of a few kinds of grains. If it rains in June there will be some

hope of the October harvest. But already widows and orphans by hundreds of thousands call for attention and aid. The orphans in particular afford a vast field for Christian missionary enterprise.

THE STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE IN MISSION COUNTRIES.

Sooner or later, in all successful work among the heathen, the question of a creed comes to the front. The missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church have gradually grown up without any serious trouble on this line. Very early in the history of each of these missions among the great heathen nations the Discipline was translated into one or more of the vernaculars of the several countries, and the native Church has grown up around it without much questioning as to whether it is the best form of symbolic expression. While some have recognized that many of the Articles of Religion are negations, and might possibly suggest rather than repress forms of erroneous beliefs, it has been held on the other hand that these negative propositions only have reference to such inquiries as may arise on the advanced consideration of Christian doctrine, and that it is well for the beginnings of theological thought to be guarded against misconception. Mr. Wesley and the founders of Methodism greatly abbreviated the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England for Methodists. There has, as yet, been little temptation to modify our Twenty-five Articles for our foreign churches, though there can be scant reason for requiring Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese Christians to express any political faith in the republic of the United States as defined in the twenty-third article. The contest in Japan has precipitated, for that country, the question as to how far it is desirable to reproduce the old theological and ecclesiastical controversies that have heretofore excited the Western Churches. The Church of England societies in Japan have made a sweeping concession to the Japanese sentiment by excluding the Thirty-nine Articles altogether from the Japanese prayer book. Bishop Bickersteth justifies this action thus: "Now, the Thirty-nine Articles have no ecumenical authority. They are English of the English, an outcome of the special circumstances of the Church of England in the sixteenth century. They are not, and do not pretend to be, a complete statement of Christian doctrine, and were certainly never intended to be imposed as a standard of orthodoxy outside of the British Isles." There is certainly room to exercise robust common sense in all such matters. Nobody can suppose that Bishop Bickersteth does not hold to every iota of doctrine in the Thirty-nine Articles. Yet their incorporation in a Church of totally new environment is a separate question.

JAPANESE IN TRANSITION.

The "curiosities of literature" must include the discussions of the Japanese weekly press on the subject of religion. Some of these have recently been occupied with the relation of Christian Churches to foreign

missionaries. Thus, they have declared, "The foreigners are the lords, and we are the servants;" and again, "The only possible way of effecting union between foreigners and Japanese is for the former to recognize our independence, and to show themselves ready to meet us on equal terms." It was this sort of sentiment that drove the Doshisha trustees to turn the American Board out of its own school property, which another Japanese paper declares to be a "narrow-minded, antiforeign policy," that has not "met with the approval of the Christians generally." It adds: "Hence the episode, instead of furthering the cause of independence in the Christian Church, has proved a hindrance to it." Another weekly Japanese paper says that "the day is not far distant when mixed residence will be allowed, and foreigners will be settling in the interior and practicing their religion in our very midst." The writer therefore regrets the antiforeign attitude adopted by many Christian Churches at the present time.

THE PLAGUE AT BOMBAY.

Several features of contrast between heathenism and Christianity are finding illustration in the city of Bombay in the presence of the plague which has driven three hundred and fifty thousand persons from the city and has slain several thousands. The superstition of the heathen furnishes a ready explanation of the causes of the great calamity. One reason assigned for the presence of the disease is that the queen of England sent the plague because her statue was defaced a few months ago by some miscreant pouring tar over it; another is that the government will keep the plague there till the livers of five hundred men are sent to the empress. These stories affect missionary work as the people grow terrified at the approach of the Bible woman or the missionary seeking to carry relief, lest these be spies. They refuse to have their houses fumigated, or to carry their sick to hospitals, and live on in the filth, dampness, and darkness of heathenism.

It is said that the native Christians fare far better because of their increased intelligence and attention to hygiene, and because they are less fearful. Very few of them have run away, and most are ready to help save others at risk of their own lives. Many of them go humbly to their work every day, reading the ninety-first psalm. This has attracted the attention of the heathen, who say, "Yes, your God is stronger than our gods, and more merciful;" and some of them pray their gods to let the disease spread among English and Christians, and not to let their people suffer. It is said that up to a late period in February only two native Protestant Christians were known to have died of the plague, though the Roman Catholic natives have suffered a great deal. These, however, live like the native heathen; and as the plague is a "dirt" disease, the substitution of a crucifix for an idol, and of "Hail Marys" for the name of Hindu gods, does not avail against filth, ignorance, and the loss of those moral and religious qualities which are conducive to the resistance of disease.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Wilhelm Schmidt. Although his opinions are not universally shared by his theological brethren, and, though some of them regard him as able rather than learned, he is, nevertheless, acknowledged to be a powerful factor in present-day thought. We give his views on a few closely-related points. Religion, he holds, is a universal phenomenon of humanity. And as there is no people without a religion, so no individual human being can be originally and absolutely without religion, since each is a product of the general culture of the nation and, with his entire mental life, is rooted in the same. He can become irreligious, but he cannot be religionless. All the various attempts to explain the origin of religion in man by natural psychological processes, from impressions made by the world of sense, or from practical ethical motives, are inadequate. Hence it is necessary to assume a religious capital with which man is originally endowed, a consciousness of God which he finds within himself as soon as he comes to self-consciousness. He cannot avoid entertaining this consciousness of God; and since he is not its real efficient cause it must be regarded as the effect of a divine operation in and upon him. This native consciousness of God is monotheistic. Since it is a necessary effect, its actuality is a guarantee of the objective reality of the idea of God. Its influence, however, upon the individual is dependent upon his subjective treatment of it. The Bible lays claim to this universal revelation for the human race in such passages as Rom. i, 19, *f.*, John i, 5, 9, and Acts xvii, 28. In addition to this revelation of God which is given to every individual human being as a part of his nature, Schmidt believes in the value of a knowledge of the world as an aid to our knowledge of God. Jesus did not exclude a rational knowledge of the world from the domain of religion. In his parables he assumed the facts of the life of nature and of the reality of the world in order to make plain heavenly truths, and called in the aid of rational intelligence in order to aid men in attaining certainty in religious things. Ritschl's fundamental proposition that we know nothing of God except from his revelation to us transcends the idea of revelation. If this proposition were true we could never know anything of God, since his revelation reaches only susceptible natures, those who have a sensorium for his revelation. Historical revelation is necessitated by the fact of sin. Christianity we know to be the perfect religion by its effects.

G. A. Fricke. As one who for more than fifty years has been engaged in the study of the proofs of God's existence his ideas on the subject will be of value. He believes that a scientific demonstration of the existence of the personal God, distinct from the world, is necessary, possible, and

effective. It is necessary in order to overcome atheism, which is characterized by hollowness and dilettanteism, and because without such demonstration theology would cease to be a science. It is possible because God is no impersonal abstraction, but in his works is the best attested, most visible, and best known of all beings, and the invisible One only in the sense of the Principle who breaks through all things visible. It is effective, as is proved by experience and observation. There are three principal demonstrations, the cosmological-ontological, the teleological—including Kant's ethico-teleological proof—and the pneumatological. Fricke regards the first two inadequate, since they do not lead to a personal God distinct from the world. The pneumatological demonstration is first ethical. So far it grows out of necessary ethics. Morality is the natural law of the spirit, the content of the *cogito, ergo sum.* The necessity of morality is axiomatic. It is nowhere denied except by certain degenerate individuals. The fulfillment of the moral law must be possible, since man is not a self-contradiction. But this fulfillment cannot be attained without a personal God. The moral law cannot be realized by means of itself, since then the good and the obligatory would be performed because of love to the good and the obligatory. But this is not possible ; it is theoretically senseless, and practically of no force. It is a mere phrase. For no man can love law and duty. Love and respect can only apply to persons. Again, self-love cannot be the principle of morality. A certain egoism may be permissible; yet when it is made the measure of our conduct it is not the principle of morality, but the immoral opposite of morality. Nor can altruism furnish us with the principle by which the moral law can be fulfilled. For true love of our neighbor can only rest upon a personal God. To demand that men shall love strangers and their enemies, without belief in a personal God, is senseless and impractical. The moral law is a necessity; it is not possible without a personal God; hence he is. The religious side of the pneumatical demonstration consists in the fact that the phenomena of the religious life cannot be explained except on the ground of a personal God who is absolute love. We give Fricke's ideas on the subject for what they are worth. To us it seems as though it is too strong to consider as demonstrations any of the proofs for the existence of God. But they do make his existence so probable that only the fool can say in his heart, "There is no God."

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

La France et le grand Schisme d'Occident (France and the Great Occidental Schism). By Noël Valois. Paris, A. Pickard et Fils. 1896. The author describes that period of French history during which France attached itself to the rival pope in Avignon. He begins with the twofold election in 1378. On April 8, 1378, under pressure of the excited populace of Rome, Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, an Italian, was chosen pope as Urban VI. On September 20 of the same year, in

Fondi, Cardinal Robert, of Geneva, a Frenchman, was elected as Clement VII. From that time to this it has been a question which was the rightful incumbent. Contemporaries, councils, modern scholars, have all labored in vain to settle the question. Roman tradition has given its preference to Urban VI, but the Church has never announced a clear decision. Valois, as a historian, does not feel disposed to answer definitely. There was right and wrong on both sides. Conscientious contemporaries were impelled to take one side or the other, simply because of the information which reached them. It is a remarkable, though hitherto a little emphasized, fact that the schism did not begin at once upon the election of Urban VI. Until July, France recognized the papacy of Urban. Nor was it the interposition of the king, but the confidence that he would stand by them, that led the cardinals to choose Clement. The adherents of Clement were France, Savoy, Scotland, and after a period of hesitation, Castile and Aragon; a number of princes on the lower Rhine and in Germany; and Duke Leopold III of Austria, whose adherence was purchased, but whose influence on the upper Rhine was great. On the side of Urban were England and Hungary; King Wenzel; the electors of Cologne, Treves, and the Palatine; and Duke Stephan of Bavaria. The death of Charles V of France left the throne to Charles VI, a nervous, sickly boy who was controlled by his uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, Burgundy, and Bourbon. With the death of the first of these the war between the two popes came to an end. Now the cry for unity became more general; especially did the University of Paris participate in the demand. Upon the death of Urban VI his successor, Boniface IX, was able to win back much of the territory that had been lost. Public opinion made itself felt in the use of published writings, and the call for a council became more and more universal. When Clement VII died, in the year 1394, France had become weary of the schism, and the sense of the real unity of the Church had grown stronger than it had ever been before. This ended, says Valois, not indeed the schism, but this particular form of Gallicanism.

Der römische Konkubinat nach den Rechtsquellen und den Inschriften (Roman Concubinage, on the Basis of Legal Sources and Inscriptions). By Paul Meyer. Leipzig, Teubner, 1895. This book treats an important feature of ancient ethics, and shows how Christianity dealt with concubinage, which it did not originate, but found existing. The first part treats of concubinage in the times of the heathen, the second in the times of the Christian, emperors. In an introduction Meyer shows that during the older period of the republic a real marriage was called *matrimonium justum*, while all other sexual relations were designated by *paelicatus*. Both, however, assumed the monogamic and permanent character of the relation. The increasing immorality of the end of the republic did not change the legal status of these relations, but it did change the practice. "The *paelex* became the rival of the wife." Augustus, who created the standing army, forbade entrance upon marriage

during the period of service. In order to overcome the consequences of this legislation he lifted one of the many forms of extra-marital connections to the dignity of legality, under the name of "concubinage." The concubine was often the equal of the wife, and often took her place. The emperor Marcus Aurelius would not give his children a stepmother after the death of his wife, but expected his concubine to be a mother to them. The relation was legal, and in some degree respectable. Christianity found these views of marriage and concubinage in existence. In general, the legislation of the Church and of the Christian emperors allowed concubinage to remain, under condition of its being a monogamic and permanent relation. Constantine strove to prevent the taking of concubines instead of wives. The limits of permissibility of the relation were narrowed, and the concubine and her children lost the rights accorded to them by Augustus. Thus was encouraged the exchange of concubinage for real marriage. Justinian proposed to Christianize the regulations of the classical period. Basilius Macedo forbade concubinage in Austria in the ninth century; in the West it remained until the sixteenth century, except for the higher clergy, to whom it was forbidden by the earlier legislation relative to celibacy. Among the Church fathers who tolerated the idea of concubinage when it existed as a monogamic and permanent relation was Augustine. The book must be regarded as a valuable contribution to ethical and ecclesiastical history. It demonstrates, however, how sadly in the earlier centuries Christianity had become interwoven with the views of the world, that concubinage was not at once and totally eradicated.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Recent Utterances Relative to the Bible and the Faith. The theology of continental Europe, as the theology of the Christian world, affirms that between the Bible and the faith there is an intimate connection. But the exact nature of that connection is under discussion among the theologians. To the average observer it does indeed appear as though no reputable theologian is left who asserts the verbal inspiration of the Bible; and yet those who deny such inspiration seem to think that the number of authors who make the writers of the Bible mere "writing machines" is constantly increasing. This, if it be a fact, would not prove that such a theory of the relation between the Inspirer and the inspired is growing in popularity, but only that more of those who hold it are coming forward as defenders of their views. It is, perhaps, not too strong to say that, judged by the continuous stream of literature on the subject, this question is still felt to be the vital one for theology. It is simply the old question of the seat of authority in religion. Rationalism has become history; and one who holds that the seat of religious authority is reason seems to be behind the times. On the other hand, Protestants cannot hold to the Church as the seat of authority, since that destroys the freedom of the individual. The only resource is the Bible. And Protestants are trying to settle the

question in what sense the Bible is the word of God. We analyze, and briefly discuss by way of illustrating the course which thought is pursuing, a few of the more recent lectures and articles on the subject. The first we mention is by "Evangelicus," a Ritschlian. Rejecting as erroneous and dangerous the verbal inspiration theory, he raises the question as to how the Christian can decide between the divine and human in the Bible. To this he replies that there is no external, mechanical means by which we can determine the boundary line. He then lays it down as a principle that all which teaches Christ's truth and breathes Christ's spirit is to be accepted as of divine authority, whether spoken by Christ or not. That is, all the utterances of Scripture are to be brought to the test of Christ. If they are Christlike we bow to them; if not, they are to be rejected. The properly educated Christian conscience is the organ by which this test is made. Though he looked at the question from a different point of view, the answer of "Evangelicus" seems to us to be exactly the answer which Luther rendered. If the distinction between the human and the divine elements in the Bible is to be maintained there must be some criterion of judgment, and we know no better one than this. Christ's was the highest revelation. Whatever contradicts it, in letter or spirit, is not to be held by the Christian. The second view is by Professor Cremer. He also rejects the verbal inspiration theory, but distinctly replaces it by the theory of a divinely wrought enlightenment of the witnesses of Christ's life and work. That the word of these witnesses is filled with the Spirit is owing to the fact that they themselves were filled with the Spirit. It is this fact that gives the Scripture its authority, and which will continue to make it authority for all who in the future shall proclaim the word. Because the word is written by men filled with the Spirit we have the human imperfection and the divine perfection of the Bible, that is, a Bible with limits to its authority. While the theory of "Evangelicus" affords us no doctrine of inspiration that of Cremer gives us no criterion whereby we may determine what is human and what divine. Which is the better test of the authoritativeness of a Scripture passage, the assurance given the Christian conscience by careful thought that it coincides with the teachings of Christ, or the assurance that it is spoken or written by a Spirit-filled man, who may, nevertheless, err? Both theories agree that there is in the Bible a human, and in so far an untrustworthy, element. The only theory that obviates this is that of verbal inspiration; and that plunges us into the difficulty of placing a wholly divine and infallible work in the hands of infallible men for interpretation. Out of this difficulty about the only way would be the theory of an infallible Church and pope to interpret the Bible. The third theory is by P. Kölbing, director of a theological seminary of the Unitas Fratrum in Germany. He recognizes that the old orthodox theory of inspiration is a thing of the past. With the change also has come, in some measure and manner, a corresponding change in the conception of faith and revelation. In discussing the relation of thought to faith he comes to the conclusion that doctrine is not an ingredient but a secondary

product of the Christian faith. On the other hand, faith by its very nature includes cognitions in immediate connection with the primary feelings of Christian faith and its acts of will—cognitions which, although belonging to the realm of concrete representations, are, because of their ethical character, no mere play of phantasy, but a connected, well-defined whole; religious cognitions of an ethical kind, and ethical cognitions of a religious kind. From this it follows that for Christendom there is a normal form of ethical-religious cognition which has not yet been developed into doctrine. This is found in the New Testament writings, and is the product of the peculiar experience of Jesus and the primitive Church in divine things. That these writings are in any especial sense the work of the Holy Spirit rests upon the especial historical relation of their authors to the Christian faith, which made possible, in consequence of the immediate influence of Jesus, the Son of God, the highest purity of their cognition of God. Put in plain and unequivocal language, the director of a theological seminary of the United Brethren of Germany regards the New Testament as the product of the Christian consciousness of the primitive Church. The fourth view is found in a lecture by Professor Samuel Oettli. He finds no fault with the doctrine of the development of the Old Testament history, but with the particular form of it as found in Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Smend he cannot agree. He tests their theory in three decisive points: the religious founding of Israel at the time of Moses, the asserted ethicizing of the conception of God by the prophets, and the continuance and completion of the faith in Jehovah during the exile. He declares that we have not the slightest interest at stake when we allow the employment in revelation of the natural laws of the human mind, and on the other hand asserts that the development of the Israelitish religion was not the constant growth of the human spirit from crude error to purer thought, but the progressive self-manifestation of God in revelation, a divine work of education, wrought on unmanageable material. This is simply the doctrine of accommodation in its usual modern form, and it is, perhaps, the best explanation possible of the facts of the Old Testament considered as a divine revelation. The fifth theory is that which is held by Professor Valeton, and relates to Christ's utterances concerning the Old Testament. His position is essentially that entertained by Meinhold, as recently given in this department of the *Review*, and need not be further described. These views, though not including all varieties of opinion and statement, are fairly representative of the most recent critical utterances on the subject. It will be seen that in one way or another each of these theologians is anxious to appear as the champion of some kind of religious authority for the Bible in matters of faith. We cannot help regarding some of them as exceedingly undesirable champions, even more to be dreaded than deliberate and avowed enemies who can be unmistakably identified as such; for some of their views in our judgment tend to undermine the faith. But it is significant that they still profess to believe in and most vigorously contend for the Bible as the supreme rule of faith and practice.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

WHY should there not be further antarctic exploration? Rear Admiral A. H. Markham's discussion of the question, in the April number of the *North American*, appeals both to the scientific and the popular reader. The immense area in the southern hemisphere "immediately surrounding the south pole, extending northward to the antarctic circle, and comprising an area of something like 8,000,000 square miles," is "a region absolutely unknown and undiscovered." The "first attempt at southern exploration," the admiral tells us, was made by Captain James Cook, over a hundred years ago. His commission was to reach a large continent there supposed to exist, which "imaginative map makers and cartographers of the sixteenth century had depicted on their maps covered with mountains, lakes, and rivers." Since then, "Weddell, Ross, and Kristensen have all passed the extreme position attained by Captain Cook, but so far these are the only explorers who have succeeded in crossing the seventieth parallel of south latitude." The first of these wrote "hopefully, a day or two before he reached his extreme southern position, that not a particle of ice was to be seen in any direction; that the weather was mild and serene, and the sea literally covered with birds! This, however, is only another instance of the uncertain and varied conditions of ice and sea in high latitudes at different periods." Ross sailed in September, 1839, having already earned high renown as the discoverer of the north magnetic pole, and for three years struggled to penetrate the southern ice. His success was such that he "had the satisfaction of carrying his clumsy bluff-bowed old ships to latitude seventy-five degrees three minutes in about the longitude of New Zealand." From his highest altitude he saw a series of stupendous peaks stretching eastward, and to the tract he gave the name Victoria Land. Kristensen sailed from Melbourne, September. 28, 1894, crossed the antarctic circle on Christmas Day, and "succeeded in effecting a landing on the great southern continent in the neighborhood of Cape Adare." His company thus "had the extreme gratification and honor of being the first human beings that had ever set foot on Victoria Land." The time is now at hand, says the admiral, for "a prosecution of antarctic research." Geography and geology would be benefited; further knowledge of terrestrial magnetism would seem to make it desirable; and the science of meteorology would be advanced. The words of the Duke of Argyll appear particularly appropriate, at the close of this scholarly and sensible article: "I confess I feel an immense interest in the question of antarctic expedition. I always feel a little shame that civilized man, living on his own little planet—a very small globe—should, in this nineteenth century of the Christian era, not yet have explored the whole of this little area; it seems a reproach on the enterprise, civilization, and condition of knowledge of the human race."

THE struggle of "the new crusade of criticism" is now to "revivify the dead past," says Edward Caird, of Balliol College, and to "bring back, in all the distinct lineaments of a living personality," the Christ of the gospels. But such an attempt is deprecated by this Oxford writer in the *New World* for March. Though "the last to underestimate the good of the effort of historical reconstruction to which the new criticism is leading us," yet the writer believes that the modern Christian should regard his religion, "not simply as loyalty to a Master, . . . but as adherence to a living principle which is working in the lives of himself and others." His article is entitled "Christianity and the Historical Christ." David Utter, of Salt Lake City, sounds a note of alarm—though he does not so design it—in his article on "Mormonism To-day." Many Latter Day Saints, he infers, yet "look forward to a time when polygamy shall again be practiced under the sanction of the head of the Church." The reader, in other words, feels that polygamy is only somnolent, rather than dead. Amos Kidder Fiske follows with a paper on "The Unknown Homer of the Hebrews." In age this mysterious writer was "almost contemporaneous with Homer." His work "was broken in pieces and wrought with other material into a composite fabric of perdurable strength," and for twenty-five centuries and more he has been "without name and without personal identity." In an article on "Philosophy and Immortality," A. W. Jackson studies the teaching of Dr. James Martineau on the future life. Both the intellect and the conscience, says Martineau, plead for another existence. William F. and Louisa F. Peirce write on "The Armenian Church," and well say that the recent Turkish atrocities "have revealed a new branch of Christianity" to the world. In his article on "Kant's Influence in Theology," C. C. Everett says that the revolution which the great metaphysician accomplished in theology is "as great as that which he wrought in philosophy." F. C. Lowell follows with a consideration of "God and the Ideal of Man." H. Langford Warren discusses "Dante Rossetti as a Religious Artist," to the advantage of the distinguished painter; and Dr. C. A. Briggs concludes with an article on "Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in its Relation to Church Unity." Dr. Watson's creed, he says, is not such "in any proper sense," since his phrases "do not define the life to live, or the morals to practice." A novel adaptation of ministerial service to the needs of poorer communities is suggested by Dr. Briggs in the proposition that the same preacher serve two or more denominations. "He might minister as an Episcopalian in the morning, as a Presbyterian or Congregationalist in the afternoon, and a Methodist in the evening. Why not? Many could do it and would do it if the way were open in the lower judicatories." Dr. Briggs also defines his own status, in the following pleasant bit of autobiography: "I was ordained by a presbytery as a Presbyterian minister. The supreme judicatory of the body which gave me the external authority to act as a minister has suspended my authority so to act. They took away all the authority they ever gave me. They did it in an unconstitutional and illegal manner. If the case

could be renewed in a competent court their action would be declared null and void. But it stands until overruled. I have no present ministerial authority from any ecclesiastical judicatory. I have authority from Jesus Christ by the internal call. My internal call would doubtless be recognized by more than one denomination, if I should seek recognition and authority. But so long as I abstain from such a course and my suspension is continued my authority from the Church is void. I cannot act as a minister without being disorderly. I cannot say, 'The presbytery made me a minister of Jesus Christ; they took from me only the right to act as a Presbyterian minister. I will now act as a Christian minister.' If they had the authority to make me a Christian minister, they had the authority to unmake me also."

THE April number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* opens with an article on "The Paradoxes of Science," by Professor G. Frederick Wright. "The attempted explanations of science," he affirms, "instead of being real solutions of mystery, are merely substitutions of one mystery for another, or, what is more frequently the case, of several mysteries in place of one." The scientific explanations he instances are the theory of gravitation, the atomic constitution of matter, and the mystery of life—the consideration of the latter involving a mention of Spencer's "physiological units," Darwin's "gemmules," Weismann's "biophores," and Minot's "germ plasm." The Rev. E. S. Carr, A.M., contributes a critical article on "Spencer's Philosophy of Religion." A warm appreciation of a standard poem is given by Professor T. W. Hunt, Ph.D., in his paper on "Tennyson's 'In Memoriam.'" There are few readers of the poet, he holds, who, "if compelled to select one of his poems to the exclusion of all others, would not choose the 'In Memoriam' as the most representative single production." Its purpose, he declares, is "an attempt to state and solve the problem of life—as life is inseparably connected with death and destiny and immortality." No poem, says Professor Hunt, "has so permeated and suffused modern English verse." The two following articles, whose titles are sufficiently explanatory, are "The Cosmogony of Genesis, and its Reconcilers," by President Henry Morton, Ph.D., which is to be continued, and "No National Stability without Morality," by President C. W. Super, LL.D. The sixth article, by the Rev. R. De Witt Mallary, D.D., considers the question, "Is the Recognition of the Church Year by all Christians Desirable?" The writer answers in the affirmative, and believes that "the time is coming when all portions of the Church year will be as loyally and universally observed as is the restored festival of Christ's resurrection." Professor Edward Dickinson next considers "The Ideal of Church Music," and Professor J. M. P. Metcalf follows with "The Tell-el-Amarna Letters." His article particularly analyzes the contents of these letters, and is to be continued. A review of Dr. Lyman Abbott's "Christianity and Social Problems" is made by Z. Swift Holbrook. While he finds much to commend in Dr. Abbott's book he pronounces it defective

among other things in his "ethical conception of the value of self compared with neighbor," and in his "definition of socialism." The concluding article, by Professor William Caldwell, M.A., discusses "The Housing Question and Scientific Reform." It constitutes an address read before the Improved Housing Conference at Chicago, in February, 1897. America, says the writer, "of all countries should take the lead" in the reform proposed.

In the *Review of Reviews* for March, W. T. Stead, writing of the longest reign in British history, closes his article with this description: "The last occasion on which I saw her majesty was on that high and solemn festival when Queen Victoria summoned to Westminster Abbey the representatives of all the nations, principalities, and powers that own her sway, in order to join with her in rendering thanks to Almighty God for the marvelous loving-kindness and manifold mercies he had graciously vouchsafed to this land of ours during her reign of fifty years. The memory of that stately pageant is with me still. The gray old abbey, with all its associations of genius and of glory, never inclosed within its massive walls a scene more splendid and inspiring. Every nook and corner in the vast edifice was crowded with a great multitude of the picked men of the realm and of the empire. No department of the State, no colony, no dependency, was unrepresented in that brilliant throng. Ambassadors and governors, princes and potentates, dusky oriental rajahs blazing in jewels, English nobles, and the great notables of the democracy mustered in troops to the great thanksgiving. When all were assembled beneath the storied roof of the ancient abbey, and the long aisles framed a marvelous picture of life and color, the queen entered. The whole assemblage rose to their feet as the familiar figure of the mother of her people slowly passed down the nave to take her place before the altar, where in the midst of her children she offered thanks. And as the queen —the highest on earth—knelt before the Lord God of heaven all thought of her majesty and her might, of her empire over land and sea, disappeared, and we saw only the plain little loving-hearted woman who, as maid, wife, and widow, had for fifty years shared more than any all the joys, sorrows, hopes, fears, trying vicissitudes, and glowing aspirations which make up the sum of the private and public life of her people."

The *Christian Quarterly* for April has: "A Nineteenth Century Movement," by J. H. Garrison, in which the writer discusses Christian unity; "Congregational Church Polity," by Rev. M. Burnham; "The Genius of Christianity," by Professor B. A. Hinsdale; "The Socialism of George Eliot," by Rev. G. H. Combs; "The Duke of Argyll and His Work," by J. W. Monser.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for April opens with "Some Reasons Why I Stand by the Cause of Missions," by General J. F. Rusling. Its following articles treat mostly of domestic mission work. The number is most attractive.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Letters to the Clergy, on the Lord's Prayer and the Church. With replies from Clergymen and the Laity, and an Epilogue by Mr. RUSKIN. Edited with essays and comments by the Rev. T. A. MALLESON. 12mo, pp. 332. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Conversations between Mr. Ruskin and Dr. Malleson moved the latter to induce the former to write out his views in these letters, and to consent to their being read and discussed in a private clerical society. Later it was decided to print them together with the comments of the clergy on Ruskin's views, followed by an epilogue in which Mr. Ruskin replies to the comments. This third edition, revised and enlarged, revives the book after an interval of twelve years. For relentless frankness in vehement expression Ruskin has no modern match except Carlyle. His lofty ideals cast condemnation everywhere upon actual life and custom in Church and State and society. The editor believes that these letters of an eminent layman, whose field of work lies quite as much in religion and ethics as in art, may help us to divest ourselves of old forms of thought, "to cast off self-indulgent views of our duty as ministers of religion, to lift ourselves out of those grooves in which we are apt to run so smoothly and so complacently, persuading ourselves that all is well just as it is, and to endeavor to strike into a sterner, harder path, beset with difficulties, but still the path of duty." Ruskin thinks the clergy should put the Gospel of Christ into such plain words and short terms that any plain man may understand it. He asks whether a simple explanation of the terms of the Lord's Prayer, in their completeness and life, might not help to make the Gospel plain, adding that in suggesting that the Lord's Prayer be made a foundation of Gospel teaching he did not mean that it contains all that Christian ministers have to teach, but that it contains what all Christians are agreed upon as first to be taught. He thinks zealous ministers should make as much effort to get wicked rich people out of Church as to get wicked poor people converted into it: "The foulest oaths of the thief and the street walker are, in the ears of God, sinless as the hawk's cry or the gnat's murmur, compared to the responses, in the Church service, on the lips of the usurer and the adulterer." He says few religious writings are both upright and intelligible. In offering the Lord's Prayer we are to remember that the first and intensest article of our Father's will is our sanctification; and the Gospel we are to mend the world with is not alone the soft, sweet message of pardon, "If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father," but also the clear explanation of what the will of the Lord is, and the firm and forcible announcement that men must—absolutely must—set themselves obediently to do that holy will. We are not to encourage iniquity by preaching away the penalties of it. Partly for want of faithful proph-

esying, "the great cities of the earth, which ought to be the places set on its hills, with the temple of the Lord in the midst of them, to which the tribes should go up—centers to the kingdoms and provinces of honor, virtue, and the knowledge of the law of God—have become instead loathsome centers of fornication and covetousness, the smoke of their sin going up into the face of heaven like the furnace of Sodom, and the pollution of it rotting and raging through the bones and the souls of the people round them." Ruskin thinks the clergy nowadays have a hard task to teach people to love their enemies when many of them are devoting their energies to swindling their friends. He remarks upon the grotesque inconsistency of human nature's willingness to be taxed with any quantity of sins in the gross, and its resentment at the insinuation of having committed the smallest parcel of them in detail. He charges that "the whole nature of prayer has been doubted in our hearts and disgraced by our lips; that we are afraid to ask God's blessing on the earth when the scientific people tell us he has made previous arrangements to curse it; and that instead of obeying without fear or debate the plain order, 'Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full,' we sorrowfully sink back into the apology for prayer that 'it is a wholesome exercise, even when fruitless,' and that we ought piously always to suppose that the text really means no more than, 'Ask, and ye shall not receive, that your joy may be empty.'" "In what respect the kingdoms of the world and the glory of *them* differ from the kingdom, the power, and the glory which are God's forever, is seldom intelligibly explained from the pulpit; still less the irreconcilable hostility between the two royalties and realms asserted in its sternness of decision." "The Society of Jesuits is a splendid proof of the power of obedience, but its curse is falsehood. . . . We (of the St. George's Company) are their precise opposites—fiercely and at all costs frank, while they are calmly and for all interests lying." Ruskin writes to Malleson, "It takes me as long to write a chapter as you to write a book, and tires me more to do it, so that I am sick of the feel of a pen this many a day." A strong hint for parents, pastors, and teachers is, in his opinion, that one mistake made by good people is in spending so much effort in trying to pull fallen people up, and so little in keeping yet safe ones from tumbling, and spending their pains on the worst instead of the best material. "If they want to be able to save the lost like Christ let them first be sure they can say with him, 'Of those thou gavest me I have lost none.'" We must make our congregations understand that "God is a living God, not a dead law; and that he is a reigning God, putting wrong things to rights, and that, sooner or later, with a strong hand and a rod of iron, and not at all with a soft sponge and warm water, washing everybody as clean as a baby every Sunday morning, whatever dirty work they have been about all the week." For thirty years Ruskin used to read the Liturgy of the English Church through to his servant and himself if there was no Protestant service to go to in Alpine or Italian villages; but as he has grown older he has become "more and more suspicious of the effect of that particular form

of words on the truthfulness of the English mind." He says that Oxford University is now so ashamed of that code of prayer "that it no more dares compel its youth so much as to hear, much less to utter it." Comparing that service with the earlier rituals of worship from which it was derived, he wonders that the Church of England should have "cast out from beginning to end all the intensely spiritual and passionate utterances," and in what it did preserve of those earlier, stronger, and deeper forms should have "mangled or blunted them down to the exact degree which would make them either unintelligible or inoffensive—so vague that everybody might use them or so pointless that nobody could be offended by them." This loyal layman of the Church of England, writing of its Liturgy, says that its first address to the congregation before the Almighty is "precisely the fault-fullest and foolishest piece of English language" that he knows of "in the whole compass of English or American literature." "In the seventeen lines of it there are seven times over two words for one idea: acknowledge and confess, sins and wickedness, dissemble nor cloke, goodness and mercy, assemble and meet, requisite and necessary, pray and beseech." He says that in these days one almost wonders whether there ever was such a thing as discipline in the Christian Church, and that the pettifogging piety of England has not now the courage either to deny grace to a wicked duke in its Church nor to declare Christ's grace in its Parliament. John Ruskin says he sat under the preaching of Charles H. Spurgeon with much edification for a year or two. "A clergyman should ever be so truly the friend of his parishioners as to deserve their confidence from the children upward." This, which Ruskin writes of himself, all men believe to be true: "No man more than I has ever loved the places where God's honor dwells, or yielded truer allegiance to the teaching of his evident servants." He adds that no man grieves more over the danger of the Church to-day as "she whispers procrastinating *pax vobiscum* in answer to the spurious kiss of those who would fain toll curfew over the last fires of English faith." Recovering from an illness accompanied with mental derangement, he writes to Dr. Malleson: "It will be many a day before I recover yet—if ever—but with caution I hope not to go wild again, and to get what power belongs to my age slowly back. Let me strongly warn you from the whirlpool's edge—the going down in the middle is gloomier than I can tell you." "In divinity matters I am obliged to stop. I am almost struck mad when I think earnestly about them, and I'm only reading natural history or nature now." "I am very thankful to find in my own case that a quiet spring of energy filters back into the old wellheads—if one does not bucket it out as fast as it comes in." The editor thinks that Ruskin's letters "present a truly lifelike picture of their writer with his shrewd common sense and deeper wisdom, enlivened in no small measure by a quick impulsiveness which is sometimes rather startling." Miss Susanna Beever, to whom Ruskin dedicated *Frondes Agrestes*, writes of these letters: "They are like the 'foam globes of leaven,' and have exercised my mind very much. Things in

them which at first seemed rather startling prove, on closer examination, to be full of deep truth. The suggestions in them lead to 'great searchings of heart.'" Canon Farrar declined, when requested, to discuss Ruskin's letters, saying, "I am too painfully overwhelmed with the very duties which Mr. Ruskin seems to think that we don't do—looking after the material and religious interest of the sick, the suffering, the hungry, the drunken, and the extremely wretched."

Guesses at the Riddle of Existence, and Other Essays on Kindred Subjects. By GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L. 12mo, pp. 244. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book does not impress us as important. Dealing with some of the same problems, it is distinctly inferior to W. R. Greg's *Enigmas of Life*, published some twenty years ago. The first of five essays gives the book its title; the other four are: "The Church and the Old Testament," "Is There Another Life?" "The Miraculous Element in Christianity," "Morality and Theism." The preface says that the spirit of the book is not that of agnosticism, but of free and hopeful inquiry. The author wishes to assist in clearing away the wreck of discredited beliefs in order to make way for new ones which may be invented or derived. He repeats the truism that "to resign untenable arguments for a belief is not to resign the belief, while a belief bound up with untenable arguments will share their fate;" true, only it needs to be said that a belief may be sound when the arguments used to support it are unwise or insufficient, as a judge's decision may be right when the reasons he gives for it are not sufficient; and a belief which has been advocated with false arguments may be susceptible of a new and better defense. He says that where his conclusion sare, or seem to be, negative, he will rejoice to "see the more welcome view reasserted and fresh evidence of its truth supplied;" which seems to be a confession that his views are not pleasant to himself, and that as he progresses in unbelief his happiness is diminished. So it shall always be; the Gospel is glad tidings, and whatever discredits or doubts it is sad, dismal, forlorn tidings, bringing nothing but heaviness to the heart of man. The first essay discusses rather adversely the books of Mr. Drummond, Mr. Kidd, and Mr. Balfour. It says that Drummond's solution is incomplete; Kidd overstates his case; and Balfour's method reacts dangerously upon himself. Looking on while Balfour's flashing blade disposes of naturalism on the one hand, and of transcendentalism on the other, the author says that the idea of driving the world back to faith through general skepticism is delusive. "Universal skepticism is more likely to be the ultimate result, and any faith which is not spontaneous, whether it be begotten of ecclesiastical pressure or intellectual despair, is, and in the end will show itself to be, merely veiled unbelief. The catastrophe of Dean Mansell, who, while he was trying, in the interest of orthodoxy, to cut the ground from under the feet of the rationalist, himself inadvertently demonstrated the impossibility of believing in God, was an awful warning to the polemical tactician." According to the author, various fondly cherished arguments, beliefs, institutions are in a damaged condition; and yet something remains. He thinks the old argument from design is

damaged, because "we have nothing with which to compare this world, and therefore cannot tell whether it was possible for it to be other than it is." Startling news, indeed, but known as well to the framers of the old argument as to Goldwin Smith. He thinks the Church survives chiefly on its value "as a social center and a reputed safeguard of social order." Evidently he knows no more about the Church and what is really going on therein, the mighty works being done in it, through it, and by it, than a street Arab out on the sidewalk knows of the interior of Westminster Abbey. He concedes that Butler's *Analogy*, "though in partial ruin, is still great." He remarks that "evolution, which is not a power, but a method," is personified and almost deified by its exponents. He says that the fact that science has apparently disclosed the corporeal origin and relations of our mental faculties, and of "what theology calls the soul," has altered the character of the question as to a life beyond the present. He tries to comfort us by saying that "if revelation is lost, manifestation still remains, and great manifestations appear to be opening on our view." And when, groping around in the dark without any Bible, we inquire of the men who stole it from us where we shall look for those "great manifestations," we are told that the universe and humanity are manifestations, and we are simply to sit down before them and study them and wait for the light to break, like expectant spectators at a spiritualistic seance, sitting with the lights out and waiting for the spirits to materialize. We prefer to go to church and hear from the dear old Bible the cheerful Gospel of Him who alone is the light of the world. Second in this book is that wretched essay in which the Old Testament is described as a millstone about the neck of Christianity. It will take more than the opinions of the Canon of Manchester, which are quoted as a text, to make such an essay respectable. The author's entire attitude toward the Old Testament is fairly indicated by his question, "Why should we force ourselves to believe that a Being who fills eternity and infinity became the guest of a Hebrew sheikh?" That sort of objection tells equally against the incarnation and all spiritual visitations from God to man, and as certainly disposes of the New Testament as it does of the Old. We do not see why a man who reasons after such a fashion should waste his time in discussing Christianity or even religion as if either of them were a live issue or had any shadow of footing in the realm of reality. We cannot help having two opinions: first, that unwarranted liberties are being taken with the Old Testament, and unnecessary surrenders made by some whose business it is to defend it; second, that there is an excessive amount of groaning over, or under, the Old Testament. In response to critical attacks one man replies, "Christianity is not responsible for the Old Testament." Another, as if well-nigh overwhelmed with uncertainty, says, "If it were not for Jesus Christ I would be an agnostic." But another feels secure in standing by the Old Testament, and says, "If I could not be a Christian I would be a Jew; if the divine Christ were taken from me I would still submit myself to Moses and the Old Testament for the fullest knowledge of God

and the best spiritual guidance given to man." How can any man suppose it possible to cut the Bible in two and then keep Christianity alive, to throw away the Old Testament and expect to keep the New Testament? How long did Chang live after Eng died? One twin may survive the other, but not if they are Siamese twins bound together in a vascular and vital unity. The third essay is called out by and discusses Dr. Salmond's volume, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, which we noticed in our last issue. We agree with the statement on page 128 that if death is to end all alike for the righteous and for the unrighteous, the Power that rules the universe cannot be just in any sense of the word which we can understand. The fourth essay contains matter which we could quote with approval, as, for example, "The effect produced by the teaching of Jesus and his disciples is, beyond question, the most momentous fact in history." This also from *Supernatural Religion:* "The teaching of Jesus carried morality to the sublimest point attained or even attainable by humanity. The influence of his spiritual religion has been rendered doubly great by the unparalleled purity and elevation of his own character. . . . He presented the spectacle of a life uniformly noble and consistent with his own lofty principles, so that the 'imitation of Christ' has become almost the final word in the preaching of his religion." His moral teaching was "final in this respect, amongst others, that, superseding codes of law and elaborate rules of life, it confined itself to two fundamental principles—love to God and love to man. While all previous systems had merely sought to purify the stream it demanded the purification of the fountain. It placed the evil thought on a par with the evil action. Such morality, based upon the intelligent and earnest acceptance of divine law, and perfect recognition of the brotherhood of man, is the highest conceivable by humanity, and although its power and influence must augment with the increase of enlightenment, it is itself beyond development, consisting as it does of principles unlimited in their range and inexhaustible in their application." Christianity is alone in preaching its Gospel to the whole world, in its adaptation to the whole world, and in its display of recuperative power; "no parallel to the revivals of Wyclif, Luther, Calvin, and Wesley is presented by any other religion." "Moral civilization and sustained progress have been thus far limited to Christendom." "Wherever there is a law there must be a lawgiver, and the lawgiver must be presumed capable of suspending the operation of law. This Hume himself would hardly have denied." "In fact, the metaphysical argument against miracles comes pretty much to this, that a miracle cannot take place, because if it did it would be a miracle. We could not help believing our own senses if we actually saw a man raised from the dead. There is no reason why we should not believe the testimony of other people, provided that they were eyewitnesses, that they were competent in character and in intelligence, and that their testimony had been submitted to impartial and thorough investigation." "Faith is a belief, not in things unproved, but in things unseen." "Pessimism is the reverie of disappointment and satiety, with

an infusion of Byronic sentiment and of the melancholy of Schopenhauer and Leopardi." "Science and religion, even the most fervent religion, have been able to dwell together in the intellects of Newton and Faraday." Goldwin Smith's book will not be pleasing to the gentlemen who are playing fast and loose with the supernatural in the Bible, trying at once to let go and to hold on, claiming to be still Christian while surrendering a large part of the miraculous, because this book tells them they cannot succeed. Such books visibly annoy them.

Immortality and the New Theodicy. By GEORGE A. GORDON, Minister of the Old South Church, Boston. 16mo, pp. 180. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.

This book is a philosopher's venture at the truth. Its author, it is true, finds himself unable "to reason as if Christianity had never been," or to enter the field of discussion in any other relation than that of a religious teacher. Yet he aims to conduct his inquiry "purely upon rational grounds," and therefore considers it "inadmissible to introduce into the argument the ultimate basis of Christian belief in the future life, the resurrection of Christ." The term "theodicy" he regards as a pivotal word in the attempt which he makes "to carry the question of the immortality of man to the moral conception of the universe for determination." Some of his earlier chapters, upon which we may not linger, are entitled, "The Evidence for the Denial," "Value of the Evidence for Denial," "Postulates of Immortality," and "Illogical Limitations," such limitations being the "theories of the remnant, election, or probation." Dr. Gordon, having discussed these topics as preliminary to his positive argument, then finds his central proof for immortality in the doctrine of evolution. One sentence will show his logic: "When man's ethical nature is reached, and where so much room and material for development exist, it would seem to be not a violent inference from evolution to suppose that this world is but the first stage in the moral discipline of the race." His argument, in other words, from this point through the concluding chapters turns on the truth of evolution. Many, however, will feel that he makes too much of this experimental theory, and, in a vigorous protest yet cherished against evolution, will contend that the philosopher puts to sea in an untried boat. Yet Dr. Gordon's book is able and thought-provoking.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The English Novel. A Study in the Development of Personality. By SIDNEY LANIER. Revised Edition. Crown 8vo, pp. 302. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

A rare and well-developed personality was Sidney Lanier, and his own fine quality pervades this penetrative study. These twelve chapters were lectures delivered in Johns Hopkins University in 1881. They were almost his last work, done with shortening breath, rapid pulse, and burning brain. George Eliot's death occurring in the middle of the course led the lecturer to devote six lectures to her work. A coldly crit-

ical attitude toward the writings of Lanier is difficult, if not impossible, to one who knows the man—his exquisitely delicate sensibility, his gallant and heroic spirit, his high-pitched endeavor, his valiant fight in a losing battle for bread and for life. His history so awakens admiring sympathy that all men are moved to treat him tenderly. But his work stands strong on its merits, and asks no compassion or forbearance from the critics. There is enough of splendid vigor, of keen insight, of beauty and sweetness, of elevation and power, to mark his genius as genuine, unique, original. There is, too, remarkable poise, for so passionate and ecstatic a nature. It is no weakling and no tyro who traces in this volume the growth of human personality from Æschylus, through Plato, Socrates, and the contemporary Greek mind—through the *Renaissance*, Shakespeare, Richardson, and Fielding down to Dickens and George Eliot; and who insists that it is the unfolding of personality since the time of Æschylus which has wrought those stupendous changes in the relation of man to God, to physical nature, and to his fellow, that have culminated in the modern cultus. Lanier speaks of Tennyson's "De Profundis—Two Greetings," addressed to a newborn child, as "a very noble and rapturous hymn to the great Personality above us, acknowledging the mystery of our own personalities as finitely dependent upon, and yet so infinitely divided from, his Personality." He combats three erroneous notions: (1) that science will destroy all poetry and imaginative work generally; (2) that science will simply destroy the old imaginative products and build up a new formless sort of imaginative product (like Whitman's) in its stead; (3) that science will absorb into itself all imaginative effort so that poems and novels will be merely the plain unvarnished record of a scientific experiment in passion. He speaks of Zola as "defiling the whole earth and slandering all humanity under the sacred names of 'naturalism,' of 'science,' of 'physiology.'" Pleading for the necessity and sacredness of forms, he defines "Religion as the aspiration toward unknown forms and the unknown Form-giver." He protests against the Whitmanish literature which wears a slouch hat, and has its shirt open at the bosom, and generally riots in a complete independence of form; and against "a poetry which has painted a great scrawling picture of the human body, and has written under it, '*This is the soul;*' which shouts a profession of religion in every line, but of a religion that, when examined, reveals no tenet, no rubric, save that a man must be natural, must abandon himself to every passion; and which constantly roars its belief in God, but with a camerado air as if it were patting the Deity on the back and bidding him cheer up and hope for further encouragement." Walt Whitman seems to Lanier "the most stupendously mistaken man in all history as to what constitutes true democracy." "A republic is the government of the spirit; a republic depends on the self-control of each member; you cannot make a republic out of muscles and prairies and Rocky Mountains; republics are made of the spirit." "My democrat, the democrat whom I contemplate with pleasure, the democrat who is to write or to read the poetry of the

future, may have a mere thread for his biceps, yet he shall be strong enough to handle hell, he shall play ball with the earth; and albeit his stature may be no more than a boy's, he shall still be taller than the great redwoods of California; his height shall be the height of great resolution and love and faith and beauty and knowledge and subtle meditation; his head shall be forever among the stars." We like to see Lanier pit himself against Whitman; it is the fair play of beauty against the beast. The "Prometheus Bound" of Æschylus emphasizes physical rather than spiritual pain, and displays a feeble sense of personality. Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" fails because the attempt to reproduce upon a modern audience the old terrors of thunder and lightning which were suitable and effective for Æschylus is absurd. We moderns are not moved by the turning of the thundermill behind the scenes, for "we have seen a man (not a Titan nor a god), one of ourselves, go forth into a thunderstorm and send his kite up into the very bosom thereof and fairly entice the lightning by his wit to come and perch upon his finger and be the tame bird of him and his fellows thereafter and forever." Plato's *Republic* shows a lack of the sense of personality, and Aristotle a lack of intellectual conscience. Love of truth is a modern characteristic. Modern science dates from Newton; modern music from Bach and Handel. Love is the modern watchword; love, and not justice, is the organic power of moral order. Marian Evans, from being a strong Calvinist, reacted to skepticism, and during her first five years in London translated Spinoza's *Ethics*, Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*, and Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, and studied physics, Comtism, and the like among the London agnostics. Lanier regards it as mournful that on coming to London she fell among a group of persons represented by George Henry Lewes, and says that "if one could have been her spiritual physician at that time one would certainly have prescribed for her some of those warm influences which dissipate doubt by exposing it to the fierce elemental heats of love, of active charity. . . . Or one might have prescribed for her America, where the knottiest social and moral problems disappear unaccountably before a certain new energy of individual growth which is continually conquering new points of view from which to regard the world." He says there is "more religion in George Eliot's works than she herself dreamed she was putting there, and a clearer faith for us than she even formulated for herself." He declares that in modern fiction she is supreme in portraying spiritual regeneration. Once she said to a friend, "What I look to is a time when the impulse to help our fellows shall be as immediate and as irresistible as that which I feel to grasp something firm if I am falling;" and at the word she clutched the mantel-piece as if actually saving herself from falling, with an intensity which made the gesture eloquent. Here is one of her keen glimpses into one of the curious whims of personality: "The impulse to confession almost always requires the presence of a fresh ear and a fresh heart; and in our moments of spiritual need the man to whom we have no tie but our common nature seems nearer to us than mother, brother, or friend. Our

daily familiar life is but a hiding of ourselves from each other behind a screen of trivial words and deeds, and those who sit with us at the same hearth are often the farthest off from the deep human soul within us, full of unspoken evil and unacted good." Referring to George Eliot's quiet humor, he speaks of "that eye-twinkle between the lines which makes much of her ruggedest writing like a Virginia fence from between whose rails peep wild roses and morning-glories." Here is a wholesome thought: "All reasoning and all experience show that if you confront a man day by day with nothing but a picture of his own unworthiness the final effect is, not to stimulate but to paralyze his moral energy." This is Lanier's feeling about the beautiful character of Dinah Morris, the Methodist in *Adam Bede:* "Solemn, fragile, strong Dinah Morris, the woman preacher whom I find haunting my imagination in strange but entrancing unions of the most diverse forms, as if, for instance, a snow-drop could also be St. Paul, as if a kiss could be a gospel, as if a lovely phrase of Chopin's most inward music should suddenly become an Apocalypse revealing to us Christ in the flesh—that rare, pure, and marvelous Dinah Morris who would alone consecrate English literature if it had yielded no other gift to man." He thinks a clear proof of the modernness of personality is in the fact of our complete ignorance as to the physical person of Christ. "One asks oneself how comes it never to have occurred to Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John to tell us what manner of man this was—what stature, what complexion, what color of eyes and hair, what shape of hand and foot. A natural instinct arising at the very outset of the descriptive effort would have caused a modern to acquaint us with these and many like particulars." Lanier says that nowadays men do not want you to tell them how many times a day they shall pray, or to prescribe how many inches wide shall be the hem of their garment. "Christ, the Master, never did this; too well he knew the growth of personality which would settle these matters, each for itself; too well he knew the subtle hurt of all such violations of individualism." He evidently thinks it wise not to attempt to teach the world with a rule and a square, but rather to give men for their guidance those widely applicable principles and "those prodigious generalizations in which the Master's philosophy, considered purely as a philosophy, surely excelled all other systems."

Evil and Evolution. By the Author of *The Social Horizon.* 12mo, pp. 184. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book, which is reported from London to be one of the best-selling books of the hour, is, the author says, an attempt to turn the light of modern science on to the ancient mystery of evil. He makes no appeal to the Bible, but says that no inference is to be made concerning his opinion of the Scriptures. He thinks we have very much the same ground for belief in a devil as for belief in a God, and that the simplest and most satisfactory solution of the riddle of all the ages "is just the old one—that the Supreme Ruler, in his beneficent activity in the universe, is confronted by another power; that in the absolute literal sense

of the word God is not omnipotent; that he is engaged in a conflict which to a certain extent limits his power, and the final issue of which can be wrought out only in the course of ages. In plain terms, there is a God and there is a devil, and the two powers are in conflict. The idea is as old as humanity, and, as a scientific hypothesis, it is, in a certain sense, at least, simple and intelligible, and not only may it be made to fit in with evolution, but it has the merit of explaining more of the phenomena of the moral and the physical world around us than any other conceivable one." The chapters treat of "Some Theories of the Purpose of Evil," "The Fatherly Education Theory," "The Evolutionary Explanation of Evil," "Satan from a Scientific Point of View," "Natural Laws and Human Laws," "The Limits of Necessary Suffering," "How 'Maladjustments' Originated," "The Type of a Perfect Life," "Is not 'Maladjustment' Essential to Evolution?" "'Eat and Be Eaten,'" "'Red in Tooth and Claw' not Necessarily Evil," "The Greatest of all Maladjustments," "Evolution Without Maladjustment," "What Might Have Been." About the temptation and fall of man the author reasons that we cannot conceive of a point where the astutest Satanic malignity, bent on making the very laws of a benign Creator work out death and destruction, could act more effectively than just at the point where, in the slow unfolding of life, love and selfishness first came into conflict. "Assume that just there a malignant power effected a disturbance of the natural laws under which things were unfolding, and you have a theory which accounts intelligibly for every phase and form of the world's moral and social evil, while you have the character of the Creator purely benevolent. There is no other theory that will do it." An Episcopalian preacher said to his congregation, "If we were not so self-conceited we would be more willing to believe in the existence of the devil and other evil spirits, as well as in good spirits. It is enormous egotism to look on the universe and imagine there is no one here but ourselves." Upon this volume Dr. A. B. Leonard comments thus: "The Bible theory of the introduction of sin and its final outcome is far more satisfactory than any scheme evolution has been able to devise. This book indicates that men of science are slowly, though reluctantly, coming round to the doctrines of evil and salvation set forth in the Bible. Moses tells us how sin got into the world, and Jesus Christ is the only way of deliverance." On page 163 is quoted the critical Frenchman's description of an Englishman's idea of a holiday: "We've got a holiday to-day; let's go out and kill something."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Historic Episcopate. A Study of Anglican Claims and Methodist Orders. By R. J. COOKE, D.D., Professor of Evangelical and Historical Theology. 12mo, pp. 221. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

To the student of ecclesiastical affairs it has become an accepted fact that the Romanizing teachings of the Tractarians, once condemned, have

now in large measure become the dominant teachings in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church. Prominent above all other dogmas advocated by this High Church element, and one upon which excessive emphasis is placed, is the doctrine of episcopal succession in direct unbroken series from the Apostolic College. The claim made to this succession by the Established Church has been as often denied as it has been affirmed by Protestant and Roman and Greek Churches. Nevertheless, the claim is still persisted in, and divers efforts are made to bring about a recognition of the validity of English orders. The gradual approach in recent years of the Anglican Church to the Roman Church caused many to entertain the hope that if the question was reopened the Roman Church, under Leo XIII, might be induced to decree the validity of these orders on various grounds, and thus pave the way for ultimate union with Rome. To this end the Church Union, a society in England including some noble names and many ecclesiastical dignitaries eminent for learning and devotion, exerted its full strength. Leading divines in various parts of the kingdom, aided by others in the United States, lent their abilities to the cause; Roman Catholic scholars and ecclesiastics in France gave their assistance; the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* was started; influential Church journals became organs of the party or recorded their doings; and, as if the claim were already established and recognition of it decreed, the bishops of the Established Church declared that an essential condition of union of other Churches with that Church was an acceptance of the historic episcopate.

The work before us, by Dr. Cooke, was occasioned by these events. It is a protest, based on history, against these claims, and so thoroughly fortified does his position seem that the author is confident that while minor statements and inductions may be challenged, the argument as a whole will never be refuted. This is a bold stand to take, but the decision of the Roman court after prolonged research and study of the question through special experts, based on the same line of investigation as that pursued by our author, seems to give good ground for his confidence in his results. As a matter of fact, the advocates of Anglican claims cannot overthrow his conclusions without at the same time overthrowing the decisions of the special Roman commission that studied the case. The author in the pursuit of his purpose assumes Anglican principles and then applies these to Anglican claims. His method is critically historical, and every step of the way is contested with perfect knowledge of the situation without any attempt to force the facts of history to harmonize with his contention. Hence he traverses as a foundation the history of the formative period of the Established Church at the Reformation, examines authoritative sources for the opinions and beliefs of the English reformers and leaders of the Church at that time, shows from historical documents, contemporary historians, reformers, and the general opinion of the period what was the actual belief of the English Church relative to the doctrine which is now so strenuously insisted upon by Anglicans as having always been the doctrine of the Church of England. The

work will awaken much opposition, and we shall not be surprised to hear of replies from many quarters. So much has been written by special pleaders in defense of Anglican orders, so thoroughly satisfied have Anglican ministers become that the ministerial orders of other Churches are null and void, and so confident have they been that Episcopal Methodism is wholly void of legitimate authority that this uncompromising challenge and disproof of the validity of English orders, on Anglican principles, from a Methodist minister, which disproof is sustained by representative religious journals, must mark a new era in the history of the discussion which has already existed too long and should now be laid aside forever. In the author's discussion of Methodist orders many things are suggested to students of Methodist history and polity that may perhaps give us pause in our study of the basis of Methodist episcopacy. This part of the work is worthy of the closest thought, as is every chapter of the book, and he who masters the entire argument will have nothing to fear from the unhistorical and exclusive claims of High Church advocates. The foundation of Methodist orders is set forth by showing that in ordaining Dr. Coke Mr. Wesley appealed for his authority to Holy Scripture, to the practice of the primitive Church, to the call of the Church, and to the necessity of the circumstances. While reviewing Dr. Cooke's book and writing this notice we received from Longmans, Green & Co., of New York, a pamphlet of forty-eight pages containing the answer of the archbishops of England to the apostolic letter of Pope Leo XIII on English ordinations. It will be remembered that the pope, having been invited to investigate the validity of Anglican orders, in publishing his decision, based on the report of the Roman commission, by which a minute and thorough examination had been made, turned his verdict against the claims of the Anglican body, not so much on the historic question as to whether Parker and his successors were in fact consecrated, but more on the question whether the grace of holy orders was conveyed by the rite used in the ordination of priests and consecration of bishops for the first hundred years after the Reformation. The Roman court declared that the form used, commonly known as the Edwardine ordinal, was not sufficient, and further that it was not the mind or intention of the Reformation divines to convey the full grace of holy orders. Therefore the pope has decided that the Reformation ordinations were invalid, and that the grace of orders and the presence of the Holy Spirit does not abide with the ministry of the Anglican communion. Not until the recent apostolic letter of Leo XIII was the Anglican body ever able to find out why reordination was insisted on in the case of Anglican priests passing over into the Roman Church. Now it is officially stated by the Roman pontiff what is the matter with Anglican orders. The English archbishops in their reply declare that the pope in overthrowing their orders overthrows his own and entirely destroys the foundations of his own Church, and endeavor to show that while the ordination forms were changed, as is affirmed by the pope, they were not so altered as to invalidate the ordination, but were essentially regular and quite

sufficient, and that in the very forms used by the fathers of the English Church in making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons it is certainly implied and manifest that they intended to continue those offices in the same sense in which they had received them. The English archbishops, near the close of the pamphlet now lying before us, and defending the correctness of their form, say: "We therefore make reply that in the ordaining of priests we do duly lay down and set forth the stewardship and ministry of the word and sacraments, the power of remitting and retaining sins, and other functions of the pastoral office, and that in these we do sum up and rehearse all other functions." We doubt if the reply of the English archbishops will be regarded anywhere outside their own communion as successfully disposing of the adverse decision reached by the Roman court through a searching and scholarly investigation of the facts. In this whole discussion both sides contribute to make the Methodist Church more completely satisfied with the validity of its own episcopacy and ministerial orders, so ably explained and amply vindicated in Dr. Cooke's volume.

Lucius Q. C. Lamar: his Life, Times, and Speeches. 1825–1893. By EDWARD MAYES, LL.D., Ex-Chancellor of the University of Mississippi. Royal 8vo, pp. 820. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. Price, cloth, $5.

This is a book of positive value, but is handicapped by one striking defect. Its mechanical form is unfortunate, and is not calculated to please the owners of ordinary bookshelves. So bulky a volume must destroy the symmetry of any well-conditioned library; its unusual size and shape preclude it from consorting with other books of its class and relegate it to a place with the largest dictionaries and cyclopedias, where it is manifestly out of its proper environment. It should, by every law of taste and convenience, have been published in two conventional octavo volumes, omitting matter enough, if necessary, to bring them within an orthodox compass. We are tempted to think that the publishers have committed the unpardonable sin in bookmaking. We incline, however, to overlook the fact that the style is occasionally infelicitous, prolix, and digressive, and we welcome the book, with all its possible faults of form and manner. For the author is singularly happy in his subject. Lamar long held an eminent position in our politics; and the life of one who was for seven years a representative in Congress, was prominent as a soldier and diplomat on the Confederate side during the civil war, was for two full terms a United States senator, for a whole administration Secretary of the Interior, and who died an associate justice of the national Supreme Court is well worthy of competent record. It is, however, as one of the best specimens of the men of the "New South" that Lamar particularly interests us; and Chancellor Mayes has done an important service to the North as well as the South in bringing together so many of the speeches that at the time they were delivered created so profound an impression throughout the entire country. His point of view is essentially Southern and Democratic. It could not well be otherwise; indeed, any other view would have been open to constructions of undue prejudice

and unfairness. But the war is over—never more so than to-day; and the book, even with all its relics of the past, is an important contribution to the literature of the new era. On the death of Charles Sumner, in 1874, Lamar seconded, in a remarkable speech, the resolution that the House adjourn in honor of the dead statesman's memory. Let us quote from this speech a few of the sentences which most honor Sumner's memory, and which honor no less the memory of him who characterized so graciously and justly the career of a noble and fallen political antagonist: "Charles Sumner was born with an instinctive love of freedom, and was educated from his earliest infancy to the belief that freedom is the natural and indefeasible right of every intelligent being having the outward form of man. . . . To a man thoroughly permeated and imbued with such a creed, and animated and constantly actuated by such a spirit of devotion, to behold a human being or a race of human beings restrained of their natural right to liberty, for no crime by him or them committed, was to feel all the belligerent instincts of his nature roused to combat. The fact was to him a wrong which no logic could justify. It mattered not how humble in the scale of rational existence the subject of this restraint might be, how dark his skin, or how dense his ignorance. Behind all that lay for him the great principle that liberty is the birthright of all humanity, and that every individual of every race who has a soul to save is entitled to the freedom which may enable him to work out his salvation. . . . In this fiery zeal and this earnest warfare against the wrong, as he viewed it, there entered no enduring personal animosity toward the men whose lot it was to be born to the system which he denounced. . . . Would that the spirit of the illustrious dead could speak from the grave to both parties to this deplorable discord in tones which should reach each and every heart throughout this broad territory, 'My countrymen, know one another, and you will love one another.'" These were noble words from a Southern voice in 1874, and are pertinent at the present time. We commend the book to all students of our political history.

Christian Life in Germany. By EDWARD F. WILLIAMS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 320. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

The Western editor of the *Congregationalist*, having made a personal study in Germany of the real condition of the Protestant Churches of that country, presents us in this book with the result. The Preface says: "Great Britain and America owe a debt of gratitude to Germany for the literature she has furnished their people, for the contributions she has made to Christian song, and for her devotion to higher Christian learning. In the attention given to the results of special studies, particularly to the results of the so-called higher criticism, both countries are in danger of overlooking equally important contributions in Christian work. Few people, either in Great Britain or America, realize the extent and importance of the foreign missionary work which the German Churches are carrying on, or of that still more wonderful home work which is embraced under the general term Inner Mission." The plan of the book is

fourfold: "First, to describe some of the methods by which the German people are trained for their duties in Church and State, and to show how the character of the government, the military and aristocratic spirit of the nation, affect Christian activity; second, to furnish material for determining the actual condition of the spiritual life of the national Churches by setting forth in some detail what their members are doing, through foreign missions for the world at large, and through the Inner Mission for the needy at home; third, to describe the forces, and their training, by which this home work is carried on; and, finally, to sketch the social and moral conditions of the country and to point out their effect on Christian life and upon the influence of the Church from the year 1860 or from the time when William I became a prominent figure in Prussian politics, to the latest accessible data under his grandson, William II." The above indicates the scope of the work. We have only space to say that the book is comprehensive and gives evidence of thorough study and faithful report of its subject. We quote a few sentences upon a point of practical interest: "The assertion is often made that the Church in Germany is destitute of spiritual life. The assertion rests on the assumption that higher criticism, whose results are published almost as soon as they are reached, is fatal to piety. . . . The works of the critics are read only by a few; and as every position taken by them is immediately subjected to the severest tests as soon as made known, with little prospect of ultimate acceptance, they are in general regarded by the rank and file of professed Christians with something like indifference." "In the universities the religious condition is better than it was twenty years ago. Belief in a revealed religion is not diminishing among educated men. Higher criticism has not destroyed confidence in the Scriptures as the word of God. Nor has it diminished the sense of personal responsibility for the spread of the knowledge of Christ over the world and among those at home whose condition is almost as deplorable as that of unbelievers in heathen lands." "The doctrines of the New Testament were never so popular among the people as now; the Church, including both pastors and laymen, was never more aggressive than now, or more confident that the principles of Christ will everywhere finally prevail." In Berlin the churches are usually full in the morning; the evening attendance is scant, although some preachers attract large audiences at both services. "The more popular preachers are, with few exceptions, strictly evangelical in their belief. The people seem to want to hear an orthodox gospel and to care little for essays or doctrinal discussions."

Bible Lands Illustrated—Syria, Palestine, Egypt. By Professor WILLIAM W. MARTIN. Size, 8x10½ inches, pp. 342. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $2.

This is a handsome volume, printed on enameled paper, with gilt edges, containing about two hundred and fifty illustrations. If sent by mail thirty-five cents additional is required for postage. The author, who is well known to the readers of the *Review*, spent two years in Palestine, holding a position in the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, Syria, traveling much. The book is arranged in the order of a tour from North to

South, beginning with Asia Minor and coming down into the country from Laodicea and Tripoli. There are eleven views of Baalbec and its huge ruins, thirteen of Damascus, and thirty-seven of Jerusalem. The concise letter-press descriptions of the scenes indulge in nothing superfluous, but have a succinct completeness. The pictures chiefly fill the space and make the interest of the book. The carefully chosen views are photographic and lifelike. Here on page 23 is the mountain village of Zahleh, lying in the bowl of surrounding vineclad hills, where Gerald Dale, of Philadelphia, labored for the love of Christ, and men lived the beautiful evangel of his life, and died all too soon. Here is a group of Bedouins who remind us of the guard which escorted us from Mar Saba down to the Dead Sea, through the Jordan valley to Jericho, and up to Jerusalem. Here on page 131 is a view of Nazareth from the southeast, in which we can identify the very olive trees under which, midway on the slope between the town above and the Fountain of the Virgin below, our tents were pitched, and where the writer of this notice came near dying of a sudden and violent illness, such as sometimes seizes travelers in oriental lands, and such as cost the lives of two daughters of President Woolsey, of Yale College, on their Holy Land tour. Under those olive trees we lay awake all night with fever and heard the women and girls go down to the Well of Mary and back again up the hill with their water jars upon head or shoulder, chatting and laughing as they went. Upon those hill slopes Jesus spent his boyhood, and to that exhaustless fountain at the foot he no doubt often went to drink. It is in oriental countries that one learns the supreme value of a well. Here on page 143 is the city of Shechem—Nablous, it is now called—lying in the sweet, narrow, verdurous valley which runs in between Gerizim and Ebal, and which, when we saw it, was fragrant and bright with blossoms and musical with clear, cool waterbrooks. There it was that the lepers turned our stomach and nearly made us lose the breakfast we had just swallowed by fluttering around our tents and showing us their sores as we rose from the table. And away yonder, invisible in the distance, is Jacob's well, where the snake charmer let loose his crawling reptiles and sent a chill of horror through our reverent musing about our Saviour's interview with the Samaritan woman beside that well, and about the living water of which Christ himself is the fountain. Here is the Damascus gate of Jerusalem out of which Saul of Tarsus went northward on his furious errand, breathing out threatenings and slaughter, on his way to meet the Lord and be transformed into Paul the apostle and slave of Jesus Christ. Outside this gate we encamped on a slight eminence which is by some regarded as the place of the crucifixion. Loitering through these pages, with much lingering over remembered scenes, we have as good as gone through the Holy Land and Egypt again, without the fatigue and expense. Before or after travel, or in lieu of it, such a book is interesting, helpful, delightful. All who intend visiting the Holy Land should go soon. Each year the modernization of the land diminishes the harmony between the sacred ancient history and its scenic setting.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Vision of Christ in the Poets. Selected Studies of the Christian Faith, as Interpreted by Milton, Wordsworth, the Brownings, Tennyson, Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell. Edited by CHARLES M. STUART. With an Introduction by Professor C. W. PEARSON, of Northwestern University. 16mo, pp. 304.

The Social Law of Service. By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy and Director of the School of Economics, Political Science, and History in the University of Wisconsin. 16mo, pp. 276.

Torchbearers of Christendom. The Light they Shed and the Shadows they Cast. By ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 16mo, pp. 288.

In League with Israel. A Tale of the Chattanooga Conference. By ANNIE FELLOWS JOHNSTON, Author of *Joel: a Boy of Galilee, The Story of the Resurrection, Big Brother, The Little Colonel.* 16mo, pp. 303.

The above four volumes compose the "Epworth League Reading Course" for the present year, and are published in New York by Eaton & Mains, and in Cincinnati by Curts & Jennings. The regular price of the set is $3.80; but they are sent to Epworth Leaguers for $2, with thirty-four cents in addition for postage or expressage. *The Vision of Christ in the Poets* consists of selections dealing with the Christian life. If some of them bear somewhat remotely upon Christ himself or the more spiritual phases of the Christ-life, yet all the selections are beautiful on their own account and contain teachings which will encourage and strengthen the young soldier in the Christian warfare. Certainly Browning's "Saul" and "Epistle from Kharshish," for example, and Lowell's "Glance behind the Curtain" can do only good to young or old. We can hardly commend the title of the book as denoting always the strict nature of its contents, but can conscientiously recommend the book itself. *The Social Law of Service* is a series of papers upon social and economic topics written in an entirely Christian spirit. Best of all for their purpose, they are decidedly practical and helpful; and those who know Professor Ely's rank among the expounders of sociological truth—and who does not know?—will not fail to see, underlying his more popular treatment, the wisdom and skill of the master. *In League with Israel* is a story of a young Hebrew who happens being in Chattanooga during the International Epworth League Convention of the year before last and is led to attend the "sunrise prayer meeting" upon the heights of Lookout Mountain. How he is brought into the Christian faith is designed to inspire Epworth Leaguers to seek to bring other Hebrews to a knowledge of their true Messiah. Dr. Doherty's *Torchbearers of Christendom* is much more than a mere summary of the history of the Christian Church. He has made it thoroughly alive by his treatment. The salient facts of Church history are grouped about the great leaders of successive religious movements; and the author's artistic arrangement of his material, his clear common sense, and his singular felicity and grace of expression make the book not only fascinating, but of permanent value. Those who know best his exceptional capabilites for effective literary work know what the reading public has lost through his hitherto almost unbroken silence in the purely literary field.

William Henry Seward. By THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP. 16mo, pp. 446. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This volume of the "American Statesmen" series is a political biography pure and simple, with just enough of the personal element in it to make us know the man whose political fortunes we are following. It covers an eventful period in our national life—a period saturated with passion and strife, a period on which posterity has hardly learned even now to look without a renewal of the old bitter sectional and party prejudice. Amid the dangerous rocks and shoals of that tumultuous time our author steers a steady and consistent course, guided by the same principles for which Seward and his party stood. Seward entered the national arena, as a Whig United States senator, at the time when the Whigs, although just invested with power, were rapidly going to pieces on the great rock of slavery. The elections of 1849 had returned a Whig majority to the lower house of Congress; yet so were the Whigs divided on the all-absorbing question that they were unable to combine on any candidate for speaker, and, after nearly three weeks of bickering and on the sixty-third ballot, a Democrat was chosen to preside over a nominally Whig House. The Whig party went down in the storms which followed the Mexican cessions of territory. In its place arose the new Republican party, in which from the very first Seward was an acknowledged and, perhaps, the most prominent leader; and had it not been for Greeley's hostility he might, and probably would, have received the Republican presidential nomination in 1860. Instead, he served for eight years as Secretary of State, entering the cabinet of one President with hesitation, and remaining in that of another with reluctance. His name will remain forever associated with the Trent affair. It is hardly possible that anyone can read this volume without recognizing how unwise and unjustifiable—even though so natural—was Captain Wilkes's impetuous action in seizing the two Confederate commissioners. For this Wilkes had received the thanks of the Secretary of the Navy and one branch of Congress. Even Lincoln himself was much indisposed to surrender the two prisoners of war; and it required all Seward's powers to convince the President and save the nation. "From the whole transaction," says Mr. Lothrop, "we gained this advantage—that the surrendering of these men so promptly and with so little discussion made both the ministry and the people of England ashamed of their violence and haste; and Messrs. Mason and Slidell, instead of being England's heroes, became her, and not our, 'white elephants.'" Mr. Seward sided with President Johnson in his plans of reconstruction, and thereby gained for himself much contemporary abuse; but the smoke of that mighty controversy has nearly cleared away, and it is possible now to see clearly on which side justice and expediency lay. This book is a positively useful monograph on one of the great actors in American history. We would especially call attention to the following sentence from p. 310: "Had the rebellion been crushed quickly, slavery, the cause of all our trouble, would have remained, and sooner or later the battle would have had to be fought over again."

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